CHAPTER II

JINNAH’S EARLY POLITICAL CAREER

It was thought by many at one time that Muhammad Ali Jinnah would one day become the first and foremost leader of India. But he ended up founding Pakistan instead. He spent much of his life to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. Later in life he strove hard for and won a separate Muslim homeland. His family belonged to the Khoja community, a group that split off the Ismaili sect which recognised the Aga Khan as its spiritual leader. This sect which observes several Hindu ceremonies and customs does not strictly conform to Islamic percepts. Inspite of all this, Jinnah towards the last phase of his political career became the leader of India's Muslims. Jinnah could neither read the Quran nor did he say his prayers nor fast in Ramadan. Such a man, inorder to get religious acceptance among the generality of Muslims, later changed his sect and became an Asnashari. Such a man in the end became inseparable from the cry of 'Islam in danger.'

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 in Karachi as the first child to Jinnahbhai Poonjah and Methibai. As a minority community within the Muslim minority in India, the Khojas
were conscious of their separateness and cultural difference, which perhaps accounted for the aloofness which characterised Jinnah and his family. As soon as Jinnahbhai Poonjah married Methibai, he moved to Karachi, one of the prominent port cities of the time, in search of fortune. It was here that Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born. Being born in a family of the Khojas, Jinnah had in him some of their major attributes. He was thus enterprising, cool, resourceful, ambitious, cold-blooded and unemotional. Just as his personality was moulded by his social origins, so his political thought could be traced to some other factors. A close analysis of Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s early political career would reveal that two periods in his life contributed to its formation: (1) the period from 1892 to 1896, as a student of Law in London and (2) the period from 1897 to 1910, as a lawyer in Bombay. Though originally he went to London on a paid assignment to work as a business apprentice, he soon left the business firm to join Lincoln's Inn and study law, largely due to his admiration for Dadabhai Naoroji and an ardent desire to prepare himself for a career in politics. Naoroji's maiden speech in British Parliament, reflecting as it did the attitudes of the national movement of the time, made a deep impression on Jinnah so much so that, back in India,
Jinnah adopted the moderate stance and constitutional approach of Naoroji and strictly adhered to it till 1934.\(^5\)

The 1892 election saw the downfall of Lord Salisbury's Conservative government, replacing it with a government of the Liberals. That was the time when liberal ideas were in full swing and naturally those ideas seeped into his whole being. He also happened to meet several important liberals which gave him a deep understanding of the doctrine of liberalism. "The liberalism of Lord Morley was then in full sway. I grasped that Liberalism, which became part of my life and thrilled me very much.\(^6\) His thrill had been intensified when Lord Cross's Indian Councils Act of 1892 which stimulated a full-dress debate, introduced into the British India's constitution the elective principle - an amendment which gave the people of India, for the first time, a potential voice in the government their country. This liberal tide carried Naoroji to Parliament. For Naoroji it was an opportunity to tell in British Parliament at least the native view on any question."\(^7\) Jinnah was among the energetic volunteers who strove hard to "bring the voice of a leading Indian nationalist to echo through the mightiest chamber of the British Empire." It is reasonable to suppose that Jinnah learned much from Naoroji's speeches; that he absorbed many liberal ideas from the
Grand Old Man, who was to Indian youth, a veritable Indian 
Gladstone.

The liberals, who replaced the conservatives, remained at the 
helm of affairs all through Jinnah's stay in London. Gladstone and 
John Morley made an indelible impression upon his mind. Morely - 
the famous author of 'On Compromise', John Stuart Mill's greatest 
disciple, and Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Secretary and Liberal 
lieutenant - was a veritable role model for Jinnah so much so that he 
going to the extent of recommending Morley's On Compromise to 
students." The fact that the masses are not yet ready to receive, any 
more than to find", writes Morley "is no reason why the possessor of 
the new truth should run to hide under a bushed the candle which had 
been lighted for him - - -. No man can ever know whether his 
neighbours are ready for change or not." Jinnah echoes the same 
sentiments when he spoke in support of the Special Marriage Bill in 
the Legislative Council." The position of a representative in the 
Council, be he Hindu or Muhammedan, is awkward because the 
orthodox opinion is against it (the Bill); but that, I submit is no reason 
for a representative who owes his duty to his people to refrain from 
expressing his convictions fearlessly." Though Naoroji mirrored 
many of Morley's views, Jinnah was influenced by them in different
ways: while in Morley's works he found the necessary undepinnings for his own political direction, he was inspired by Naoroji's approach to politics, particularly his abhorrence of the hysteria of agitational politics. He was all for the politics of gentlemen, where issues could be settled by means of convincing speeches and clever debates.\textsuperscript{11}

Jinnah returned to India in the autumn of 1896, and was enrolled as a barrister in Bombay's High Court in the same year. During the first three years as a barrister, he had to suffer great hardship, and he wandered briefless from his abode, a humble locality in the city, to his office in the Fort.\textsuperscript{12} By the turn of the century, his fortunes changed, thanks to the kindness of Bombay's acting Advocate- General, John Molesworth Mac Pherson, who invited him to work in his chambers. Sarojini Naidu wrote that this period had been a "beacon of hope in the dark distress of his early struggles."\textsuperscript{13}

Sooner than later, he came to know that one of Bombay's four magistracies was about to fall vacant. Sir Charles Ollivant, the then Member in charge of the Judicial Department, impressed by Mac Pherson's young assistant that he hired him to serve as temporary third Presidency Magistrate.\textsuperscript{14} Though Jinnah proved himself capable, fair and fearless as a judge, he found the Bench a much less attractive
prospect than the Bar. So when Sir Charles offered him a permanent place on the bench, at the respectable salary of 1500/- rupees a month in 1901, Jinnah declined it saying that he would soon earn that much amount in a single day. Soon he did.

In his profession as a lawyer, he was singularly successful. Within a short time, he was able to establish himself in his new career, earning enough money to rent a new office. As a contemporary put it: "He was what God made him, not what he made himself. God made him a great pleader. He had sixth sense: he could see around corners - he drove his points home - points chosen with exquisite selection - slow delivery, word by word. It was all pure, cold logic." Another contemporary noted, "... no one could deny his power of argument. When he stood up in court, slowly looking towards the judge, placing his monocle in his eye - with the sense of timing you would expect from an actor- he became omnipotent Yes, that is the word-omnipotent."

Jinnah's appointment as a Third Presidency Magistrate had proved to be a major breakthrough for Jinnah in politics also as it brought him greater recognition within the Bombay political community. It brought him close to the Bombay Parsis around whom
Indian National Congress revolved at that time. Dadabhai Naoroji exerted an immense influence on Jinnah here also for Jinnah had learned his particular brand of politics "at the feet of Dadabhai Naoroji." Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw. E, Wacha and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad were the other prominent members of this group. The most dominant influence, however, had been that of Mehta for as on completion of his term as Presidency Magistrate, Jinnah worked with the Mehta group of lawyers. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was another moderate who helped a great deal in shaping Jinnah's political direction. Emerged from the Mehta circle, Gopal Krishna Gokhale also subscribed to Naoroji and Mehta's belief in achieving political advance through constitutional methods and their sheer abhorrence of mass agitational politics.

Jinnah, who renewed his acquaintance with Naoroji when he came back to India, is said to have helped Naoroji to draft his presidential address in the annual session of the Congress in 1905. Jinnah felt more at home with the westernised Parsis than the orthodox Muslims, guided by the politics of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He could not tolerate the subservient attitude these Muslims showed to the British and found the Congress, which opposed Sir Syed's brand of politics to the hilt, more palatable.
When the twentieth annual session of the Congress was held in Bombay in 1904, Jinnah not only took an active interest in its deliberations but also found time to assist Mehta, who was the chairman of its reception committee. This association proved immensely fruitful to Jinnah. Sir Perozeshah included Jinnah in the Congress delegation led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale to plead for a greater share for Indians in the administration. It was during their stay in London that Jinnah and Gokhale came closer to each other. Jinnah was attracted to Gokhale's liberal outlook and broad humanism, and Gokhale saw in Jinnah "freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity." 19

Most of the Muslim leaders of the time were either orthodox fundamentalists who looked upon the Quran and the Sunnah as their twin sources for their daily behaviour or modern disciple of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who opposed Congress as vigourously as they denied Islamic orthodoxy's infallibility. When Sir Syed spoke that India was inhabited by different nationalities, the earliest modern articulation of the two-nation theory, Jinnah had been in London, out of tune with such a view. In fact, Jinnah was in tune with Mehta's view that the "supposed rivalry" between Hindus and Muslims had been nothing but a "convenient decoy to distract attention and defer the day of
reform." The only Muslim who had made any significant impression upon his mind during the period was Badaruddin Tyabji whose advice he more often than not sought.

**Jinnah's role in the Legislature**

Having completed his political apprenticeship, Jinnah was solidly implanted in the moderate wing of nationalism, and thus of constitutional politics. Thus he came to believe that the British rule required to be reformed from within rather than toppled by outside pressure. He held fast to the Westminster concept of loyal opposition, and argued that it was the duty of every educated man to support the government when the government was right. His liberalism made him involve himself with social issues which often drew the displeasure of the Muslim ulema. For instance the Special Marriage Amendment Bill, aimed at providing legal protection to marriages not covered by Hindu or Muslim law, especially marriage between members of different groups, was supported by him arguing that it provided equality. This raised the ire of the ulema who saw in the Bill a contravention of the laws of the Quran.

This did not mean that Jinnah was averse to championing the causes of Muslims. The Mussalman Wakf Validating Bill is a fine
example. It was designed to safeguard the beneficiaries of Muslim family trusts against the folly of any one member of a family and as such of cardinal importance to the Muslims of India. Wakfs were "endowments to ensure the maintenance of a Muslim family after the death of the male head of the family". A Privy Council ruling in 1894 had maintained that there was no difference between a gift and wakf, and that "help to one's family members can in no sense be called charity." It definitely provided a solid foundation to anyone ready to call into question the terms of a particular Wakf. It was with a view to pacify the growing unrest among the Muslims that Jinnah introduced the Bill into the house. His leading role in piloting through such an intricate and controversial measure won him appreciation not only of his colleagues but also of his co-religionists all over India. It also explains Muhammad Ali's keenness to induct him into the League. Another thing to be noted in this context is that it was the first instance of a Bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private member, and that when it became clear that the Bill could not be passed within Jinnah's three-year term, he was appointed as additional member of the Council to allow him to pilot the act through.

Just as his stance on the Wakf Bill, so his stance on Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill (1912) brings out his concern with the
Muslim problems. He resolved to oppose the Bill if, after its reference to the select committee, it did not provide for certain modifications, which were "just in the interests of the Mussalmans."²⁶

Jinnah came to reflect the dominant moderate views within the Congress, those views which were of cardinal importance to the Congress leadership, most notably the entry of Indians into the Indian Civil Service. With regard to this, his view was that simultaneous examination should be held both in England and in India, in choosing successful applicants no preference be given to Indians or British applicants, and no reservation be made on the basis of religion. "In my opinion we should not consider the question of community, class or province. What we want is the best administrators, and not necessarily a Hindu, a Mussalman or a European."²⁷ This was consistent with the liberalisation he campaigned, and the policy of the Congress leadership. On the other hand, the Indian Union Muslim League did not require such pretensions as it was out and out an organisation for the Muslims, of the Muslims and by the Muslims.

The Founding of the Muslim League

The partition of Bengal by the Viceroy Lord Curzon on 16 October 1905, led to violent agitation in the province; it had also
spread to other parts of India. The Muslims, in general, were in favour of partition as it would give them majority in the Eastern part. The Congress, on the other hand, charged the British with ulterior motives: to vivisect the Bengali homeland and strike a deadly blow at Bengali 'nationality' and to weaken the nationalist movement of the people of India, which had its strongest centre in Bengal. However, it definitely estranged the Muslims from the the Congress and a feeling was generated among them that they could be redeemed only if they created their own political force and their own leadership. This was an important factor which paved the way for founding of the Indian Union Muslim League. Another factor which helped the formation of the Muslim League was the growing concern among the Muslims that the impending Minto- Morley Reforms would not give their interests adequate attention. By 1906, the Aga Khan, Mohsin-ul-Mulk and other leaders had decided that they should have an independent organisation to secure "independent political recognition from the British government as a nation within a nation." They, therefore, under the inspiration of Mr. Archibald, the then Principal of Mohammadan Anglo- Oriental College, Aligarh, decided to take a deputation to the Viceroy to assure him of the Muslim loyalty to the British government and request for separate representation for the
Muslims. Accordingly, a deputation led by Sir Aga Khan waited upon Lord Minto, the Viceroy. The deputation got most sympathetic reception from Lord Minto who reassured them of his support. "The Mohamedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative organisation with which I am concerned."\(^{30}\) This led to the meeting of the Muslim leaders in Dacca in December, 1906 where the Nawab of Dacca moved a resolution for establishing a Muslim Organisation to be called the All India Muslim League.\(^{31}\) The resolution was as follows:

(i) "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 any feelings of hostility
towards other communities without prejudice to the other
objects of the League.

(ii) That this meeting considers that partition is sure to
prove beneficial to the community which constitute the
majority of the population, and that all such methods of
agitations as boycotting shall be firmly condemned and
discouraged.”32

Jinnah left no stones unturned to attack the non-representative
character of the deputation. "May I know whoever elected the
gentlemen who are supposed to represent Bombay? It is a pity that
some people are always assuming the role of representatives without
the smallest shadow of ground or foundation for it."33 He was of the
view that the Muslims could find solutions to their problems through
the programme of the National Congress.34 That Jinnah was at that
time dead against all that the Muslim League stood for is testified by
the Aga Khan who wrote that Jinnah was "our doughtiest opponent in
1906" and that he "came out in bitter hostility towards all that I and
my friends had done and were trying to do. He was the only well-
known Muslim to take this attitude... He said that our principle of
separate electorates was dividing the nation against itself".35
Jinnah as a moderate Congressman

It was during this period that a more militant, revolutionary faction within the Congress competed with the moderate "old guard" for control of India's premier nationalist organisation. They were led by such leaders as Bala Ganagadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. This group did not have faith in the promised reforms of the British, and it rejected outrightly reliance on "pleas or petitions" to British officialdom. Boycott was their battle-cry- first of British goods and later of all British institutions. Their goal was Swaraj but the "Self-rule" they demanded was not of British citizens but of totally independent Indians. To them, "the Congress had been a long time occidental in mind, character and methods, confined to the English educated few, founded on the political rights and interests of the people read in the light of English history and European ideals, but with no rights either in the past of the country or in the spirit of the nation. What was required was to bridge the gulf between the present and the past and to restore continuity in the political life of the nation." This development which Aurobindo characterised as Indianization and found expression in the revival of the old festivals
of Ganapati and Shivaji by Tilak, was in fact Hindu revivalism. This is not to underestimate the role played by these leaders in building up the anti-British movement. But they all tried to do this in the mould of their Hindu outlook which they inherited from the past. For this reason, their political activities, on the one hand, antagonized and alienated the Muslims and other minorities, and on the other, won Hindu adherents.

The Surat session of the Congress in 1907 saw a serious clash between the moderates led by Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjee, Ras Behari Ghosh on the one hand and the militants led by Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai on the other. Jinnah found himself on the side of the moderates who held that "the objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. The objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country". Tilak, who wrote many revolutionary articles against
the British government, was charged with "seditious writings" and arrested in the summer of 1908. When Tilak was held without bail, he chose Jinnah to plead for him in the court of law. Although Jinnah's argument had no effect on the authorities, it brought out his brilliance as a barrister and the strength of his national leadership potential. A pettier man might have found some excuse for refusing to plead for the leader of a political party opposed to him. Jinnah, however, defended Tilak on another charge of sedition in 1916 and this time won the case. This earned him the gratitude as well as affectionate admiration of Hindu India's foremost conservative leader.39

Separate Electorates

With the passing of the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909, a fateful stage was reached in the constitutional history of India - the rights of the central and provincial legislative councils were enlarged, including the right to discuss the budget; although small official majorities were retained, the council memberships were substantially enlarged and the principle of election of the unofficial members was conceded. As far as the Muslims were concerned, they were granted separate electorates and reserved seats which remained an integral part of the constitution of India right upto the transfer of power. Most of the Hindu political
leaders, and many Muslim nationalists have blamed this system of communal electorates for perpetuating and exacerbating communal disharmony in the political field and for preventing the growth of nationalism and national parties in India. They have charged that the British had riveted this system upon India with a view to "divide and rule". The British then and thereafter looked upon the Muslims as a counterpoise to the Hindu majority and Muslim resistance to majority rule as a counterpoise to the swelling demand for democratic government. Lady Minto echoed this sentiment when she described Minto's reply to the Muslim delegation as "nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition".  

As far as Jinnah was concerned, he was opposed to the system of separate electorates and reserved seats then. At the 1906 Calcutta session of the Congress, a resolution for reforms was proposed by A. Chaudhuri, a part of which was the reservation for "the backwardly educated class". Jinnah responded to this resolution by saying, "I understand that by backward class is meant the Mohammaden community. If the Mohammadan community is meant by it, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the Mohammaden community should be treated in the same way as the Hindu community ... there
should be no reservation for any class or community..."\(^{42}\). For him the system was an "obnoxious virus introduced into the body politic of India with evil designs".\(^{43}\)

A close analysis of this phase of Jinnah's political career reveals the following. His social and educational background inclined him towards Liberal nationalism and as such he was very much attracted towards the political aims of the Congress. The chief concerns of the Congress then centred on such demands as increase in the number of Indians in the Civil Service and the army officer corps, change in government's education policy, reforms of legislative councils and appointments of Indians to the councils of the Viceroy and the provincial governors.\(^{44}\) Jinnah fitted comfortably into the Congress of the time, which was dominated by a small clique of moderates. He was dead against the mixing of religion with politics as exemplified by the Muslim League, having believed that the problems of the Muslims could be remedied through the programme of the Indian National Congress.

At the same time it requires to be noted that Jinnah was a member of the Anjuman - i- Islam, more a political than a religious organisation primarily concerned with the interests of the Muslims.
Jinnah had close ties with the organisation since his school days, and no sooner did he return to India from London in 1896 than he renewed his contact with the organisation. By 1913, he regularly presided over meetings of the organisation and was its most prominent spokesman. That Anjuman-i-islam, unlike the Muslim League, was not loyal to the British, and the likes of Badruddin Tyabji were actively involved in it might have been the reason which prompted Jinnah to be an active member of it. It further shows that nationalist though he was, his interest in Muslims and Muslim politics was, by no means, no less. It also explains why he came to wield such an influence in Muslim politics and he was considered by the Muslims of Bombay in 1910 to represent them in the Imperial Legislature Council set up under the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. Thus in the first phase of his political career Jinnah found himself in the Congress camp and in every way opposed to the 'reactionary' Muslim League.

**Jinnah and the Congress come close to the League**

The next phase in the political career of Jinnah started from 1909 onwards. It was in tune with the change of stance of the Congress. From 1909, Congress assumed a conciliatory tone as far as its relation with the Muslim League was concerned. It found that the
major barrier standing in the way of bringing the two parties together was the issue of communal representation. In order to overcome this obstacle, Gokhale even went to the extent of publicly accepting the principle of separate Muslim electorates. Supplementary elections should be held for minorities which numerically or otherwise are important enough to need special representation, and these should be confined to members of the minorities only.... unless the feeling of soreness in the minds of minorities is removed by special separate supplementary treatment such as proposed by the Government of India, the advance towards a real union will be retarded rather than promoted.\(^4\)

The Indian National Congress wanted to bring the two communities together, and naturally, it realised the necessity of conceding separate electorates to the Muslim community. Being an ardent disciple of Gokhale, this view found a reflection in Jinnah. That is to say, Jinnah's change of stance with regard to separate electorates from 1909 does not amount to a change of heart. It is but a reflection of his political pragmatism in tune with the view of the Congress leadership of the time.
Jinnah's stance at the 1913 Agra League session on a resolution for the extension of communal representation to local bodies forms a gradual change from the position he had taken at the Allahabad Congress session three years earlier. In the Agra session he did not oppose the resolution outright. There what he did was to call for its postponement for a year. By 1916, he exhibited an increasing recognition of the validity of the Muslim demand. He tells his Hindu brethren: "To most of us, the question is no more open to further discussion or argument, as it has been a mandate of the community. ... the demand for separate electorates is not a matter of policy but a matter of necessity to the Mahomedans.... I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu brethren that, in the present state of position, they should try to win the confidence and trust of the Mohamedans who are, after all, in the minority in the country. If they are determined to have separate electorate, no resistance should be shown to their demand."

Jinnah's election to the Muslim reserved seat in the Legislative Council of Bombay is also a proof of his political pragmatism. Of the five seats allocated to Bombay Presidency, two were to be elected by non-official members of the Provincial Council and one each by the Landholders of Bombay, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and the Muslim community of Bombay. With such stalwarts as Gokhale and...
Mehta to be accommodated and the Landholders and Chamber of Commerce all set to elect candidates with vested interests, Jinnah was left with the Hobson's choice of standing for the council from Bombay. After all the time and again demonstrated his concern for the Muslim community in preceding years. Jinnah after all wanted the seat to go to a nationalist Muslim rather than to one more communally oriented. This kind of pragmatism was necessary not only to promote his own political career but also to bring the Congress and the League together.

**Delhi Durbar**

It was Sir John Jenkins, a member of the Viceroy's Council, who, inorder to "destroy the seeds of discontent among Indians" suggested the repeal of the partition and the transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi. It was also suggested that these should be announced by the King on the occasion of the forthcoming coronation Durbar at Delhi. Lord Hardinge, who had succeeded Minto as Viceroy in November 1910, readily agreed. After announcing the proposed changes, the King said: "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."
Muslim reaction to the reversal of partition was sudden, bitter and furious. They saw in this the government of India's capitulation to Congress agitators and the simple message - "No bombs, No boons". For years the government of India had been telling the Muslims that the decision regarding the partition was final and would not be re-opened. With such a flagrant violation of their solemn promises, they lost all faith in British pledges. This heralded a marked change in Muslim politics. This change in feeling found manifestation in the resolution of the Muslim League at its session of December 1912 to January 1913, according to which the aim to the organisation was changed from loyalty to "a form of self-government suitable to India." Jinnah, who had so far refused to join the Muslim League as long as it maintained its communal objectives, now found himself in a position to join the organisation. However his joining the League was on the condition that "loyalty to the Muslim League and the Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated."
Political Reforms

Jinnah's efforts at Hindu- Muslim unity was interrupted, albeit temporarily, by the prospect of political reforms for India. A perusal of his views on the impending reforms brings out his proclivity for constitutional reformism and his idealistic liberalism. The Council of India, established in 1858, was looked upon by the Indians as a body serving the cause of the Government of India rather than India itself. The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 did not usher in any change in the constitution of the council. However, Moreley's subsequent appointment of two Indians to his council was seen as part of the overall scheme of reforms. The Reform Bill, called Crewe's Reforms after the Secretary of State, Lord Crews, formalised the presence of Indians on the council. The scheme envisaged that the council was to consist of seven to ten members, of whom two were to be selected from among the non-official members of the Indian legislatures. The Secretary of State would retain his power to issue orders or make suggestions to the Government of India. He was not required to refer these things to his council. His salary would continue to be paid by the Government of India. 53

The reforms, by their nature, were mild, yet a large section of the British press opposed them declaring that they were concessions to agitation and revolutionary in character. 54 The Bill could not be passed
in the House of Lords owing to its outright rejection by the Tory majority. Nevertheless the Bill could not be reintroduced because of Britain's declaration of war on Germany. Jinnah's views could be gauged by examining his main proposals. The major proposals included: (i) the salary of the Secretary of State for India be placed on the English Estimates (ii) the Council should be partly nominated and partly elected to make it more efficient and independent (iii) the elected portion of the council should consist not less than one third of the total number of members and they should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils (iv) one third of the new council should be public men of merit and ability unconnected with the Indian administration.  

Just as the Tories and the British press opposed the reforms terming them as "revolutionary", so the Indian nationalists were not in favour of the reforms as they found them highly inadequate. To the Indian nationalists, particularly Jinnah, the role of the British was the gradual introduction of reforms paving the way ultimately to full self-government. The British politicians who could not see the end of their continued domination in the foreseeable future, did not nurse such a goal.
Jinnah's proposals were put forward in the Congress and Muslim League sessions later that year, and they were unanimously accepted by both the political organisations. Not surprisingly, Jinnah found himself in the Congress delegation to London to put forward the Indian viewpoint on reforms. The delegation was to be under the leadership of Bhupendranath Basu, but as he could not reach London in time, Jinnah became its chief spokesman. At the time of the delegation's arrival in London, the English were concerned with "the terrible affairs" in Ireland and as such Indian affairs were relegated to a second place. Amid the atmosphere of turmoil and confusion, the Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords. It was postponed after its second reading. Jinnah, finding the concessions in the Bill highly inadequate, stated his views in The Times, "India is perhaps the only member of the British Empire without any real representation, and the only civilized country in the world that has no system of representative government."57

**Lucknow Pact**

After his return to India, Jinnah again immersed himself in efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. He felt that the strength of the Government of India lay in the divisions in Indian society,
especially the division between the Hindus and Muslims. He therefore urged the people to break down the barriers of communal distrust and bring about unity which was absolutely essential for progress. His aim was to bring the Congress and the Muslim League in a formal pact by rivetting the attention of the whole India on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Two groups among Muslim politicians had emerged in the decade after Sir Syed Ahmad's death: the 'young party' and the 'old party'. While the 'young party' leaders were in favour of uniting the League with the Congress for the attainment of the common goal of self-government for India, the 'old party' members were against a close tie with the Congress. The British policies towards Turkey and the revocation of the partition of Bengal were conducive to the aims of the young party.

In 1914, the 'young party' group left no stones unturned to demonstrate that what was working was agitation and not the 'old party' politics of unquestioning loyalty to the British. In order to serve the Muslim interests well and bolster their political position, they began to turn to the Congress. Finding themselves baulked by the government, the only course open to them was rapprochement with
the Congress. The Congress, on its part, has already begun to sweep the way clear for such a situation; in its twenty-seventh session in 1912, it recognised the need of adopting communal representation for Muslims.⁶⁰

These overtones of the Congress were reciprocated by the Muslim League. Wazir Hassan, the League Secretary, with the wholehearted support of the 'Young Party' tried to bring the League creed into line with that of the Congress. The Hindu politicians, however, strongly condemned the development which eventually led to the formation of All India Hindu Sabha. The Indian leaders knew from the Delhi despatch of December 25 August 1911 that the government had been contemplating to provide further measures of local selfgovernment.⁶¹

A sea-change in the whole situation came with the outbreak of World War I. All Indians lost no time to express their allegiance, and the government was flooded by declarations of loyalty and support. The Muslim League even went to the extent of cancelling its annual sessions in order not to embarrass the government.⁶² At the same time, India's appreciation of Britain's position in the world of nations and India's position in the British Empire was also changing. They came to
realise that Britain was no longer the power it used to be, and India's involvement in the war, in terms of the supply of men and materials, brought about a sense of self-esteem among the Indians. They felt that the survival of the British empire could partially be attributed to their efforts. This feeling was accompanied by a broadening of political horizons, which in turn, led them to aspire for a further grant of political power.

By the mid-1915, Indian politicians came to believe that political reforms were imminent and they began to act on that assumption. It helped to bring back to the Congress fold the extremists who had left the Congress after the Surat split of 1907. What remained to be done was formal political agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, the groundwork for which had already been laid by the acceptance of separate electorates by the Congress and the declaration of self-government as its goal by the Muslim League.

Jinnah, with a view to bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, wanted to bring the two political organisations in one city for their annual sessions. Congress had already decided to hold its annual sessions in Bombay, thanks to the influence of Annie Besant. Jinnah
took the initiative in arranging the Bombay Provincial League to send a formal invitation to the All India Muslim League to hold its annual session in Bombay. As things were going in this direction, two of the signatories, Casim Mitha and Currimbhoy, withdrew their support saying that they signed the letter of invitation under misapprehension. This was indicative of the division within the Muslim League. Currimbhoy wrote a letter to Wazir Hassan stating that it was inadvisable to hold the session in Bombay. Jinnah's views, however, held sway in the end, thanks to the support he received from men like the Aga Khan. The Muslim League thus formed a committee to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms with other political organisations, and the Congress, on its part, also formed a committee to work with the committee formed by the All India Muslim League to evolve a joint scheme of reforms.

As decided the two committees met separately, before the joint-conference of the Congress and the League was held on November 17-18. The meeting of the Reforms Committee, which met at Lucknow on August 21, 1916, considered and discussed a tentative scheme of reforms. Wazir Hasan placed before the committee a draft scheme, intended to serve as a basis for discussion. The members of the committee, after making necessary alterations, adopted the
scheme. A day before the proposed Joint - Conference, another meeting of the Reform Committee was held; and the draft scheme was discussed at length and changes made in it.\textsuperscript{66} The draft scheme was placed before the Joint - Conference where the discussions were animated but friendly. A spirit of compromise was conspicuously in evidence and it was clear that both the parties would arrive at a settlement.

The major area of disagreement related to the issue of separate electorates, and herein lay Jinnah's role as a mediator in the negotiations. Though a Muslim and a member of the Muslim League, Jinnah came to be looked upon primarily as a Congressman. Being a close colleague of Gokhale, he wielded an influential position within the Congress. Jinnah argued that for the greater good of India the Hindu brethren should try to win the confidence and trust of the Mohammedans and no resistance should be shown to the Muslim demand of separate electorates.\textsuperscript{67} Jinnah contributed further to the realisation of the joint reform scheme by bringing out the 'Memorandum of Nineteen', a scheme of post-war reforms for India signed by nineteen non-official members of the Legislative Council.\textsuperscript{68}
The Muslims had a unique victory when the Congress accepted the system of separate electorates and made it the pivot of the scheme. The Congress not only accepted the system of separate Muslim representation in those provinces where it had been in vogue but also consented to introduce it in the Punjab and the Central Provinces where they were a minority. The Muslims agreed to forego a quarter of seats in Bengal and one tenth of their seats in Punjab. In return they were given 30 per cent seats in the United Provinces where they formed only 14 per cent of the population, 15 percent seats in Madras where they formed 6.15 per cent of the population, and one-third seats at the Centre. The Muslims could not vote in general elections, an advantage they had been enjoying since 1909. It was also provided that no Bill nor a resolution introduced by a non-official shall be proceeded with, if three fourths of the members of a community oppose the bill or the resolution.69

The importance of Jinnah lay in the fact that as a person with a proved record of concern for the Muslim community, he could persuade the Muslims to reduce their demands without being seen as a stooge pigeon of the Congress. As a liberal nationalist and a close colleague of Gokhale, he could similarly persuade the Hindus to give concessions to the Muslims without being seen as a Muslim
Jinnah saw himself in 1916 as an Indian first and a Muslim second, and no doubt, others also thought of him as such. When he was named as the President of the Lucknow Muslim League session, he was thought of as "the only person of the day."  

The Lucknow Pact was by no means perfect as it had its own weaknesses. Hindus from the United Provinces and the Punjab were not at all satisfied with the settlement. They were dead against the system of separate representation and weightage, and opposed the pact under the banner of All India Hindu Mahasabha. What the Muslims gained was at the cost of their majorities in Bengal and Punjab. This gave rise to complaints from the Muslims. The fact was that the Lucknow Pact was an agreement between a young group within the Muslim League and the Congress leadership at that time. Both the Congress and the Muslim League were then dominated by a group of young men steeped in the ideals of democracy and having common experiences and interests. The pact received only limited support from the bulk of the Indian Muslims. The Muslim attendance at the League and Congress sessions to ratify the agreement makes this clear. Of the 433 Muslims who attended the Congress session, over 400 formed "the stooges from Lucknow packed into the sessions at the last moment." Similarly, at the League meeting there were few delegates from Bombay, Madras and Bengal. Important sections in the United
Provinces were conspicuous by their unrepresentation. About the Muslim League session at Lucknow, Metson wrote to the Viceroy that "there were many empty benches, very few of the audience were men over 40; and I could see nobody of any position except the handful on the platform."\(^{72}\)

When the Lucknow Pact was signed in 1916, Jinnah had behind him ten years of active political career, and he then was as staunch a liberal as when he entered politics in 1906. This is evident when he speaks of Britain as "an empire which has staked its all in a supreme endeavour to vindicate the cause of freedom and of right", and pays tribute to "the ideals of the great British nation."\(^{73}\) Jinnah preoccupied himself with nationalistic endeavours during the period from 1913 to 1916, first with Crewe's reforms and then with the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Though many Pakistani historians attempted to place him in the Muslim League camp, his role in the Lucknow Pact reveals that he was primarily a Congressman then. Nevertheless he was elected the President of the Muslim League session at Lucknow for the Muslim League was on the lookout for a candidate who would appeal both to the Congress and the conservative Muslims. The choice naturally fell on Jinnah. Though Lucknow Pact was in fact a superficial political
agreement, it strengthened Jinnah's position in the forefront of Indian politics.

Notes and References

1 Rafiq Zakaria, The Man who Divided India, p.2.

2 There is no unanimity among scholars as to the date of birth of Jinnah. His date of birth as per the school records is October 20, 1875. In the school registers he is named Mohammed Ali, son of Jinnabhai. Riaz Ahmad says that his date of birth was wrongly entered in the school register by his uncle who did not know the exact date when Jinnah was admitted into the Anjuman - i-Islam school, Bombay. However Jinnah in later life would claim December 25, 1876 as his true date of birth, the birthday officially celebrated in Pakistan.

3 Stanley Wolpert, Jinnah of Pakistan, p.

4 Ibid., pp. 10-12. Jinnah's trip to London came about from the close association between his father's business and a leading British managing agency in Karachi, Douglas Graham & Co. It was Sir Frederick Croft, the General Manager of the company, who offered Jinnah apprenticeship in his company in London.

5 Ian Bryant Wells, Ambassador of Hindu- Muslim Unity, p.15.

6 Hector Bolitho, Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan, p.9.


11 Ian Bryant Wells, *op.cit.*, p.17.


15 G. A. Allana, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah : The story of A Nation*, p. 27.


18 Ian Bryant Wells, *op.cit.*, p.17. Mehta, a leading light of the Congress and of the Bombay Presidency Association, was instrumental in making Jinnah a prominent member of the Association and electing him as its representative to the 1906 Congress held in Calcutta.


20 *Report of the Indian National Congress*: 1890, Presidential Address, p.68. Not surprisingly, Jinnah was seen by moderate leaders as a means to breakdown the walls built around the Muslim Community by the influential ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
Tyabji Papers, Jinnah to Tyabji, 5 June, 1900. Tyabji, though a staunch moderate nationalist, attempted to project the aims and aspirations of the Muslim community from within the Congress. He believed that Muslims should join the Congress lest their needs would be overlooked in the efforts to win concessions from the British, a view Jinnah soon came to project.


Rajmohan Gandhi, Understanding the Muslim Mind, p.128.


Rafiq Zakaria, op.cit., pp.9-10.


Mary, Countess of Minto, India, Minto and Morely, p.47.

The Times (Daily), 2 January, 1907.

The Pioneer (Daily), 2 January, 1907.

Gujarati (Daily), 7 October, 1906.

Report of the Twenty- Second Indian National Congress, p.120. This kind of thinking explains his preference for the membership of Congress rather than the League at that time. Not surprisingly, with regard to the division of Bengal, he stood firmly by the

36  Aurobindo Ghose(ed.), *Bal Gangadhar Tilak, His Writings and Speeches.*, p. XV.


38  V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, p.11

39  Stanley Wolpert, *op.cit.*, p.29


41  *Report of the twenty-second Indian National Congress*, p.120.


43  B.M. Chaudhuri, *Muslim Politics in India*, p.20

44  *Report of the Twenty Second Indian National Congress*, p.120.

45  *Bombay Chronicle (Daily)*, 22 December, 1913. Anjuman-i-Islam is a principal organisation of India established in 1874 by a group of Muslim visionaries led by Justice Badruddin Tyabji. It is dedicated to the cause of education and social service. Today it has more than one hundred institutions with over one lakh students. It is now well-poised to be declared a deemed university.

46  *Abstracts of Council Proceedings*, Vol. 47, p.211 . Gopalakrishna Gokhale, two days before his death, is said to have prepared a pencil draft which was published posthumously in 1917. Also called *Gokhale's Political Will and Testament*, it had emphasised
the need for separate electorates as solution for the communal impasse.


49 Announcements by and on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor at the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi on the 12th December 1911, with correspondence relating thereto (1911), cd. 5979.

50 *The Times (Daily)*, 5 March, 1912.

51 *Civil and Military Gazette (Daily)*, 3 January, 1913.

52 Sarojini Naidu (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.11. There was no restriction whatsoever on members of the Congress or the Muslim League joining other political organisations. Muslim League in its council resolution of 4 December resolved that any member of the Muslim League who is associated with any party whose policy is opposed to the Muslim League would not be allowed to become a member of the Muslim League. In the wake of the general elections of 1937, the relation between the Muslim League and Congress became strained which led to communal riots in many parts of the country. In the circumstances, the CWC on 16 December 1938 passed a resolution stating that both the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League were communal organisations and forbade any Congress members from belonging either of these two organisations.

53 *The Times (Daily)*, 18 June, 1914.

54 *Daily Telegraph (Daily)*, 6 July, 1914.
The Memorandum signed by nineteen Muslim and Hindu members of the Imperial Legislative Council, was not accorded much importance by the British authorities. But they were discussed, amended and accepted at a subsequent meeting of the INC and AIML leaders at Calcutta in November 1916. This meeting arrived at an agreement about the composition of the legislatures and the quantum of representation to be allowed to the two communities.

70 *All India Muslim League Records*, Vol. 100, p.39. It was Jinnah's leading role in the signing of the Lucknow Pact between the INC and the AIML which prompted Sarojini Naidu to give Jinnah the title of the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

71 B.R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, p.141.
