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Francis Robinson

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# SEPARATISM AMONG INDIAN MUSLIMS

THE POLITICS OF THE  
UNITED PROVINCES' MUSLIMS, 1860-1923

FRANCIS ROBINSON

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521204323](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521204323)

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First published 1974

This digitally printed version 2008

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 73-93393*

ISBN 978-0-521-20432-3 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-04826-2 paperback

CONTENTS

List of maps and tables	<i>page</i> vii
Preface	ix
Abbreviations	xi
Note on spelling	xiii
Introduction	1
1 The Muslims in the United Provinces	10
2 Threats to the Urdu-speaking elite in the late nineteenth century	33
3 Separatism grows among Muslims, 1860–1900	84
4 A high point of Muslim separatism, 1900–1909	133
5 The struggle for the leadership of the Muslim party in Indian politics, 1909–1914	175
6 The ‘Young Party’ victorious, 1914–1916	236
7 Religious reinforcements for the Muslim party, 1917–1918	257
8 Religion overwhelms politics, 1919–1920	289
9 The Muslim party disintegrates, 1920–1923	326
Conclusions	345
BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDICES	
I The ‘Young Party’	358
II The ‘Old Party’	390
III The Ulama	419
IV Other men of importance	428
Glossary	435
Sources and bibliography	440
Index	451

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-04826-2 - Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923

Francis Robinson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## PLATES

Between pp. 256 and 257

- 1 The Struggle for a Place, *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) May 1881  
(By permission of the British Museum)
- 2 Syed Ahmed Khan flanked by men of Aligarh  
(By permission of the India Office Library)
- 3 The Ali brothers, their mother, and Shaukat Ali's son  
(By permission of Dr Anil Seal)
- 4 Gandhi and Civil Disobedience, *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) March 1922

MAPS AND TABLES

MAPS

1	The United Provinces: geographical features	<i>page 8</i>
2	The United Provinces: districts and divisions, 1911	9
3	The United Provinces: distribution of Muslims by district	12
4	The United Provinces: municipalities, 1911	51

TABLES

I	Holdings per cent of major landowning groups in the UP by district at the beginning of the twentieth century	18
II	Hindus and Muslims serving the government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh in 1882	22
III	Posts held by Hindus and Muslims in the Uncovenanted Civil Service in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, 1886-7	23
IV	Hindus and Muslims attending schools and colleges in the UP, 1860/61-1920/21	39
V	The position of communal and caste groupings in the subordinate judicial and executive services in the UP, 1857-1913	46
VI	Guidelines for drawing up electoral qualifications laid down for individual towns under the Municipalities Act of 1883	57
VII	Number of books published in the UP in the major languages, 1881-1910	77
VIII	Number and circulation of newspapers in the UP by language, 1891-1911	78
IX	The number of seats reserved for Muslim separate electorates at different stages in the evolution of the Morley-Minto reforms	161
X	Hindu and Muslim membership of the legal profession in the UP, 1873-1929	182
XI	'Old Party' and 'Young Party' representation in the UP legislative council from 1909 to 1919	223
XII	Hindus and Muslims attending private schools as a percentage of all Hindus and Muslims attending school in the UP, 1890/91-1920/21	274

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978-0-521-04826-2 - Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923

Francis Robinson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

TO MY PARENTS



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Francis Robinson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE

This book has suffered several incarnations. It first took shape as a fellowship dissertation written in 1969, then as a doctoral thesis submitted in 1970, and gained its present form during the last three years. The whole process has taken some seven years and I have been helped by many.

I would like to thank the Department of Education and Science for a Hayter Research Studentship which enabled me to work in India during 1967 and 1968. Since then I have been indebted to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College who have provided me with generous financial assistance and, by electing me to a research fellowship in 1969, have enabled me to continue my work over the past four years.

I am grateful to the librarians and staff of the National Archives of India, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Archives, the Lucknow Commissioner's Archives, the Aligarh University Library, the Jamia Millia Islamia Library, the India Office Library and Records, the British Museum, the National Library of Scotland, the Wren Library, the Seeley Historical Library, the Cambridge Centre of South Asian Studies and the Cambridge University Library for their kind and courteous help.

I am much obliged to the Government of India, the Government of Uttar Pradesh, Shri B.D. Sanwal (late Commissioner of Lucknow), Maharajkumar Mohammad Amir Hyder Khan of Mahmudabad, Mufti Reza Ansari of Firangi Mahal, Shri Salahuddin Usman (Secretary of the Lucknow Jalsa-i-Tahzib) and Shri B. Mehta (Manager of the *Leader* Press) for permission to consult records, newspapers and private papers in their possession.

In India many people generously devoted their time and energy to my problems. I am particularly grateful for the kindness and assistance of Shri Ram Advani, Professor Mohibbul Hasan, Shri V. C. Joshi, Miss D. G. Keswani, Miss Raj Rallia Ram, Shri Sourin Roy, Shri Satyapal Sakhuja and Colonel R. S. Seth. Many

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Francis Robinson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

### *Preface*

too have helped with Urdu translation; my debt of gratitude to Dr Gail Minault and Miss Salma Ajmeri is especially great.

In its various forms this work has benefited greatly from the help and criticism of colleagues and friends in Trinity, in Cambridge and elsewhere. In particular, I would like to thank Christopher Bayly, Judith Brown, Jack Gallagher, Richard Gordon, Peter Hardy, Gordon Johnson, Ralph Leigh, Peter Musgrave, Eric Stokes, Brenda Stones and David Washbrook. To Pat I owe much for her forbearance, but my greatest debt is to Anil Seal who from the time I began to work on the subject of this book has acted both as goad and guide.

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1974

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Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

ABBREVIATIONS

AICCP	All-India Congress Committee Papers.
As	Annas.
B&O	Bihar and Orissa.
CP	Central Provinces.
CUL	Cambridge University Library.
CWG	The collected works of M. K. Gandhi.
D.	Deposit.
DC	Decentralisation Commission.
DG	District Gazetteer of the United Provinces.
DIG	Deputy Inspector-general.
D-O	Demi-Official.
ECNWP&O	Education Commission, evidence taken in the North-West Provinces and Oudh.
Educ	Education.
FM	Firangi Mahal, Lucknow.
FR	Fortnightly Report.
GAD	General Administration Department.
ICS	Indian Civil Service.
IMS	Indian Medical Service.
IOL	India Office Library.
IOR	India Office Records.
JMI	Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.
LCA	Archives of the Commissioner of Lucknow.
M.A.-O.	Muhammadian Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh.
Mss.	Manuscripts.
NAI	National Archives of India.
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
NMM	Nehru Memorial Museum, New Delhi.
NWP	North-West Provinces.
NWP&O	North-West Provinces and Oudh.
NWP&OMAR	North-West Provinces and Oudh Municipal Administration Report.
Poll.	Political.
P.P.	Parliamentary Paper.
Ps.	Pice.
PSC	Public Service Commission.
RDPI	Report of the Director of Public Instruction.
Rs.	Rupees.
SR	Settlement Report.
UP	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

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Francis Robinson  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

*Abbreviations*

UPCC	United Provinces' Congress Committee.
UPLC	Proceedings of the United Provinces' Legislative Council.
UPMAR	United Provinces' Municipal Administration Report.
UPNNR	Native Newspaper Report of the North-West Provinces or the North-West Provinces and Oudh or the United Provinces.
UPS	Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Archives.
WRDCI	Weekly Report of the Director of Central Intelligence.

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## A NOTE ON SPELLING

A consistency in the spelling of Indian names which would not be false or deceptive is difficult to achieve. For instance, over the last hundred years the accepted spellings of most place names have changed, e.g. Cawnpore has become Cawnpur and then Kanpur, while at any one time proper names have been spelled in several different ways, e.g. Mahomed, Mohamed, Mohammad, Mohammed, Muhammad etc. . . . To impose a comprehensive system on the names used would undoubtedly bring greater phonetic and linguistic precision but it would be at the cost, first of making some names almost unrecognisable to the reader, and second of eliminating differences in the English spellings of proper names which Indians were themselves concerned to perpetuate, e.g. one man would spell his name Ahmad or Husain, another Ahmed or Hussain, and such differences have become an accepted part of Indian life – there are for instance twenty-four different spellings of the name Choudhri in the most recent edition of the Delhi telephone directory. The plan which has been adopted in this book, therefore, has been to spell place names according to the *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* of 1903–11, and proper names as they were most commonly spelled during the period.