



Communal Representation A True Means of Political Representation To Muslims -A Review on Congress Ministry of Madras Presidency (1937-1939)

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Abstract

Nomination and communal representation to the ruling councils is an interesting subject to be reviewed in terms of its benefits. Though it has been studied as a means of a policy to divide and rule by the British administration, we find muslim participation in legislative councils was possible only by adopting the concept of communal representation. The period of national movement also witnessed a parallel political demand for representation in the legislatures. This article is an attempt to trace the political representation of Muslims in Madras Presidency and a review of Congress Ministry of Madras Presidency (1937-1939).

Key Words: Communal, Congress, Muslims, Representation.

Introduction

Between the year 1861 and 1920, the Madras Legislative Council was governed in succession, by three constitutional acts, commonly called the Indian Councils Act, which were passed by the British Parliament. The first Indian Councils Act was passed in the year 1861; the second in 1892; and the third in 1909. The introduction of elective principles and Communal representation by the British had its own merits by means of representation of minorities in the Legislative Assemblies and Councils. Restricted franchise and minority status had affected their political presence in the legislatures, but the principle of communal representation had its impact, when religion was becoming the basis for political identification and this political development later turned out to be the cause for the development of the communal politics.

Early Muslim Representation Governing Bodies

Humayun Jah Bahadur was the first Muslim to be nominated to the Madras Governor's Council on December 11, 1868 and he retained his seat for a total period of twenty three years. The Act of 1892 introduced elective principles with restricted franchise and in Madras out of eight among the eleven non-official seats was made elective and the remaining three were to be filled by nomination by the Governor. Since 1893, when the Indian Councils Act of 1892 came into operation not a single Muhammadan had succeeded in winning a seat in Legislature by election.¹

It was a really a concern for the Muslims not having a representation of their community in Madras Governor's Council. With the activation of national movement, the British wanted to keep the Muslim community away from the political turmoil of the period. It started adopting a policy of appeasement towards the Muslims and the muslims too, considering their backwardness in all spheres were content in the utilization of British Government's special consideration for them. In the event of failure of the election of Muslims members in the council the British nominated Muslims to the Councils and there was a provision to nominate three members to the Governors Council in Madras. In 1893 Gulam Muhammad Hasan Ali, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur took his seat as nominated non-official member on December 21, 1893.² Mohammed Sherieff, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur of Vellore was nominated to the Governor's Council on January 6, 1896. He remained in office till January 6, 1898.³ Though being nominated members they represented the muslim

community and we find their questions raised in the Council of Governor were more concerned about education and communal interest. For instance Mohammed Sherieff, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur raised questions like:⁴ a.) Will the Government be pleased to state when and under what circumstance they issued orders to heads of departments to see that the Muhammadans get a proper share in the public service? b.) Considering that some appointments are reserved for Europeans only, will the Government be pleased to make a similar arrangement until fair proportion of appointments in the higher branches of the public service is occupied by Muhammadans? c.) What is number of Brahman officials in the Salem district drawing a salary of Rs. 50 and upward? d.) Did the Government ever draw the attention of the Heads of Departments to watch against the predominance of the above class in public offices, if so, when and under what circumstances?

From the above questions, we find the Muslims were very much concerned about the predominance of the Brahman community in the official machinery and had raised question on the state of affairs. This shows the political shrewdness of Muslims even before the establishment of Muslim League (1906) and Justice Party (1916) or the Non-Brahman Movement. In 1906, the Muslim Non-Official member in the Madras Legislative Council was Nawab Muhammad Raza Khan, Khan Bahadur. The same Muslims members had served two terms of office. The presence of nominated members in the Governor Council was not at all satisfactory to the Muslims; they know very well that this will in no way help them in enhancement of their condition and at the same time the demands of the Muslims remained the same regarding the subjects of education, public service and politics until independence.

The first election for the Madras Legislative Council, under Montague Chelmsford Act was held in November 1920. The franchise was so severely restricted to 12, 48,156 and of this only 3, 03,558 went to polls. In this election 13 Muhammadans were elected and 1 was

Muslims Members In The Madras Legislative Council 1920-1923

Hon'ble Habibullah was the Revenue Member of the Governors Executive Council

No.	Name of member	Name of constituency
1.	Abbas Ali Khan Bahadur	Madura, Trichinopoly cum Srirangam M. Urban.
2.	Abdul Hye Sahib Bahadur	Ceded Districts M. Rural.
3.	Abdul Razack Sahib, Khan Sahib, Saiyid Diwan.	Central Districts M. Rural.
4.	Abdul Wahab Sahib, Munshi	Northern Circars M. Rural.
5.	Abdulla Ghattala Sahib Bahadur	North Arcot cum Chingleput M. Rural.
6.	Abdulla Qasim Sahib Bahadur, Haji, Khan Bahadur	South Kanara M. Rural.
7.	Khalif-ul-lah Sahib, Khan Bahadur P.	Madura cum Trichinopoly M. Rural.
8.	Marakkayar, V. Hamid Sultan.	Tanjore M. Rural.
9.	Moidu Sahib, T. M.	Malabar cum Anjengo M. Rural.
10.	Moosa Sait Sahib, Muhammad	Madras M. Urban.
11.	Muhammad Sahib Bahadur, T. N.	Ramnad cum Tinnevely M. Rural.
12.	Uppi Sahib K.	Malabar cum Anjengo M. Rural.
13.	Yahya Ali Sahib, Janab Muhammad.	Madras Chamber of Commerce. East Coast M. Rural.

nominated. Sir M. Habibullah⁵ was the Revenue member during the first and second council under the 1919 Act. On 17 December 1920, he was appointed as the member for Revenue in the Governor's Executive Council for the Madras Presidency, a post he held till 27 December 1924.⁶ From July 1919 to January 1920, Habibullah acted as a member of the executive council of the Governor of Madras in the absence of Rajagopalachari who was on leave. In 1925, Habibullah was appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy of India and served from 1925 to 1930.

Maulvi Sayad Murtuza Sahib Bahadur (South Madras Muslim) was the elected non official member in the Central Legislative Assembly representation Muslims of Madras Presidency, during 1920, 1923, 1930. Haji S. A. K. Jeelani was the member in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1923. The communal representation introduced by the Minto-Morley reforms and further extension of it by the Montague-Chelmsford reforms made it possible for the Muslims to have their representation in the Legislative Council. The election under the Montague-Chelmsford reforms held during 1920, 1923, 1926, 1930, and 1934 made it possible for 13 Muslims members representing the Community to sit in each term of the Madras Legislative Council. During this period the question of communal representation was the major issue in the debates of the Madras Legislative Council and in fact it gave opportunity for the Muslims to raise question regarding the representation of their community in the public services.

Muslims Members In The Madras Legislative Council November 26, 1923 to November 7, 1926

1.	Abbas Ali Khan Bahadur.	Madura, Trichinopoly cum Srirangam M. Urban.
2.	Abdul Hye Sahib Bahadur	Ceded Districts M. Rural.
3.	Abdulla Wahab Sahib, Munshi	Northern Circars M. Rural.
4.	Abdulla Ghatala Sahib Bahadur (Council Secretary).	North Arcot cum Chingleput M. Rural
5.	Ghouse Mian Sahib, Muhammad	Central districts M. Rural.
6.	Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur, K.C.I.E., The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad.	NOMINATED for Arundhateyas. EX-OFFICO.
7.	Haji Qasim Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur Haji Abdullah.	South Kanara M. Rural.
8.	Khalif-ul-lah Sahib, Khan Bahadur P.	Madura cum Trichinopoly M. Rural.
9.	Marakkayar, V. Hamid Sultan	Tanjore M. Rural.
10.	Moidu Sahib, T. M.	Malabar cum Anjengo M. Rural.
11.	Moosa Sait Sahib, Muhammad.	Madras M. Urban.
12.	Muhammed Sahib Bahadur, T. N.	Ramnad cum Tinnevelly M. Rural.
13.	Yahya Ali Sahib, Janab Muhammad.	East Coast M. Rural.

**Muslims Members in the Madras Legislative Council
1926-1930**

Hon'ble Habibullah was the Revenue Member of the Governors Executive Council

1.	Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib Bahadur.	Madras City, Muhammadan Urban.
2.	Abdul Hye Sahib Bahadur, K.	Ceded Districts, Muhammadan Rural.
3.	Abdul Razack Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur S.K.	North Arcot cum Chingleput, Muhammadan Rural.
4.	Abdul Wahab Sahib Bahdur, Munshi.	Northern Circars, Muhammadan Rural.
5.	Basheer Ahmad Sayeed Sahib Bahadur.	Central Districts, Muhammadan Rural.
6.	Bazl-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur, C.I.E., O.B.E., Khan Bahadur Muhammad.	NOMINATED.
7.	Khadir Mohidin Sahib Bahadur, Muhammad.	East Coast, Muhammadan Rural.
8.	Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur p.	Madura and Trichinopoly cum Srirangam, Muhammadan Urban
9.	Mahmud Sehamnad Sahib Bahadur.	South Kanara, Muhammadan Rural.
10.	Moidoo Sahib Bahadur, Khan Sahib, T. M.	Malabar, Muhammadan Rural.
11.	Syed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur, Nattam Dubash Kadir Sahib.	Ramnad cum Tinnevelly, Muhammadan Rural.
12.	Tajudin Sahib Bahadur, Syed	Tanjore, Muhammadan Rural.
13.	Usman Sahib Bahadur, Kt., The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad.	EX OFFICIO.

**Muslims Members in the Madras Legislative Council
1930-1934**

Hon'ble Habibullah was the Revenue Member of the Governors Executive Council

1.	Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur.	Madras City, Muhammadan Urban.
2.	Ahmed Meeran Sahib Bahadur, Moulvi Hafeez Anumanthakudi Mustapha.	Ramnad cum Tinnevelly, Muhammadan Rural.
3.	Basheer Ahmed Sayeed Sahib Bahadur.	Central Districts, Muhammadan Rural
4.	Beyabani Sahib Bahadur S. M. K.	Ceded Districts, Muhammadan Rural.
5.	Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur P.	Madura and Trichinopoly cum Srirangam, Muhammadan Urban.
6.	Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib Bahadur	Northern Circars, Muhammadan Rural.
7.	Mahmud Schamnad Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur	South Kanara, Muhammadan Rural.

8.	Moidoo Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur T. M.	Malabar, Muhammadan Rural.
9.	Muhammad Meera Ravuttar Bahadur, K. P. V. S.	Madura cum Trichinopoly Muhammadan Rural.
10.	Syed Tajuddin Sahib Bahadur, Khan Sahib.	Tanjore, Muhammadan.
11.	Usman Sahib Bahadur, K.C.I.E., The Hon. Khan Bahadur Sir Mahomed.	NOMINATED EX OFFICIO.
12.	Yahya Ali Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur.	East Coast, Muhammadan Rural.
13.	Yakub Hasan Sahib Bahadur.	North Arcot cum Chingleput, N-M. Rural.

Congress Ministry and Muslims

The Indian Council Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy. The Act had provided for 28 muhammadan seats in the Legislative Assembly and 7 in Legislative Council in the Madras province. The election to the First Legislative Assembly was held in February 1937. The Congress got majority by winning 159 seats and the Muslim League won 6 seats out of 10 in Tamil Nadu. Jamal Mohamed the President of Madras Presidency Muslim League (MPML) was defeated in his contest against Mr. T.T.Krisnamachari in the Commerce Constituency. The Muslim Progressive Party under Mr. C. Abdul Hakim and S.M. Pasha (Urdu speaking muslim) won only one seat. The two Muslims elected on Congress ticket were A.T.M. Mohideen Marakkayar and K.S. Muhammad Abdul Qadir Ravuttar. There were 28 Muslims representing the different district of Madras Presidency in the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1937. Mr. Khalifullah Sahib Bahadur became of Minister of Public Works in the interim provisional cabinet (April 1 to July 14, 1937). The Madras Legislative Assembly was constituted in July 1937 with C.Rajagopalachari as the first Congress Chief Minister of Madras. Moulana Yakub Hasan Sait became the Public Works Minister in the Cabinet. In the Madras Legislative Council 3 were members of MPML and 3 Independent and 1 Justice party member were muslims. The election result proved that Muslim League was able to establish itself against the Congress in the Muslim constituencies. The Khadder clad Muslims in the Congress were defeated by the MPML all over.

Muslims Members in the Madras Legislative Assembly 1937 to 1939

	Name of the Member	Constituency
1.	Abdul Hameed Khan	Madras City, Muhammadan, Urban.
2.	Abdual Hakim, Nawab C.	North Arcot, Muhammadan, Rural.
3.	Abdur Rahman Ali Rajah, Arakal Sultan.	Chirakkal, Muhammadan, Rural.
4.	Abdur Rahiman Khan, K.	Kurnool, Muhammadan Rural.
5.	Abdul Rawoof, D.	Bellary, Muhammadan, Rural.
6.	Ahmad Thambi Muhammad Mohideen Maracair.	Tanjore, Muhammadan, Rural.
7.	Attakoya Thangal, P. M.	Calicut, Muhammadan, Rural.
8.	Basheer Ahmed Sayeed	Chingleput cum South Arcot, Muhammadan, Rural.
9.	Ghouse Mohideen, S.	Cuddapah, Muhammadan, Rural.
10.	Hussain, H. S.	Mangalore, Muhammadan, Rural.

11.	Kaderkutti, A. K	Kottayam, Muhammadan, Rural.
12.	Khadija Yakub Hasan, Mrs.	Madras City, Women, Muhammadan, Urban.
13.	Khalif-ul-lah, Khan Bahadur P	Trichinopoly, Muhammadan, Rural.
14.	Mahboob Ali Beg	West Godavari cum Kistna Muhammadan, Rural.
15.	Mir Akram Ali.	Vizagapatam cum East Godavari, Muhammadan, Rural.
16.	Moideen Kutty, P.	Palghat, Muhammadan, Rural.
17.	Muhammad Abdul Kadir Ravuttar, K. S.	Madura, Muhammadan, Rural.
18.	Muhammad Abdur Rahman.	Malappuram, Muhammadan, Rural.
19.	Muhammad Schamnad, Khan Bahadur.	Puttur, Muhammadan, Rural.
20.	Muhammad Rahmatullah, K.	Anantapur, Muhammadan, Rural.
21.	Saiyed Ibrahim	Ramnad, Muhammadan, Rural.
22.	Salam, M. A.	Nellore, Muhammadan, Rural.
23.	Shaik Rowther, S. K.	Palghat, Muhammadan, Rural.
24.	Shaiku Muhammad Laljan	Guntur, Muhammadan, Rural.
25.	Sheik Dawood, Khan Sahib K. A.	Salem cum Coimbatore cum The Nilgiris, Muhammadan, Rural
26.	Sheik Mansoor Tharaganar. V. S. T.	Tinnevelly, Muhammadan, Rural.
27.	Unnikammoo, Khan Sahib V.K.	Malappuram. Muhammadan, Rural.
28.	Yakub Hassan. The Hon. Mr. (Minister)	Chittoor, Muhammadan Rural.

When the Congress proceeded to work the constitutional machinery by forming the Ministry it gave ample scope for the Muslims to express and demand their legitimate share in politics, public services, education. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan was the leader of the MPML in the Madras Legislative Assembly. While speaking in the Assembly he said, "We the members of the Muslim League party, I wish to make it clear, are agreed almost in regard to the aims and ideals of the Congress party and it is our endeavour to co-operate with them in everything that pertains to the good of the nation and to the people of this province. But if we are sitting separately, it is in order to find out from the Hon. The Premier whether he will not take up the question of the solution of the communal problems in this Province."⁷ The communal problem of representation is found to be major block between the Congress and the Muslims League. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan demanded the settlement of issues on the basis of population.

The Muslim members continued to insist on the continuation of communal representation. This subject had always attracted debates in the legislature. The Congress Ministry in the Madras Presidency allowed the continuation of the communal rotation system that was already in existence since the time of Justice Party Ministry. Mr. K. Raman Menon speaking on the administration of Justice said, "It is true that the Congress party as such, on account of its antecedents, principles and policies, is against any communal representation. But having accepted office and seeing that in this Presidency there is the feeling of communalism, there are communities which feel that they ought to be given a proportionate share in the public services, he has allowed the communal Government Order to stand... In spite of the fact that Congress fought communalism and got into this Assembly with a great majority, all the same, to satisfy the minority communities, we have allowed this communal Government Order to stand..."⁸ The Muslim members also continued to raise question regarding the paucity of Muslims in public services. Khan Bahadur P. Khalif-ul-lah had pointed out the utter paucity of representation of the muslim community in the judicial

service.⁹ Mr. D. Abdul Rawoof drawing the attention of the Government to the paucity of Muslims in Agriculture Department said, “I find that out of total of 52 provincial officers, there is not one single Muslim. Then, in the whole of the Ministerial side of this department, there is only one Muslim. I think Sir this thing must be attended to and justice done.”¹⁰ When communal representation was opposed on the ground of affecting the efficiency in the Judicial Department Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan said, “If there is any department in wherefrom the Muslim community has been kept out generally and where representation is inadequate it is the Judicial department... Whenever the question of appointment of minorities like Muslim or depressed class community comes up then the question of efficiency comes up. Sir, that bogey of efficiency has been blown off long ago. Efficiency is not the monopoly of any community.”¹¹ Khan Bahadur Mahmud Schamnad Sahib had remarked about the Registration department that does not seem to have given due consideration to the proper representation of Muslims in the department.^{12 13} But the Muslims were suspicious of the Congress as it continued to oppose the communal representation and this suspicion lead to tussle between the two parties.

The muslims members acted sensitively to the aspect that were linked to religion. Islam prohibits liquor, as such the muslim leaders were enthusiastic to support prohibition and they favoured complete prohibition in Madras Presidency. We find a overall support from the MPML party members in the Council to the Prohibition Bill 1937. Regarding prohibition Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan wanted to extent the prohibition from Salem district to other district so that whole of the province will come under the prohibition law. Mehaboob Ali Baig thanked the Congress government and the Premier as well as the Minister for the good that they do by this Prohibition Bill for the country. Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan said, “so far as the Muslims are concerned there can be no two opinions in regard to this question.”¹⁴ Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur said, “...I wish him all success because it will be adoption of the definite prohibition policy of Islam in this country.”¹⁵ Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahman while speaking in assembly had said “The evil of drink is supposed to be the root cause of all social evils and as such it has to be eradicated. Another member Mr. K. Abdur Rahman Khan said “the evil of drink has been condemned from all sides and it is not possible to find even a single argument in favour of it.”

When the Bill to Remove the Disabilities of the So-Called Depressed Classes in Regard to Entry into Hindu Temple was introduced the MPML members supported the bill. Speaking on the bill Mr. Mahboob Ali Baig said “Time is ripe now. You must take the opportunity by the forelock and introduce it at once...Now I may be excused for having made this speech as if I were a Harijan myself. I wish I were a Harijan myself, for, Mussalmans –I am speaking from the bottom of my heart-cannot brook to see any human being being treated as a Harijan is treated now. It may be presumptuous on my part, but yet I have got the right to speak because I am an Indian, and also a Mussalman, whose religion does not permit another human being to be treated as a Harijan is being treated now. So I strongly support this measure and on behalf of the Muslims in this House and the party to which I belong I accord my sincere support.”¹⁶ Issues like music before mosques, conversions, religious education in schools were also raised in the Assembly but these issues seem to have not resulted into any major collision among the members in the Assembly. The members insisted on settlement of the difference between the Hindus and Muslims. Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed while speaking on this subject said, “I believe we can solve all questions in this province by a straight negotiation with the representatives of the communities concerned. I would therefore suggest that province by province, may be worked up, to settle the differences between the Hindus

and Muslims on political, religious and social questions, especially in the matter of religious education and in the matter of music before mosque. The most important points of difference are only few and they are amenable to easy solution...There is no use in attaching blame to any communities or to the members of any particular communities... I would therefore suggest that this responsible Ministry should do its best to reconcile the minorities in this province and to drag them along with the majority community in the battle for freedom of the country.”¹⁷ Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed said, ‘If that question of music before mosque and the problem of the observance of one’s own religious rites and practices are tackled by this government, by the representatives of the Congress in this House and by those who are in power today, I do not think, Sir, there is anything that can be conceived legitimately to keep Muslims away from the general majority community or any other community for the matter of that.”¹⁸ Another communal issue which is apt to mention here is the hanging of portraits of national leaders. Dr. M. Abdus Salam insisted the same treatment has to be meted out to the leaders of Hindus and Muslims while hanging the portraits in educational institutions.¹⁹ The Muslims also demanded representation in the local bodies. Mr. H. S. Hussain while speaking at the time of the introduction of a Bill further to Amend the Madras District Municipalities Act 1920 and the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920 said, “...if the Government is really interested in safeguarding the interest of Muslims, I am sure that it is the duty to think and find out better ways and means of providing for adequate representation of Muslims in the local bodies...the best in the place of the present system, is the system of separate electorate for giving proper and effective representation to the Muslims in the local bodies.”

The issue of introduction of Hindi the muslims members differed in the views. The Tamil speaking muslims in the Legislative Assembly were opposed to it. Whereas the Urdu speaking muslims welcomed it and only concern of them was that of the script. To them it should be Urdu script and not Nagari and the name of the language should be Hindustani and not Hindi.²⁰ It has been then accepted that the language is one, the scripts are two. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed supported the learning of Hindi and he was of the opinion that those are not learning the language either in Nagari or Urdu will be losers and supported compulsory introduction of the language. He said, “ Sir, I warn the Muslim community and other communities also, that within the next five or ten years, if not this Government, some other Government which may be then in power, will make this language a pre-requisite for entry into service-...Then, who will be the losers?...Those friends of mine who have already learnt the language would naturally stand to gain, while my Muslim friends who support this unrighteous agitation and their dependants would be completely left behind...”²¹ Khan Bahadur Khalifullah Sahib a Tamil Muslim opposing Mr. Basheer’s view said, “He is a great warner and I am sure this warning is not all required by the community to which I have the honor to belong.” This clearly shows that there existed differences between the Urdu speaking Muslims and Tamil speaking muslims regarding the language policy adopted by the Government. Mr. Khalifullah also condemned the policy of the Government towards the Hindi agitators. Very often Mohammad Usman voted with the Congress regarding the language issue. Sir Mahommad Usman, a Tamil Muslim and former supporter of the Justice Party, said that he was glad that the Hindustani problem had been solved and added: “The difficulty of script had been overcome by allowing the use of Devanagari or Urdu. Muslim boys could learn Hindustani in Urdu script and in fact, what they learned was pure Urdu. Every Muslim should take pride in the Urdu language as the language of Islamic culture in India.” But when the Hindi agitation became well-organised it was assisted by the Justices

and to some extent also by the Tamil speaking leaders of the Muslim League. The rank and file of the anti-Hindi propagandists based their appeal on definitely communal lines and strove to promote virulent anti-Brahman feeling.²² Khalifullah Sahib, a Tamil Muslim had said that Urdu was finely developed and beautiful language whereas Hindi was not so developed, that the Congress was trying to give life to a dying language and that Urdu should be the lingua franca for India to give a real significance to Hindu-Muslim Unity. Later P. Khalifullah Sahib, addressing the North Arcot District Muslim League Conference, objected to the version of Hindi taught in schools which according to him contained more than sixty per cent of Sanskrit words and feared that Congress Ministry would replace even the remaining forty percent.²³ On the question of Urdu or Hindi, Mr. P. Kalifullah was for Urdu as he considered it as the language of Muslims, but he was against compulsory Hindi, which he thought as a danger to the Tamil and so he and his supporters joined the Anti-Hindi agitation. The Muslims had participated extensively in the agitation. But here we find MPML refrained from the anti-Hindi agitation and this can be taken that for the Leaguers religion is above all language and cultural traits. MPML neither opposed its members Mr. P. Kalifullah nor supported him in the agitation. Here we find Tamil Muslim leaders like Jamal Mohamed, Mohammad Usman were not keen to support the Hindi-agitation but however the linguistic consciousness had made Tamil muslims to oppose compulsory Hindi. It might be the religious consciousness that made some Tamil Muslim leaders to keep themselves aloof from the language politics for the core principles of Islam did not support any particular language or culture and also that they might have thought that language politics was not conducive to the unity of muslims.

Some of the taxes of the Congress Ministry too, especially the one on tobacco irritated the Muslims. Since most of the Beedi workers and proprietors of Beedi industry were Muslims. In Coimbatore protest rally was conducted against the Tobacco Tax. The students of Manfaul Ulum Madrassah participated in the rally.²⁴ By 1939 Congress was losing its support base of Muslims.²⁵ The Muslim papers stoutly continued to challenge the claim at the Congress represented all section of India.²⁶ Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim a member of the working Committee of the Muslim League, visited Madras and Malabar and spoke criticising the Congress and exhorting Muslims to join the Muslim League.²⁷ The Second World War broke out in September 1939 and India was declared belligerent without the consent of people and without consulting the Legislative bodies and protesting against this the Congress Ministry of Madras resigned on October 27, 1939.

Conclusion

When the muslim members continuously clamored for communal representation, there were called as communalist, but this stand was not accepted by the muslims. Mr. H.S. Hussain, MLA said, "if communalism means the safeguarding of one's interests and rights, then every community has got that right to safeguard its own interest and set its own house in order." It was the communal representation that made it possible for the muslims to voice their demands in the legislative assemblies. Again, nowhere did the muslims opposed reservation to the depressed classes in their political course. But we also find the existence of different political shades among the muslims. We find that there existed different political opinions among muslims which might not have been conducive to political gains and their representation would have become meaningless when they differ each other resulting in political bickering. However, the Congress Ministry formed in 1937 was used by the Muslims in furthering their demands. We also find that muslims supported the policies of the government which have some religious undertone. Sir Mohammad Usman declared "We

Muslims will remember you Rajagopalachari's) regime as Prime Minister for having given effect to the two great principles of Islam. You have shown your abhorrence to interest and have brought into effect the Debt Relief Act, which is in accordance with Islamic principles. And though it has not been possible for you to do away with interest, still you have realised its horrors and mitigated them. You have also introduced prohibition, another great Islamic ideal."²⁸ To conclude, we confirm that communal reservation had been a true means of political representation for muslims but not without stimulating communalism.

End Note

- ¹ Saroja Sundararajan, *Madras Presidency in Pre-Gandhian Era A Historical Perspective 1884-1915*, Pondicherry, 1997, p. 490.
- ² Abstracts of the Proceeding of Governor's Council, Fort St. George, Madras, 1893, p.i.
- ³ Ibid., 1898, p.i.
- ⁴ Question and Answer at the meeting of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George, Vol.1., (1893-1898), Madras, 1896.
- ⁵ Sir. M. Habibullah was involved in local boards politics right from the early stages. In 1895, he was elected Non-Official Honorary Chairman of the Vellore Municipality. Habibullah resigned his practice at the bar on being elected Official Secretary of the municipality in September 1901. He served as Secretary till September 1905 when he was elected Chairman. Habibullah served for 14 years (1905-19) as Chairman of the Vellore municipality.
- ⁶ Madras Legislative Council Proceedings, HXI, August, 1924, p.1.
- ⁷ Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol.VII, (Nos. 1 to 5),
- ⁸ Ibid., September 21, 1937, p. 471.
- ⁹ Ibid., Vol.VII, (Nos. 1 to 5), p. 466.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., September 23, 1937, p.671.
- ¹¹ Ibid., September 21, 1937, p.464.
- ¹² Ibid., September 16, 1937, p.220.
- ¹³ Ibid., Vol. VII (Nos. 1to 5), September 18, 1937, p. 335.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., Vol.VII, (Nos. 1 to 5), September 27, 1937, p.923.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p.863.
- ¹⁶ Madras Legislative Assembly Debates (MLAD), August 17, 1938, p.200
- ¹⁷ Ibid., September 18, 1937, p. 328.
- ¹⁸ MLAD, September 18, 1937, p.327.
- ¹⁹ MLAP, Vol. XI, March 23, 1939, p.567
- ²⁰ Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, September, 1937.
- ²¹ Ibid., August 17, 1938.
- ²² Sarada Soundararajan, *op.cit.*, p.538.
- ²³ *Madras Mail*, March 4, 1938.
- ²⁴ A.M. Haneef, *Muslim League Nurrandu Varalaru*, Chennai, 2008, p.275,
- ²⁵ Fortnightly Report for the first half of January, 1939, Madras.
- ²⁶ Ibid., second half of August, 1939.
- ²⁷ Ibid., second half of November, 1939.
- ²⁸ As quoted in J.B.P. More, *The Political Evolution of Muslims in Tamilnadu and Madras 1930-1947*, p. 144.