

CHAPTER I

THE PUNJAB SINCE 1849: AN INTRODUCTION

SOCIO-GEOGRAPHICAL STRUCTURE OF THE PUNJAB SINCE 1849

The Punjab had been the cradle of civilisations since the ancient times. The world famous Indus Valley Civilisation and the Early Vedic culture flourished here. The Buddhism reached its zenith in this region. It was annexed to the Gaznavide Empire in 1022 AD. It was the strongest defence line against the Mongol hordes during the reign of Balban and later Delhi sultans. It lost the political and strategic importance that it enjoyed during the sultanate period though Mughal emperors had been visiting and staying in the Punjab from time to time and they also built some of their greatest master pieces of architecture here like Lahore fort, *Shahi Mosque*, *Shalimar gardens* etc. Even in later period, the Punjab was destined to be the home of Sikhism. The Sikhs had been a spiritual group but the 6th guru Har Gobind Singh started organising the Sikhs as a military force. Later the ninth guru Tegh Bahadur revolted against the Mughal rule, suffered defeats and was killed.

Before the occupation of the Punjab by the British, there had been a period of *Sikhashahi* covering about half a century since 1799. During these years the Sikhs were the only privileged class and for all others there prevailed

nothing but tyranny and oppression. Mutilation and heavy fines were the common punishments for the poor and the rich respectively. Therefore, when the British occupied the Punjab they were considered by the Muslims as emancipators. In the Second Sikh War the British had a decisive victory, as a result of which Lord Dalhousie proclaimed the annexation of the Punjab on March 29, 1849¹. In the beginning administration was entrusted to a board of three commissioners two of whom were Sir Henry Lawrence and his brother John Lawrence (1811-1879). Within a period of three years law and order was restored in the province by disarming the people and construction of fortresses along the frontier. Means of communication and transport were developed. New codes of criminal and civil procedure were drawn up. After having developed serious difference of opinion with his brother regarding administrative policy towards the Sikh aristocracy, Sir Henry Lawrence was removed, the Board was abolished and John Lawrence was appointed as the first chief Commissioner of the whole Punjab in 1853.² When the Punjab was given the status of an Indian province in 1859, John Lawrence became its first Lieutenant Governor. In 1901, the entire north-western region beyond Indus was separated from the Punjab to constitute NWFP. Delhi was made a part of the Punjab after the War of 1857 but in 1911 it was separated again when it became the capital.³ In 1931, total area of the Punjab was 99,265 Sq. Miles.⁴

¹ Bari, *Company ki Hakoomat* (Lahore, 1969), p. 362.

² P. E. Robert, *History of India under the Company and the Crown* (London, 1947), pp. 345-46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

⁴ *Census of India 1931*, (Lahore, 1933), Vol. XVII, Pt. I, p.11. Hereafter "*Census of India 1931*".

The province was divided into four natural divisions with reference to physical and climatic features: Indo-Gangetic Plain West, the Himalayan Area, the Sub-Himalayan Area and the North West Dry Area.⁵ To run the administration effectively, the province was divided into five administrative divisions each headed by a commissioner. Divisions were further divided into twenty-nine districts under Deputy Commissioners.⁶ The basic unit in the hierarchy was a village. About one thousand villages were grouped under each district. *Tehsil* headed by a *tehsildar* was another administrative unit between a village and a district containing approximately 150 villages. At lower levels there were *lambardars* (the village headman) and *zaildars* (head of a *zail* containing 10 to 30 villages). In all cases, *zaildars* happened to be local landowners loyal to the government.

Because of development work and other factors, there was a marked change in the percentage of urbanization and literacy in the decade 1921-31 as compared with earlier decades, having its political, religious and economic implications (See the graphs on the next two pages). According to 1931 census the Muslims of the Punjab formed 56.54%; the Hindus 26.83%; the Sikhs 12.99%; the Christians 1.74% of the total population and other tiny communities formed 1.9% of it.⁸

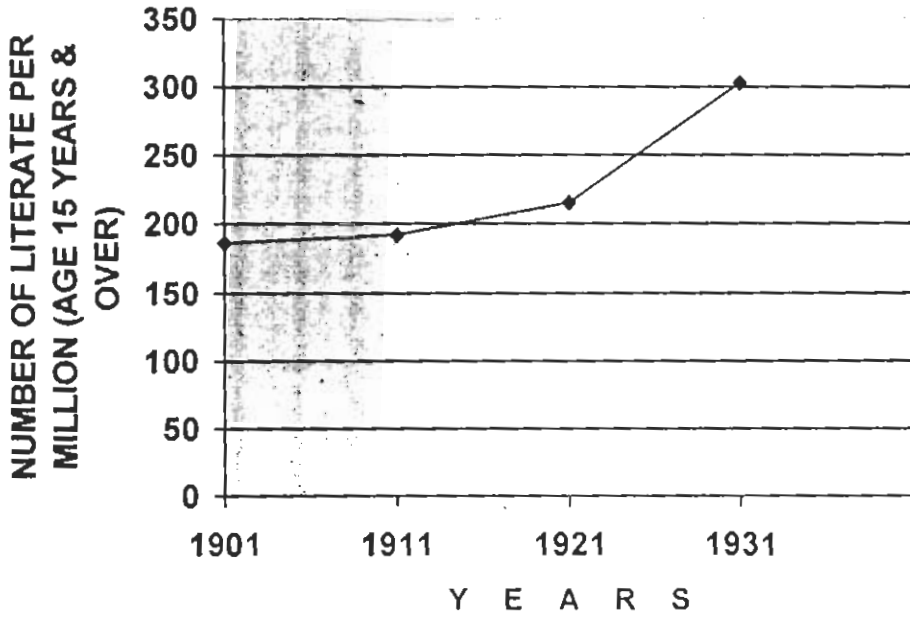
⁵ *Census of India 1931*, pp. 3-4. The physical features indicated through these names may extend into other provinces or states crossing the administrative boundaries of the Punjab.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷ Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj* (New Delhi, 1988), p. 35.

⁸ *Census of India 1931*, p. 291.

GRAPH SHOWING A MARKED INCREASE IN LITERACY IN THE PUNJAB IN 1921-31 AS COMPARED WITH EARLIER DECADES



THE GRAPH SHOWING A MARKED INCREASE IN
URBANISATION IN THE PUNJAB IN 1921-31 AS
COMPARED WITH EARLIER DECADES

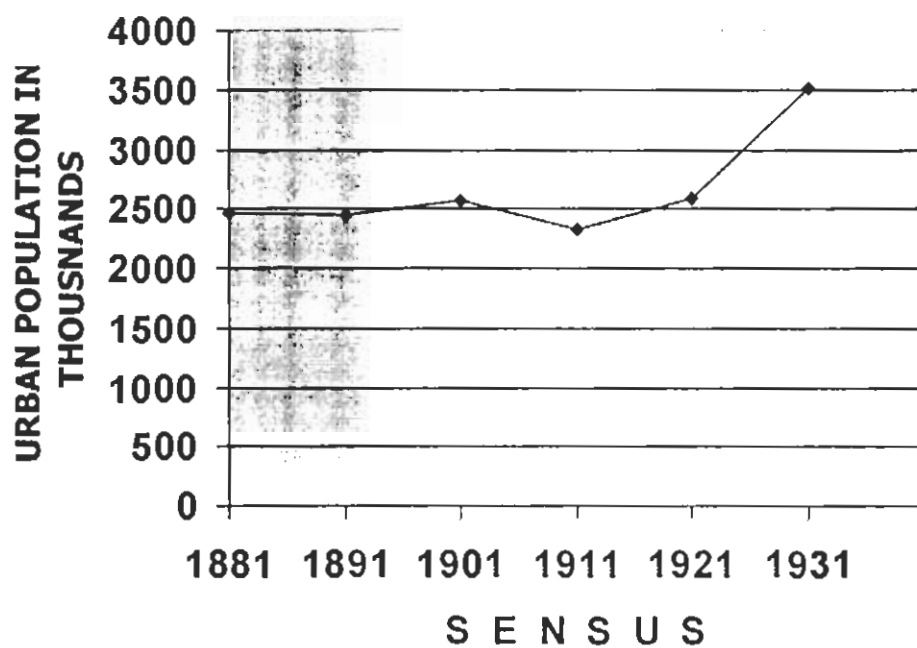


TABLE NO.1TOTAL POPULATION OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITIESIN THE PUNJAB IN 1931 IN THOUSANDS.

Muslims	13, 332
Hindus	6, 329
Sikhs	3, 064
Christians	415
Others	441

Source: *Census of India 1931*, p. 291.

Among the Muslims 95.62% were the *sunnis*, 2.27% were the *shias*, 1.22% were *Ahl-I-Hadith*, and 0.38% were the *Ahmadis*.⁹

Drastic changes with far-reaching economic, social and political effects took place after the annexation of the Punjab. The government undertook the projects of extending old roads constructing new ones and building a network of railway tracks. Lord Dalhousie had himself drawn the first map of important track lines and most of the track lines were built according to that plan.¹⁰ As the Punjab was basically an agricultural province, the British not only renovated an:

⁹ *Census of India 1931*, p.313 (This percentage also includes Muslim population of Punjab states). In the census the *Ahmadis* were listed as a sect of the Muslims. For details see *infra*, pp. 21-25.

extended old canals but also constructed the World's largest splendid system of new canals.

Bari Doab Canal was remodelled and restored. It was finally opened in 1873. In 1886 Sidhnai canal was built. Lower Chanab canal was opened in 1893. Gujranwala, Shaikhupura, Layalpur (Faisalabad) and Jhang districts were irrigated by these canals. Bari Doab canal and Chanab canal alone irrigated areas of 856041 acres and 1748129 acres respectively in 1901-1902.¹¹ Many other large and small canal projects were completed. As a result large areas of barren land in Jhang, Lyallpur and Shahpur districts were brought under cultivation. By 1937, 47% of the total cultivated area of the Punjab was irrigated by these canals.¹²

With that, the process of building agricultural colonies commenced which continued even up to 1940s. Newly irrigated land was laid into regularly shaped plots called squares and in later colonies, rectangles. At suitable places, villages, market sights etc. were planned on both sides of the roads

¹⁰ D.R. Gadgil, *Hinustan ka san'ati irtaqa* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 131.

¹¹ B. S. Saini, *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab 1901-1939* (Delhi, 1975), p.208.

¹² Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p.39.

and railway tracks.¹³ Sidhnai colony in Multan and Sohag Para colony in Montgomery were completed between 1886-1888. Chanab colony covering the districts of Gujranwala, Jhang, Lyallpur, Lahore, and Sheikhpura was completed in two phases between 1892-1905 and 1926-1930. Other important colonies were Jhelum, Lower Bari Doab, Upper Jhelum and Nili Bar. The work on the later was started in 1925 and it was not completed by 1940s.¹⁴ Colonisation released the pressure of population over densely populated Eastern districts because most of the *abadcars* settled in the canal colonies were drawn from eastern region of the province.¹⁵ Generally the Government preferred for settlement the peasants and yeomen (*sufaidpush*) for grant of land who could themselves work on their small land holdings but there were capitalist grants to reward the *rais* and *nawabs* who had been usefully loyal to the British. There was at least one example of making a grant of 7,800 acres to a single person Baba Sir Khan Singh Bedi as he exercised considerable influence over the Sikh community because of his claim to be the descendent of Baba Guru Nanak (1469-1538), the founder of Sikh religion. There were also

¹³ Imran Ali, *The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (New Delhi, 1989), p.159.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Gazetteer of the Chenab colony* (Lahore, 1905), p.29.

horse-breeding grants in some colonies.¹⁶ To encourage the martial races, retired army officers were offered squares of land on very attractive terms.¹⁷

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF THE PUNJAB

For the British the Punjab assumed a special importance out of all proportion to its population and size because of its immense agricultural resources and its significant contribution to the army. The perennial canal schemes were classified as profitable projects. Abiana (water charges), land revenue and different types of cesses were the sources of income from the canals. Lower Chanab Canal provided a net profit of Rs. 11,574,000 in 1915-16 which further increased to Rs.17,805,000 in 1925-26. Lower Jhelum Canal earned a net profit of Rs. 2,763,000 in 1915-16, which increased by 42% within ten years.¹⁸ Most of other canal schemes also earned significant profits.¹⁹ Apart from the

¹⁶ Imran Ali, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-17, 21,28. According to recommendations of the Horse and Mule-breeding Commission, the Government imposed a condition on some colonists to breed horses and mules for the army. *Ibid.*, p.24.

¹⁷ Sri Ram Sharma, *Punjab in Ferment*, (New Delhi, 1971). p. 13.

¹⁸ Imran, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

¹⁹ Upper Jhelum canal was an exception which suffered a loss. *ibid.*, p. 167.

revenues, agricultural production from the areas watered by the canals had its own importance. Up till the 1920s Punjab was capable of producing 33% of wheat and 10% of total cotton produce of the British India. Overall increase of its per capita crops production was about 45% between 1891 and 1921.²⁰ Thus the Punjab rightly assumed the title of "the granary of the sub-continent".²¹

Punjab also excelled all other provinces in its contribution to British army which made it even more important in the eyes of the British. When the First World War started, half of the British army was constituted by the Punjab soldiers i.e., 2,50,000.²² According to one estimate, among them 1,90,078 were the Punjabi Muslims.²³

²⁰ Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²² *Ibid.* p. 41.

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TABLE NO 2

SHARE OF THE PUNJAB IN ARMY RECRUITMENT
DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

YEAR	TOTAL RECRUITMENT IN BRITISH INDIA	RECRUITMENT FROM THE PUNJAB
1914	28,000	14,000
1915	93,000	46,000
1916	1,04,000	50,000
1917	1,86,000	85,000
1918	3,17,000	1,34,000
TOTAL	7,28,000	3,29,000

Source: Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings on
The History of the Punjab*, pp. 323-325

The Punjabis fought in France, Gallipole, Egypt, Somaliland, Africa, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia and were decorated with three Victoria Cross and 22 Military Cross in addition to the jagirs and special pensions. During the war army lost 2.6% of the total men enrolled and the Punjabis

²³ M.S. Leigh, *The Punjab and the War* (Lahore, 1922), p. 44 cited in Ahmad Saleem, comp., *Punjab Revisited* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 451.

equally shared the burden of casualties by sacrificing the same percentage of their own enrolment.²⁴

Land Alienation Act

Keeping in view the strategic importance of the people of this region, Land Alienation Act was passed to prevent the transfer of land from cultivators to the money-lenders against the debt taken by the former. In pre-British period the proprietary rights of land in villages belonged to the community and not to the individuals.²⁵ The land being a community property, the money-lender could not hold it against debt and the cultivator could return the debt whenever he had surplus. But after annexation the land settlement resulted in individual proprietary rights and the influence of community was considerably reduced. Secondly, the prosperity following the restoration of peace and order, and opening of canals development projects undertaken by the British administration, the land-owning class became used to an extravagant way of life. Large sums were borrowed on marriages and other occasions.²⁶ During lean years, the landowner had to borrow to pay the land revenue and to

Punjab Revisited (Lahore, n.d.),

²⁴ Ahmad Saleem, *op. cit.* p. 453.

²⁵ S.S. Thorburn, *The Mussalmans and the Moneylenders in the Punjab*, p.49 cited in S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore, 1990), p.202.

²⁶ Malcolm Lyall Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (London, 1928), p.18.

maintain their improved standard of life since they had no savings because of their extravagance.²⁷ Rise of prices of agricultural production had naturally resulted in the rise of price of land and the landowners started borrowing more freely and had more temptation to sell or mortgage a part of his land to get money or to pay the debt incurring heavy interest.²⁸

Under these conditions transfer of cultivable land from agriculturists to the money-lenders was increasing over the years at an alarming rate.²⁹ This was specially causing concern in the British administration because the army was largely recruited from the Punjab's land-owning classes and the Government could not afford discontentment among them. In response to this situation the Government passed Land Alienation Act in 1900 to arrest the process of land alienation.³⁰

One important feature of the situation was the fact that almost all the money-lenders were Hindus and Sikhs and more

²⁷ For the rise in standard of life see Darling, *op.cit.*, pp.136-141. Alluding to the extravagance in eating habits of the Punjabis Darling refers to a Multan proverb see p. 138. "کھاوے سیر کھاوے شیر کھاوے پا کھاوے سو اوں"

²⁸ Darling, *op.cit.*, p. 172-73.

²⁹ For a table showing this fact see Sharma, *Punjab in Ferment*, p. 30.

³⁰ Sri Ram Sharma, *op.cit.*, p.34.

than half of the total debt was incurred by the Muslims.³¹ Naturally, the Muslims appreciated the Act whereas the Hindus protested against it. Later in 1901 when the list of agricultural tribes was published there was no evidence of any special favour done to any religious community including Muslims. But rural-urban division was encouraged by the Act.³²

MUSLIMS' BACKWARDNESS IN EDUCATION AND UNDER-
REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES

Educationally the Punjab was backward as compared with other provinces. Literacy ratio of the Muslims was lower than the other communities of the province. In 1871-72 only 34.9% of Muslim children of school-going age were at schools and in a period of ten years i.e., by 1881-82 it increased only by 3.3% to make it 38.2%.³³ According to 1891 census, literate Muslim males were 2.25% against 9.44% Hindus and 7.84% Sikhs.³⁴ While analysing the status of the Muslim education during 1897-1902, the Fourth Quinquennial Review expressed

³¹ Darling, *op.cit.*, p.19.

³² Zarina Salamat, "The Punjab in 1921-31: A Case Study of the Muslims" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of the Punjab, 1991), p. 30.

³³ C. Lloyd Thorpe, "Education and the Development of Muslim Nationalism in Pre-Partition India," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol.XIII, No. 3 (July-September, 1965), pp. 251-52.

³⁴ Shah Din, "The Education of Mussalmans in the Punjab." in Bashir Ahmad, ed., *Justice Shah Din: His Life and Writings* (Lahore, 1962), p.214.

its dissatisfaction over the progress of Muslim education.³⁵ The percentage of Muslim pupils compared with total pupils in the year 1891-92 was 23%, which further decreased to 21.6% in 1901-1902.³⁶ Government College, Lahore was established in 1864 which prepared students for F.A. and B.A. examinations of the Calcutta University because there was no university in the Punjab.³⁷ Punjab University, established in 1882, produced its first Muslim post graduate, Pirzada Muhammad Hussain, in 1883.³⁸ In 1886 Aitchison College Lahore was founded with the admission restricted to the sons of a few rural elite of the province. It aimed at creating an educated class among the landlords with strong sense of loyalty to the British.³⁹ The Muslims were badly under-represented in government services. In 1876, when a survey of Muslim employment was conducted by the Punjab Director of Public Instruction, the Muslims asserted that the Government should stick to its known policy of distributing the government posts equally between the Hindus and the Muslims. However, the Government denied the existence of any such policy.⁴⁰

³⁵ Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.254.

³⁷ Saini, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-49.

³⁸ Manzoor al-Haq Siddiquee, *Pirzada Muhammad Hussain: Ahwal-o-Athar* (Karachi, 1994), p. 21.

³⁹ Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p.57.

⁴⁰ N.J. Barrier, "The Punjab Government and Communal politics, 1870-1908," in Ikram Ali Malik, ed., *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab 1799-1947* (Lahore, 1985), p.252.

At the appointment of Hunter Education Commission in 1881, once again the Muslims were denied any special privileges on the basis of their backwardness and the government blamed that the Muslims themselves are responsible for their under-representation in employment. Communal representation in the government services was again discussed by the Aitchison Public Service Commission in 1886. Both Hindus and Muslims presented their cases very enthusiastically. Lieutenant Governor, James B. Lyall (1887-1892) realised the necessity to shift the policy in favour of the Muslims to maintain peace and ensure loyalty of the "warlike" Muslims. The new policy, however, was not made public and the officers were instructed to use "tact and caution" to balance the two communities.⁴¹ In 1899, when S.S. Thorburn became Financial Commissioner he devised a program to raise the number of the Muslims in executive and judicial posts aiming at striking a balance between the two communities.⁴² But the later statistics show that it was not proved effective.⁴³

⁴¹ Ikram Ali Malik, ed., *A Book of Readings*, pp. 254-256.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 256.

⁴³ See Ahmad Saeed, *Tehrik-e-Pakistan Muashi aur Muasharti tanazir main* (Lahore, 1987), p. 16.

In the pre-British Punjab the Muslims had monopoly in the field of education as Persian continued to be the court language under the Sikhs.⁴⁴ The Muslims retained this domination in the first decade of the British rule. According to the first report on education published in 1856-57 by the education department of the Punjab, the Muslims still monopolised the teaching profession. Sir Arnold an officer of education department, asserted that the Muslim domination in teaching profession should be curtailed. In 1860-61 there were as many as 334 Muslim teachers against 111 Hindus and six others. Again the District Education officers were instructed by the Director of Education to encourage the Hindus to join as teachers to strike a right balance.⁴⁵ Earnestly, following this policy, the Government, on the one hand, reduced the number of Muslim teachers in general education and on the other, the English schools established at district headquarters were handed over solely to the non-Muslims. Hence a list of 23 Headmasters of District schools had only three Muslims.⁴⁶ In 1871 at the college level there were only 13 Muslims against 84 non-Muslims.⁴⁷ Within twenty-five years the Muslim element was eradicated from education

⁴⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India : Punjab 1908*, p.133. cited by Zarina, *op cit.*, p.9.

⁴⁵ Syed Tufail Ahmad, *Mussalmanon ka roshan mustaqbil* (Delli, 1945), pp.173-74.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* P.174.

⁴⁷ Zarina, *op.cit.*, p.11.

department and up to 1890 almost all the inspectors and teachers were Hindus.⁴⁸ According to the figures collected by the *Paisa Akhbar*, at one time in the telegraph department there were 455 persons working on various posts. Among them two were Muslims.⁴⁹ Eight years later, among 116 persons working in different grades in the office of Post-Master General Punjab, only 28 were Muslims.⁵⁰ The position was not very different in Judiciary, Railway, law, local self-government and other departments.

BEGINNING OF RELIGIOUS ANTAGONISM

In the second half of the 19th century there emerged a number of Hindu revivalist movements in the sub-continent. In Bengal, Ram Mohan ROY (1774-1833) founded Brahmø Samaj in 1828, which was further developed and re-organised by Debenbdranath Tagore (1817-1842) and Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-1884).⁵¹ Brahmø samaj was founded in Lahore in 1863 by

⁴⁸ Syed Tufail Ahmad, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁹ *Paisa Akhbar*, April 15, 1910, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1918, p.5 cited by Ahmad Saeed, *Tehrik-e-Pakistan Muashhi aur Muasharti tanazir main.*, p. 42.

⁵¹ For details of internal schisms within the samaj see Abdullah Yousuf Ali, *Angrazi ahad main Hundustan kay tamadun ki tarikh* (Karachi, 1967), pp. 191-196, 263-265. For the ideas and teachings of founders of Brehmø

some Bengalis but later in the 1880 Lajput Rai (1856-1928), Pandit Guru Dutt, Munshi Ram, and Lala Sain Das of Lahore Brahmū Samaj joined a more militant organisation, Arya Samaj which was founded in Bombay in 1875 by Sawami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) and two years later its headquarters were shifted to Lahore.⁵² Dayananda believed in one God, infallibility of the Vedas and transmigration of soul.⁵³ He was a strong advocate of Hindi language and protection of the cow. He initiated a violent criticism against other faiths particularly Islam, Christianity and Sikhism using derogatory and abusive language. *Maha murakh* (great fool) was his favourite phrase for his opponents.⁵⁴ In his book, *Satyarath Prakash* published in 1875, he violently attacked Islam, *Quran*, and the Holy Prophet⁵⁵ The tone set by Dayananda was followed more zealously by his followers like Lekhram.⁵⁶ Apart from publication of literature, Arya Samajis often emulated

samaj see Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition* (New York, 1958), vol. II, pp.21-37, 52-75.

⁵² Nina Puri, *op.cit.*, p. 184. Original name of Dayananda was Mul Shanker, Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 92; "The Arya Samaj in the Punjab" Supplement to *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, No. 5, February 2, 1929, p. 49. For ten basic principles of Arya Samaj see P. N. Chopra, ed., *India's Struggle for Freedom: Role of Associated Movements* (Delhi, 1985), Vol. II, pp. 275-76.

⁵⁴ Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 139 fn. cited in Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵⁵ His remarks are too insulting and abusive to be reproduced at any length by the present writer. For some of rather 'mild' remarks see *Police Abstracts of Intelligence*, Punjab, February 2, 1929 but to have a real idea of how he hurled the most vitriolic abuses at Allah Almighty, the Holy Prophet of Islam and the *Holy Quran* see his actual words from *Satyarath Prakash* quoted by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. *Kitab al-Bariyya* (Qadyan, 1898), pp. 120-123.

the Christian missionaries' technique of street-corner preaching and addressing the people at railway stations and other public places. The topics of their lectures were often aggressive.⁵⁷

Christian missionaries did not lag behind the Arya Samaji militants. Rather they were the pioneers to set the tradition of using objectionable language about Islam and the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). The Government was openly supporting the missionary activity, had granted 2000 acres of irrigated land in Chunian to Church Missionary Society. Within a decade a network of mission centres was spread in the Punjab. According to an estimate the Christian missionaries published in the sub-continent at least 60 million copies of various books to refute religions other than Christianity during the second half of the 19th century. Half of them must have been deployed against Islam.⁵⁸ One of these was *Ummahat al-Momineen* published in 1897 by a Christian Ahmad Shah about the wives of the Holy Prophet. The most infuriating thing about this publication was that its

⁵⁶ Lekhram's assassination in 1897 resulted in increased Hindu-Muslim tension and violence. See *infra*, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁷ Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Moulvi Muhammad Saeed in his reminiscences refers to a typical example of one Pundit Budh Dev who addressed the villagers on "Whether the *Vedas* or the *Quran* is a Revealed Book?" The author sees no harm if the Pundit had addressed on a topic like "The *Vedas* are Revealed Scriptures". Muhammad Saeed, *Aahang-e-Bazgusht* (Islamabad, 1989), p. 51.

one thousand copies were sent without demand, and free of charge, to prominent ulema and important Muslim personalities.⁵⁹ The missionaries also used the churches, Bible societies, mission schools and hospitals to propagate against Islam.⁶⁰

MUSLIM RESPONSE TO HINDU AND CHRISTIAN MILITANCY

In the wake of growing Hindu and Christian militancy, backwardness in education and exclusion from government services, the Muslims found themselves insecure and responded with the establishment of various organisations to defend their interests and to improve themselves as a community. Anjuman-e-Islamia Lahore was the first important Muslim organisation established in 1869. Though its main aim was limited to the repair of the Badshahi mosque, yet it came forward to safeguard the Muslims interest in general and grew into the most important organisation of the Muslims.⁶¹ It was

⁵⁸ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Faryad-e-Dard* (Qadyan, 1922), p. 39. For some of the examples of their extremely vitriolic criticism see: Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Kitab al-Bariyya* (Qadyan, 1898), pp. 104-131.

⁵⁹ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Rohani Khazain* (London, 1984), Vol. XIII, p. 20. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, during last days of his life, intended to write a rejoinder, left incomplete, published posthumously in *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and later reproduced by Ismail Panipati in *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed* (Lahore, 1962), Vol. I, pp. 222-259.

⁶⁰ Muhammad Ayub Qadri, "Urdu main mazhabi adab," *Urdunama*, No. 51-52 (December, 1975), p. 60.

⁶¹ Ikram Ali Malik, "Muslim Anjumans in the Punjab (Late Nineteenth Century)," *Journal of Regional History*, Vol. V, (1984), p. 92. Hereafter "Muslim Anjumans".

followed by Anjuman Islamia Amritsar in 1873. The next decade witnessed a large number of *anjumans* on the same pattern and in some cases the same name in almost every important town.⁶² Anjuman Hamayat-e-Islam, Lahore was established in 1884 to look after the interests of the Muslims. Its objectives were to answer the objections against Islam raised by the non-Muslims, to arrange for suitable education to the Muslim boys and girls specially the orphans and the needy so as to make them true Muslims and to improve social conditions of the Muslim community while promoting the feeling of harmony and friendship among different Muslim sects.⁶³ The Anjuman did a great work for Muslim education by opening a large number of schools both for boys and girls. Later, Islamia College Lahore was established. Various books were compiled for children which soon became popular and were adopted as text books in Muslims schools all over the sub-continent. The Anjuman maintained orphanages, provided facilities for medical education (Tibbiya classes) and embroidery classes for girls. It also published literature and appointed preachers (*muballigheen*) to refute anti-Islam propaganda of missionaries and the Arya Samaj.⁶⁴ It protested and submitted

⁶² Ikram Ali Malik, "Muslim Anjumans," p. 98-99. Ikram Ali Malik lists more than 40 such *anjumans* with brief description of their objectives etc. See Appendix to *ibid.*, pp.108-113.

⁶³ Syed Razi Wasti, *The Political Triangle in India 1858-1924* (Lahore, 1976), p. 27.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-36.

memorials to the government authorities against publication of *Muhammad ki tawarikh ka ijmal* by Father William and *Ummahat al-Momineen* by another Christian missionary.⁶⁵ In fact, Anjuman Hamayat-e-Islam did the same for the Muslims of the Punjab which was done by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) in Northern India.

Another well-organised and effective response to the threats posed by the missionaries and the Arya Samaj came from the Ahmadiyya movement. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) of Qadian was the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement. (It had been a matter of controversy whether it was a sect within the pale of Islam or a separate religion but with the decision of the government and the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1974, declaring Ahmadiyya as non-Muslims, the controversy came to an end.) He was born in 1835 to Mirza Ghulam Murtaza rais of Qadian in Gurdaspur district. He got his primary education in Persian and Arabic at home and was employed in a court of Sialkot district in 1864.⁶⁶ Since then he developed a special taste for religious studies and had discussions with Mr. Butler and other missionaries. After the death of his father, he devoted himself solely to the study of religion and wrote

⁶⁵ Syed Razi Wasti, *The Political Triangle in India 1858-1924*, p. 18. For more detail about *Ummahat al-Momineen* see *supra* p. 20.

⁶⁶ *Report Tehqiqati Adalat barai tehqiqat fasadat-e-Punjab 1953*, p. 8.

his most important book *Burahin-e-Ahmadiyya* in four volumes. The first and second parts were published in 1880, the third part appeared in 1882 and the fourth in 1884. Basically the book was aimed at establishing the superiority of the *Quran* over the *Vedas* etc and refuting the views of the *Arya Samaj*. It was appreciated for its originality and power of arguments.⁶⁷ Maulavi Muhammad Hussain Batalvi, a famous Muslim scholar of *Ahl-e-Hadith* sect, considered the author of *Burahin* to be "the best defender of Islam since the demise of the Holy Prophet".⁶⁸ In 1886 Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had a debate on miracle of *shaq al-qamar* (the Spilt of the moon) of the Holy Prophet and authenticity of the *Vedas* with Lala Murlidhar of *Arya Samaj* at Hushiarpur and published the debate, in the work *surma chashm-e-Arya* from Amritsar. A rejoinder to it from the *Arya samaj* was again answered by the author in *Shehna-e-Haq*. With the passage of time the conflict between the *Arya samaj* and the Muslims became more and more intense. Lekhram, a zealous follower of Dyananda, published anti-Islam literature. On 20th February 1893 Mirza Ghulam Ahmad predicted that within six years Lekhram would meet a terrible misfortune (*azab*) as a punishment of his insulting remarks

⁶⁷ L.S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* (Lahore, 1970), p. 137.

⁶⁸ *Isha'at-us-Sunnah*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (January-August, 1884), p. 169 cited by Mirza Tahir Ahmad, *Revelation, Rationality and Truth* (Surrey, 1998), p. 664.

and abuses to the Holy Prophet.⁶⁹ Lekhram was assassinated on March 6, 1897. Ghulam Ahmad claimed that his prophecy of 1893 had come true whereas the Arya samajis accused him of conspiring against Lekhram. A search warrant was issued by the government and Ghulam Ahmad's house was searched by the police but no proof of any conspiracy was found.⁷⁰

Reacting to the challenges posed by Christian and Arya Samaj missionaries was one aspect of the Ahmadiyya movement for which the founder became quite popular as defender of the faith even among the orthodox Muslims but this popularity was replaced by extreme denunciation when he claimed to receive revelation from Allah and in 1890 he announced that he was the 'promised *masih*'. He further said that Jesus Christ had died and would never come back to this world contrary to the popular belief of the Christians and the orthodox Muslims and that it was he (Mirza Ghulam Ahmad) who was the Jesus incarnate.⁷¹ Moulvi Muhammad Hussain Batalvi was the first to denounce this claim. A number of books appeared refuting Ghulam Ahmad's claim. In 1891 Muhammad Hussain Batalvi toured throughout India including Punjab, a *fatwa* (religious decree)

⁶⁹ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Aina-e-Kamalat-e-Islam* reproduced in *Rohani Khazin* (London, 1984), Vol. 5, p. 650.

⁷⁰ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Istafta* (Qadyan, 1897), pp. 1-2; *The Ahmadiyya Sect: Notes on the Origin, Development and History of the Movement* (Lahore, 1938), pp. 1-2.

was issued against Ghulam Ahmad by the ulema of almost every sect⁷² and his popularity "plummeted to earth from the celestial heights".⁷³ Though Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be a prophet (*nabi* and *rasool*) yet his meaning of these words were not clear even to his followers.⁷⁴ Anyhow, his claim to be a prophet, the promised *Massih* and *Mahdi* was not generally accepted by the Muslims. His views of cancellation of *Jihad* were also very difficult to swallow for orthodox Muslims.⁷⁵ In spite of stern opposition from the orthodox Muslims his movement continued to grow. He had started accepting an oath of allegiance (*bai'at*) from his followers since December, 1888. The ten conditions of the *bai'at*⁷⁶ announced in January next year contained nothing against the established teachings and beliefs of Islam. In the census report of 1901 Ahmadis were listed as a separate Muslim sect at the request of its founder.⁷⁷ After the death of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1908, Hakeem Nur-ud-din (d. 1914), his right-hand-man, succeeded him as *Khalifa-tul-Masih*. At his death in 1914, Mirza Bashir-ud-din (1889-1965), son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was

⁷¹ Abdul Qadir, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

⁷² Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Rohani Khazain*, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 6.

⁷³ Mirza Tahir Ahmad, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁴ Freeland Abbott, *Islam and Pakistan*, (New York, 1968), pp. 156-157.

⁷⁵ For his views about *Jihad* see Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Barahin-e-Ahmediyya* (Amritsar, 1882), Vol. III, pp. ; *Rohani Khazain* (Rabwa, 1960), Vol. II, pp. 50, 330-31.

⁷⁶ Shaikh Abdul Qadir, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

elected as *Khalifa-tul-Masish al-Thani*. Moulvi Muhammad Ali developed differences with Bashir-ud-Din over the question of Khilafat. With some of his fellows he withdrew from Qadian and founded a new faction at Lahore under the name of Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din group declared that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was a prophet but his role was limited to interpret the laws laid down in the Holy Quran and that anybody who did not accept Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet of God was a non-believer whereas the Lahore faction considered him a reformer rather than a prophet and, unlike the Ahmadis led by Bashir-ud-Din, put no restrictions on following non-Ahmadi Imams in congregational prayers and establishing matrimonial relations with non-Ahmadis.⁷⁶ Campaign against the Ahmadiyya movement initiated by Muhammad Hussain Batalvi was joined by a majority of other *ulema* including *Deoband* and *Bareilly* schools of thought. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1956) and particularly the *Ahrar* devoted their energies to oppose both the factions of the Ahmadis.⁷⁹

Bitter criticism against Islam and the Holy Prophet, publication of poisonous literature, religious debates started by the Christian missionaries and further promoted by the Arya Samajis, establishment of anti-cow-killing

⁷⁸ L.S. May, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

⁷⁹ See *infra.*, Chapter II, pp. 75 ff., 103-108

societies (which were very active against cow-slaughter) caused great bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims and during the years 1883-1891 at least 15 serious Hindu-Muslim riots took place at Multan (1881), Ambala, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Delhi (1886), Rohtak (1889), Isakhel (1893) and other places.⁸⁰ The occurrence of a Hindu festival, Ramlila coincided with the mourning days of *Muharram* for the years 1885-1887 and in the most cases a riot ensued when a Muslim *Muharram* procession collided with a Hindu parade. Moreover, development of the means of communication and publication of newspapers spread the news of such incidents far and wide more rapidly than in the past.⁸¹ Sometimes, negligence, failure to take timely action or precautionary measures on the part of the administration also contributed to the extent and frequency of communal riots.⁸² It does not mean, however, that the administration deliberately encouraged communal problems as maintenance of peace and order was in their own colonial interest.

⁸⁰ Ikram Ali Malik, "Role of Administration in the Punjab (1849-1900)," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. V, No. 1 (January-June, 1984), p. 35. Hereafter "Role of Admin. in the Punjab".

⁸¹ N.J. Barrier, "The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908," in Ikram Ali Malik, ed. *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab 1799-1947*, (Lahore, 1985), pp. 247-48. Talbot says, through a quotation from the *Army News*, that 'a couple of Hindu and eight or ten Mohammedan newspapers were fanning the flame of bigotry with their mischievous writings for monetary gains. *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 66. In fact the newspapers reflected the emotions and feelings of their respective communities. If because of such writings the papers were sold in larger number, as the *Army News* alleged, it shows that the atmosphere was already charged with such feelings as to make those writing sell.

There were also economic reasons that created antagonism among the different communities. Lawrence brothers adopted a strictly impartial policy to all communities. In 1881 when the Hunter Commission was appointed, both the communities submitted their memorials. Demands and counter demands were made and much communal tension was created specially because of Hindi-Urdu controversy. Again at the time of Aitchison Public Service Commission Hindu-Muslim tension increased, because each community demanded more rights and privileges against the others.⁸³ The old policy of strict impartiality was changed by Lt. Governor James Lyall (1887-1892) who recommended that Muslims should have been given preference until the ratio of the Muslims in government services came closer to the ratio of their population.⁸⁴ The Hindus who had been dominating every government department would naturally not be ready to lose their monopoly. Consequently it contributed to the rise of Hindu-Muslim antagonism to further heights.

⁸² Ikram Ali Malik, "Role of Admin. in the Punjab," pp. 35-40.

⁸³ see *supra.*, p. 16.

⁸⁴ Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, pp. 67-68.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND LEGISLATIVE REFORMSIN THE PUNJAB UP TO 1919

Constitutionally, the Punjab was less fortunate than any other province of India to have early constitutional reforms. The Indian Council Acts of 1861 and 1891 had been enforced in Madras Bombay and Bengal but the Punjab was denied this privilege till 1891 when a council was created with nine members, all of them being nominated (four British government officials and five Indian members). Only the Governor was empowered to convene and preside the meeting.⁸⁵ Every legislative bill passed by the council could only be enforced as law after the approval of the Lt. Governor and the Governor General-in-Council. Some of the bills even required prior approval of the Governor General before its introduction to the council.⁸⁶ Since its inception till 1909, the Punjab Council met only twenty-two times and during these meetings most of its business was carried out by the British members.⁸⁷ According to Minto-Morley reforms of 1909, the Punjab Council was to be re-constituted with thirty members.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.63.

⁸⁶ Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan ki syasi tarikh*, Vol. V: *Muslim Punjab ka syasi irtaqa(1848-1947)* (Lahore, 1991), p. 29.

⁸⁷ Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 63.

This was discrimination against the Punjab, as Assam having a population of one-third of Punjab's, was to consist of the same number of members. The percentage of the elected members in the Punjab Council was also set at 19% against 53% in Bengal, 48% in Bombay, Madras and Eastern Bengal and 42% in U.P. The principle of separate electorate was accepted in the Minto-Morley reforms but it was not conceded to the Punjab Muslims. Moreover, unlike other provinces, Punjab Muslims were represented in the Imperial Council through nomination. Contrary to the other provinces, the representative of landlords of the Punjab was also to be nominated.⁸⁸ In the absence of separate electorate, apprehensions of the Punjab Muslims proved true as in the elections of 1912 for eight elected seats only one Muslim candidate could succeed. Though the government nominated four Muslims to compensate but even then the Muslims got only five seats out of fifteen non-official seats, their population being 55%. Five went to the Hindus three to the Sikhs and two to the Europeans.⁸⁹

In July 1916 fresh elections of the Punjab council were held. Mian Sir Fazl-I-Husain (1877-1936) succeeded without

⁸⁸ Azim Husain, *Fazl-I-Husain A Political Biography* (Bombay, 1946), pp. 75-76.

⁸⁹ *Paisa Akhbar*, January 7, 1913 cited in Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings*, p. 295. Earlier in the elections of 1909, the Muslim candidates fortunately won all the three Municipality seats of the Punjab Council because

contest from the University seat. For this contest, Fazl-I-Husain, being a Muslim could get support of only three Hindu leaders out of thirty. All the rest refused to favour him despite their confession of his being "the best man."⁹⁰ This shows the intensity of Hindu-Muslim antagonism in case of a Muslim leader who "was among the designers of Hindu-Muslim unity"⁹¹ and who only a few months later effectively contributed to the effort of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) to bring about Lucknow Pact between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League.⁹² At the provincial level, he himself was the President of Punjab Congress since 1913.⁹³ He continued his political activities in the Punjab Council till the introduction of Mont-Ford reforms of 1919.⁹⁴

The Punjab was highly communal religiously and backward educationally (So far as the Muslims were concerned) but it was also far lagged behind other provinces in legislative progress and political activity. Indian National Congress established its branch in Lahore in the very year of its

more than one Hindu candidate had contested against each Muslim candidate. *Paisa Akhbar*, December 21, 1909 cited in Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings*, pp. 284-85.

⁹⁰ Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p., 81.

⁹¹ Muhammad Khurshid, "Fazl-i-Husain A Protagonist of the Punjab Politics: 1921-1925," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (January-June, 1994), p. 97. Hereafter "Fazl-i-Husain".

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ This time his good fortune was with him, otherwise he had lost the elections in 1912.

⁹⁴ Azim Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

inception. The Muslims at large were not attracted to the Congress. In the first Congress session, out of seventy-two delegates only two were the Muslims.⁹⁵ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan forbade the Muslims from taking part in agitational politics of Indian National Congress.⁹⁶ By the partition of Bengal and the ensuing Hindu agitation against it, the non-communal character of the Congress had vanished. The Muslims of the Punjab too did not show interest in its activities. Its annual sessions of 1902, 1903 and 1904 were not attended even by a single Muslim from the Punjab.⁹⁷ During the Hindu agitation against the partition of Bengal, the Hindus also started a campaign to boycott the British made goods.⁹⁸ Meanwhile John Morley (1838-1923), Secretary of State for India (1905-1910), announced that the government intended to expand the existing Legislative councils.⁹⁹ The Muslims apprehended that their position in the expanded councils might become worse than that in 1892. On October 1, 1906 a delegation of thirty-five leading Muslims waited on the

⁹⁵ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. I, p. six.

⁹⁶ For Sir Syed 's point of view see his lectures on December 28, 1887 at Lucknow and March 16, 1888 at Meerut, included in Ismail Panipati, ed., *Khutbat-i-Sir Syed* (Lahore, 1973), Vol. II, pp. 3-52; Muhammad Imam Din Gujrati, *Majmu'a Lectures-w-Speeches 1863-1898* (Lahore, 1900), lecture No. 48, 49; His letter to Badr-ud-Din Tayyibji (the then President of Indian National Congress) included in Ismail Panipati, ed., *Maktoobat-i-Sir Syed* (Lahore, 1976), vol. I, p. 143.

⁹⁷ John R. Melon, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress* (New Jersey, 1972), p. 254.

⁹⁸ S.C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in the Punjab (1905-29)* (Delhi, 1977), pp. 30-31.

⁹⁹ Mohammad Noman, *Muslim India*, (Allahabad, 1942), p. 70.

Viceroy Earl of Minto (1905-1910). Eight of the delegates belonged to the Punjab.¹⁰⁰ The deputation demanded separate electorates for the Muslims and weightage in all elected bodies on the basis of their historical past and their contribution to the defence of the Empire.¹⁰¹ Having got a sympathetic reply from the Viceroy that the Muslims' rights would be safeguarded, the All India Muslim League was founded on December 30, 1906 in the last session of the Muhammeden Educational Conference. The name "Muslim League" given to this first Muslim Political organisation was proposed by Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932).¹⁰² In the Punjab Fazl-I-Husain had already established an organisation having the same name at Lahore in February 1906.¹⁰³ In November 1907, Mian Shah Din (1868-1918) established a separate organisation "Punjab Muslim League", Mian Shah Din himself being the President and Shafi its General Secretary.¹⁰⁴ As a result, at the Aligarh session of All India Muslim League (presided by Mian Shah Din, March 1908), Shafi and Fazl-I-Husain

¹⁰⁰ Malik Omer Hayat Khan, Mian Muhammad Shah Din, Syed Muhammad Hussain, Col. Abdul Majid Khan, Khwaja Yusuf Shah, Mian Muhammad Shafi, Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq and Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan. Latif Ahmad Sherwani, ed., *Pakistan in the Making: Documents and Readings* (Karachi, 1987), pp. 177-178.

¹⁰¹ For complete text of the address see B.R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India* (Lahore, 1976), pp. 428-438.

¹⁰² Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Autobiography*, (Lahore, 1971), p. 19.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.19; Azim Husain, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

representing their respective 'provincial Muslim Leagues' proposed two separate lists for membership from the Punjab. Before the next sitting, however, the differences between the two groups were resolved and a mutually agreed list of twenty-two members was submitted. Mian Shah Din was elected as President, Shafi as General Secretary, and Fazl-I-Husain as Joint Secretary of Punjab Provincial Muslim League.¹⁰⁵ The entente, however, could not last for more than two months.¹⁰⁶ Before long Shafi became President and continued till 1916.¹⁰⁷

The aims and objectives of the Punjab Muslim League were set according to those of All India Muslim League which could be amended with at least two-third majority of the total members.¹⁰⁸ Punjab Provincial Muslim League strived for solution of the problems faced by the Muslims for instance the issue of separate electorate, due share in educational institutions and other government services, and protection of Urdu language against Hindu movements in favour of Hindi. According to Land Alienation Act of 1900, transfer or

¹⁰⁴ Bashir Ahmad, *Justice Shah Din: His Life and Writings*, (Lahore, 1962), p. 48. For complete list of those who attended the inaugural meeting see *Paisa Akhbar*, December 6, 1907 cited in Muhammad Anwar Amin, *Punjab Tehrik-e-Pakistan main* (Lahore, 1969), Part I, pp.49-50.

¹⁰⁵ Sharif-ud-din Pirzada, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰⁶ Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ Azim Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁰⁸ Ikram Ali Malik, "Punjab Soobai Muslim League," *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol. VII, No. 3, (July, 1970), p. 61. Hereafter "Punjab Muslim League".

mortgage of agricultural land to non-agriculturists was prohibited. Hindu Mahasbha and Indian National Congress were trying to get this act cancelled. The Punjab Provincial Muslim League, at its annual sessions, specially in 1909 and 1912, passed resolutions in favour of Muslim point of view regarding all these issues. It presented addresses to Lord Minto in 1909 at Lahore and Lord Baron Hardinge (1910-1916) in 1911, pleading the Muslims case and countering the demands of Hindu Mahasabha. It also published numerous articles in British newspapers, collected statistics about the Muslims' share in government services besides collecting some 350 thousand rupees for Muslim university fund.¹⁰⁹ Like its parent organisation at centre, Punjab Muslim League believed in peaceful constitutional struggle to solve the political problems and condemned all sorts of seditious activities. The party became popular among the Muslims and within the short period of a couple of years as many as eighteen branches were organised at important places through out the province.¹¹⁰ The differences between Fazl-I-Husain (progressive group) and Shafi (conservative group), once subdued in 1908, reappeared under the changed political situation after 1911. At this stage provincial politics of the Punjab was mostly shaped under the influence of Muslim politics at centre.

¹⁰⁹ Ikram Ali Malik, "Punjab Muslim League," pp. 64-76.

After the annulment of partition of Bengal (so called "settled fact") the Muslims felt that they had been betrayed by the British and that the policy of loyalty could not have brought boons to them. Next year (1912) the Muslims were given another shock by the government when it finally refused to permit establishment of Muslim university. The failure of Muslim university movement was followed by the Cawnpur mosque incident (1913) which caused deep stirrings among the Muslims. The British anti-Turkish policies during the Italian attack on Tripoli and the Balkan wars also contributed to the isolation of the Indian Muslims from the British, leading to the revision of attitudes and policies.

In the Lucknow session of All India Muslim League (March 1913) "attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India" was adopted as the goal and ideal of the Muslim League.¹¹¹ It was a marked change in its policy of unconditional loyalty to the British government. This change of the creed enabled All India Muslim League to come closer to the Congress. In this situation, the progressive group of the Punjab leadership consisted of Chaudhari Sir Shahab-ud-din (1865-1949), Pir Taj-ud-Din (1887-1954), Khalifa Shujah-

¹¹⁰ Syed Razi Wasti, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

ud-Din (1867-1955) and Malik Barkat Ali (1886-1946) led by Fazl-I-Husain wanted to bring about a change in policies of the Punjab Muslim League on the same lines.¹¹² In January 1916, the "progressive" group established a parallel provincial Muslim League and approached the All India Muslim League for its recognition. Shafi had already developed severe differences with All India Muslim League regarding its policy of co-operating with the Congress and isolation from the government, whereas the leaders of new Punjab Muslim League were in favour of new policy adopted at centre. As a result, the new Punjab Provincial Muslim League was recognised and the old Provincial Muslim League was disaffiliated. Mian Muhammad Shafi was also removed from the Vice-Presidency of the Central organisation.¹¹³ On December 31, 1916 Lucknow Pact was signed by All India Muslim League and the Congress on further constitutional reforms in India. According to the Pact the Congress conceded separate electorates for the Muslims. Weightage was also to be given to the minorities in the Legislatures. Punjab Muslims were allocated 50% seats in the provincial legislature. Though Shafi had been a staunch supporter of separate electorates, he opposed the Lucknow Pact. Dubbing the Pact as "the killing

¹¹¹ Sharif-ud-din Pirzada, *op. cit.*, pp. 279.

¹¹² Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings* (Lahore, 1969), p. 4.

¹¹³ Azim Hussain, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101; Ikram Ali Malik, "Punjab Muslim League", p. 91.

of the Muslim nation as a separate entity with our own hands,"¹¹⁴ he resigned from the membership of All India Muslim League in August 1917.¹¹⁵ On the other hand Fazl-I-Husain played an important part in bringing about the Pact.¹¹⁶ Having been elected as General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League in early 1917, he held its meetings to support the Lucknow Pact and the Home Rule Movement.¹¹⁷

PUNJAB POLITICS AND MONT-FORD REFORMS 1919-1930

At the end of World War I there was a lot of discontent and restlessness among the people whose expectations for reward of their contribution to the War were extremely high. The Punjab shared this discontent as much as it had contributed to the War effort. Sir Michael O'Dwyer (1864-1940), the Governor of the Punjab (1913-1919), who adopted repressive measures during the War for forcible recruitments, opposed the introduction of further reforms particularly in the Punjab.¹¹⁸ The issue of Khilafat and passing of Rowlatt Bill also further aggravated the situation. Despite their moderate views and loyalty to the government all the three

¹¹⁴ Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹¹⁵ Azim Hussain, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹¹⁶ See *supra*. p. 30, f.n. 94 .

¹¹⁷ Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings*, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, *Iqbal key Akhri Do Saal* (Lahore, 1978), pp. 61-67, 80-90.

representatives of the Punjab in the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan (1873-1933) and Sunder Singh Majithea (1872-1941), opposed the Rowlatt Bill.¹¹⁹ Constantly increasing prices of wheat, rice, and other food grain was another factor adding to the turmoil.¹²⁰ Punjab was thrown into the most violent agitation. Some political leaders like Duni Chand, Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew (1888-1963) and Dr. Satya Pal (1884-1954) wanted to follow the program of passive resistance under the leadership of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1860-1948). Though the government had notified that no procession could be taken out, the ban was violated. On April 6, in the meeting held in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, a resolution demanding repeal of Rowlatt Act was passed. Mian Fazl-i-Husain seconded the resolution but at the same time he tried, though invain, to keep the movement within constitutional limits as he was not in favour of the course adopted by Gandhi. On the same day the movement was completely taken over by the extremist element. On the other hand O'Dawyer was adamant to suppress the agitation by sheer force. Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew were arrested. Gandhi's entry in the Punjab was banned.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Nina Puri, *Political Elite and Society in the Punjab* (New Delhi, 1985), p. 155.

¹²⁰ For detail of the rising prices see Brij Narain, *India Before the Crisis* (Allahabad, 1935), pp. 254, 256. For graphs of the price hike *ibid.* Plate Nos. 13 & 14

¹²¹ Azim Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain A Political Biography* (Bombay, 1946), p. 116

This further worsened the situation. In Lahore and Amritsar complete hartal was observed and the business came to standstill. Absolute Hindu-Muslim unity was exhibited by drinking from the same cups and eating from the common langar khana. Attempt to disperse the crowds caused several casualties.¹²² The worst happened at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar on April 13, where a crowd of 6000 to 10000 people was fired by General Dyer without warning, killing 300 to 600 persons according to varying estimates.¹²³ Martial Law was imposed in five districts of the Punjab which was not completely withdrawn before August 25.¹²⁴ As Fazl-i-Husain stated before the Hunter Committee, the Martial Law administration aimed at humiliating and disgracing the Indians rather than to secure peace.¹²⁵ To give voice to the feelings of the people about the happenings in the Punjab, annual sessions of the Indian National Congress, the All India Muslim League and the Jamiat Ulem^ae-Hind were held at Amritsar in December 1919.¹²⁶ The All India Muslim League considered the reforms as "inadequate and unsatisfactory" yet

¹²² Azim Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain A Political Biography*, p. 117.

¹²³ M. Rai, *Punjabi Heroic Tradition* (Patiala, 1978), p. 117; Nihal Singh's estimate of maximum casualties is 1000. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development* (Delhi, 1963), Vol. I, pp. 333-334; Muhammad Jamil, *Taweel Jid-o-Juhd: 1889-1976* (Lahore, 1978), p. 102.

¹²⁴ Gurmukh Nihal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

¹²⁵ Azim Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 118. For details see Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, *Tehdith-e-Ne'mat* (Rabwah, 1982), pp. ; Satya M. Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119; Syrd Sharifuddin Pirzada, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 507-512,

¹²⁶ Syed Tufail Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

"a definite step towards the goal of full responsible Government".¹²⁷ Hakim Ajmal Khan (1853-1927), in his presidential address said that "we are not likely to forget the deep agony caused by the occurrences of the Punjab and the events related to holy places, the *Khilafat* and Turkey, we would...make a united effort to make the reforms successful."¹²⁸

Mont-ford reforms of 1919 established partially responsible governments in the Punjab alongwith seven other provinces of British India. Punjab Legislative Council was considerably enlarged. Out of 94 total seats (against 24 under 1909 reforms, with only five by election) 71 were to be filled through elections. Among these 71 members 44 were to be elected through separate electorates: 32 Muslims and 12 Sikhs. There were 20 general and seven special constituencies including four for landlords, one for the University and two for commerce etc.¹²⁹ As in the reforms of 1909, landed interests were safeguarded by the government. Apart from four special seats of landlords, 27 out of 32 Muslim seats and 13 out of 20 non-Muslim seats (other than the Sikhs) were allocated to rural areas. In case of Sikhs, rural-urban

¹²⁷ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 538.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 517.

¹²⁹ *Indian Statutory Commission Report* (London, 1930), Vol. I, (Appendix III), pp. 144-145.

contrast was even more prominent i.e., 11:1.¹³⁰ Under the system of dyarchy introduced in the provinces, provincial departments were divided into 'reserved' and 'transferred'. Reserved subjects were to be headed by the members of the Executive Council, responsible not to the legislature but to the Governor directly. The transferred subjects were to be headed by the ministers responsible to the legislature.

First elections under the Mont-ford reforms were held in December 1920 during the tumultuous days of Non-Co-operation. Congress and urban Muslim leaders like Saifuddin Kitchlew and Malik Lal Khan (1890-1976) decided to boycott the elections, whereas Fazl-i-Husain and other rural Muslim leaders contested the elections.¹³¹ Having won the elections from a special seat of Muslim landlords, Fazl-i-Husain was appointed Minister of Education and Local Self-Government in January 1921. Lala Harkishan Lal (1864-1937) was also appointed as Minister of Agriculture on Fazl-i-Husain's request.¹³² Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia (1872-1941) was given a seat in the Executive Council, representing the Sikhs.¹³³

¹³⁰ *Indian Statutory Commission Report*; Gurmukh Nihal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

¹³¹ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

¹³² Syed Noor Ahmad, *Mian Fazl-i-Husain: A Review of His Life and Work* (Lahore, 1936), pp. 36, 38.

¹³³ Khashwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs* (Delhi, 1987), Vol. 2, p. 224.

Fazl-i-Husain sincerely worked for the backward and downtrodden classes without any communal considerations. He introduced compulsory education, established new high schools, colleges and dispensaries, released the district boards and municipal committees from the official control, granted loans to the peasants on low interest rates and established Panchayat system in the rural areas. Land Alienation Act was also amended to remove certain flaws and rates of revenue and *abiana* were decreased.¹³⁴

The Muslims were under-represented in almost all government departments in the Punjab. As minister, Fazl-i-Husain adopted a policy of promoting the Muslims and other backward communities in department of education and local-self government and carried out certain reforms to ensure that all the under-represented communities including the Muslims should get their due share.¹³⁵ The Hindus who enjoyed a dominating position up till now naturally resented these measures and launched a campaign against Fazl-i-Husain. In August 1922 a delegation of 22 non-Muslim members of the Council waited on the Governor who refused to get influenced by them.¹³⁶ An intense campaign against Fazl-i-Husain by the

¹³⁴ Muhammad Khurshid, "Fazl-i-Husain", p. 99.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

¹³⁶ S. Qalbi-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921-1947* (Lahore, 1992), p. 73

Hindu press continued dubbing his policies as "mischievous".¹³⁷ During the budget session of the Punjab Council, the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha moved a resolution against Fazl-i-Husain on March 13, 1923 for a cut in his salary, protesting against his policies as minister. At this stage the Council was divided on purely communal basis and the motion was defeated by 50 to 23. Out of 50 members voting against the motion only three were non-Muslims: Harkishan Lal, Sundar Singh Majithia and a nominated Christian Ralia Ram.¹³⁸ Despite all opposition from the Hindus Fazl-i-Husain continued his policies and took another step of re-constituting the municipal committees with re-distribution of seats among various communities on the basis of their respective population. In case of Lahore municipal committee, out of 32 seats 17 were allotted to the Muslims and 11 to the Hindus and two to the Sikhs under the new system, whereas before 1923 Muslims were given only nine seats out of 22 in total, their population being 55 % and the Hindus enjoyed a privilege of having eight seats while the Sikhs got only one.¹³⁹ Being unable to prevent this move, Hindu members of the Lahore, Rawalpindi, Ferozpur and Ambala municipal

¹³⁷ S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921-1947*, p. 74.

¹³⁸ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-225.

¹³⁹ Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali* (Lahore, 1969), Pt. II, pp. 9-10. For detailed discussion see *ibid.*, Pt. II, pp. 1-25.

committees resigned.¹⁴⁰ Fazl-i-Husain was bitterly criticized by the Hindu members of the Punjab Council. Hindu press raised hue and cry. On the other hand Muslim members of the Council, Muslim press and Muslim organizations appreciated his policy. Hindu-Muslim tension reached its heights and Hindu-Muslim riots took place in the province during 1922-1929.¹⁴¹

By the end of 1923 Gandhi had suspended the Non-Co-operation and Fazl-i-Husain had organised a Rural bloc or Rural Party which was converted into Punjab National Unionist Party when second elections to the Punjab Council were held and new Punjab Council came into being with a definite communal tinge. Punjab National Unionist Party was established by Fazl-i-Husain in December 1923¹⁴² on non-communal basis to safeguard common rural interests. Majority of the members were Muslims but there was a Hindu element including the Rajputs of Ambala division and the Jats of Rohtak who were being exploited by the moneylenders.¹⁴³ According to an estimate the Jats formed about 50 % of the

¹⁴⁰ S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op. cit.*, p. 77; S. C. Mittal, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

¹⁴¹ It was mostly in the post-Khilafat period.

¹⁴² Muhammad Khurshid, "Fazl-i-Husain", p. 100.

¹⁴³ Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 55. Feroze Khan Noon relates an incident of disgrace suffered by Chhotu Ram at a moneylender's house in Rohtak where he had to go during his childhood with his father who was a petty cultivator. Feroze Khan Noon, *Chashmdeed* (Lahore, 1974), p. 148.

notified agricultural population of the Punjab.¹⁴⁴ The aim of the Unionist Party was to assist backward classes and communities without any consideration to caste or creed.¹⁴⁵

Now the fact that Fazl-i-Husain enjoyed the support of 39 members belonging to the Unionist Party helped the Governor to reappoint Fazl-i-Husain as minister for another term against all hopes of the Hindus to get rid of him in the Second Council.¹⁴⁶ From among the Jats of Rohtak Lal Chand, a unionist, was appointed as minister of agriculture but, being disqualified as a result of a petition against him for electoral malpractice, the new governor Sir Malcolm Haily (1872-1969) replaced him with Sir Chhotu Ram (1881-1945), one of the founder members of Unionist Party, again to the great disappointment and resentment of Urban Hindus who had recommended Narendra Nath for ministership.¹⁴⁷ Haily, however, changed his attitude towards Fazl-i-Husain when the later got Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir (1874-1950) elected as President of the Punjab Legislative Council in place of Mr. H. A. Casson whom Haily wished to be re-elected for the same office after

¹⁴⁴ Bhagwan Singh Josh, "Organization and Politicization of the Peasantry in the Punjab: 1925-1942", Verinder Grover, ed., *The Story of Punjab Yesterday and Today* (New Delhi, 1995), Vol. 1, p. 469.

¹⁴⁵ Azim Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁶ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-232; S. Qalbi-Abid, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

expiry of his term.¹⁴⁸ Hindu opposition to Fazl-i-Husain and his policies also continued. In August 1925 when Fazl-i-Husain was temporarily sent to the Viceroy's Council at center, the Hindus had "a sigh of relief".¹⁴⁹ When he came back to the Punjab in January 1926, the Governor offered him to work as Revenue Member which, being a reserved subject, was considered to be of lesser importance. In the changed circumstances of post-Khilafat days Fazl-i-Husain accepted the offer and worked as Revenue Member till spring 1930 except for two short intervals in 1927 when he represented India in the League of Nations and in 1929 when he again occupied temporarily a seat in the Governor General's Executive Council.¹⁵⁰

In November 1926 third elections of the reformed Punjab Council were held. This time Unionist Party could not do as well as it did in the second elections. Chhotu Ram, who occupied the Ministry of Education and Local Self-government after Fazl-i-Husain's departure for the Viceroy's Council, was replaced by Manohar Lal (b.1879), an Urban Hindu who tried his best to undo the work of Fazl-i-Husain in the

¹⁴⁸ S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Syed Noor Ahmad, *From Martial to Martial Law: Politics in the Punjab 1919-1958*, trans., Mahmud Ali (Boulder, 1985), pp. 55-57

¹⁴⁹ *The Tribune*, August 26, 1925 cited in S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁵⁰ Syed Noor Ahmad, *Mian Fazl-i-Husain: A Review of His Life and Work*, pp. 84, 86-87.

Ministry. Sardar Sir Jogandera Singh (1877-1946) was made Minister of Agriculture to alienate a group of Sikhs from the Unionist Party.¹⁵¹ These changes carried out by Hailly^e, aimed at weakening of the Unionist Party.¹⁵² There was no Muslim minister in the Punjab Council before the appointment of Feroze Khan Noon (1893-1970), in January 1927 as minister of Local Self-government.¹⁵³

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN THE PUNJAB

The formation of First Reformed Council of the Punjab coincided with the tumultuous period of Khilafat and Non-Co-operation movements. The Ottoman Sultan of Turkey was considered the caliph of the whole Islamic World. Ottoman claim to the caliphate was further strengthened in India when the British got a letter from the Ottoman caliph advising Tipu Sultan not to co-operate with the French against the British.¹⁵⁴ Later during the War of 1857 the British obtained a decree from the Sultan declaring that it was not lawful for the Indian Muslims to take part in the war against the

¹⁵¹ S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

¹⁵² Prem choudhary, "Sir Chhotu Ram: An Evolution of His Role in Punjab Politics 1924-1945", Verinder Grover, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 519.

¹⁵³ S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op. cit.*, p. 92

British.¹⁵⁵ Towards the end of 19th century the Ottoman Empire declined. During World War I Turkey fought on the side of Germany. In order to get their co-operation during the war, the British promised the Indian Muslims that they would respect the institution of caliphate and the political integrity of Turkey. At the end of the war, a large part of the Ottoman Empire was occupied by the Allies and it was apprehended that Turkey might be divided among the Allies and that the British would not respect their promises to the Indian Muslims. Since the Ottoman caliph was also the guardian of the sacred places of Islam such as Makkah, Madina and Bait-ul-Maqdas, the integrity of Turkish Empire was very important to the Islamic world particularly the Indian Muslims who had contributed a lot to the war effort hoping that the British would keep their promises about Turkey. Under these circumstances the Indian Muslims organised the *Khilafat* Movement. *Khilafat* Committee was established in March 1919 in Bombay.¹⁵⁶

Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements remained in low profile in the Punjab because the province had undergone the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and the subsequent repressive

¹⁵⁴ Ansar Zahid, "Tipu our East India Company", *Basair*, Vol. III, Nos. 1-3, January-July 1964), p.63

¹⁵⁵ Syed Tufail Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 272-273

¹⁵⁶ Meem Kamal Okay, *Tehrik-e-Khilafat 1919-1924*, trans., Nisar Ahmad Israr (Karachi, 1991), p. 85.

measures of the Martial law. However, it did not keep it aloof altogether. *Khilafat Day* was observed on October 27, 1919. First *Khilafat Committee* in the Punjab was founded in Amritsar in November 1919.¹⁵⁷ In December, 1919 Fazl-i-Husain presided a public meeting in Lahore, attended by Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) and other prominent Muslim leaders. Allama Iqbal put forward a resolution to remind David Lloyd George (1863-1945), the British Prime Minister (1916-1922), of his assurances about Turkey,¹⁵⁸ Later, however, moderate leaders like Allama Iqbal and Fazl-i-Husain withdrew their active support to the *Khilafat Committee* when the Committee devised and adopted an aggressive programme of Non-Co-operation based on Hindu-Muslim unity.¹⁵⁹ After the first session of *Khilafat Conference* on November 22, 1919 in Delhi, *Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind* was established and its first session was held on December 28, 1919-Janurary 1, 1920 at Amritsar under the presidentship of Maulana Qayamuddin Abdul Bari Firangi Mahali (1878-1926).¹⁶⁰ At the same time the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League also held their annual sessions at Amritsar. The Congress extended

¹⁵⁷ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁸ Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rod* (Lahore, 1989), p. 408.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 409-410.

¹⁶⁰ Perveen Rozina, *Jami'at Ulema-e-Hind: Dastavezat-e-Markazi Ijlas-ha-e-Aam 1919-1945* (Islamabad, 1980), Vol. I, pp. 13-15.

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its favour to the Muslims on the issue of *Khilafat*.¹⁶¹ The All India Muslim League expressed its deep concern over the issue of *Khilafat* and future of the holy places and resolved that the Muslims were fully justified "to carry on all the possible methods of constitutional agitation...including a boycott of the British Army if it is likely to be used ...for anti-Islamic purposes."¹⁶² However, *Khilafat Committee*, with its strong and emotional programme of Non-Co-operation soon eclipsed All India Muslim League which being more sedate "continued to stick to the old "methods of constitutional agitation".¹⁶³

A delegation consisted of 77 Hindu and Muslim leaders of all shades ranging from Gandhi to Moulvi Abdul Karim Fazl al-Haq (1873-1962) waited upon the Viceroy on January 19, 1920. From the Punjab Dr. Kitchlew, Agha Muhammad Safdar Qizilbash, Mirza Yakub Beg, Moulvi Ghulam Mohayyuddin (1880-1963), Maulana Muhammad Sanaullah (1868-1948) and Muhammad Ali of Lahore (Head of Lahore faction of Ahmadiyya movement) were included.¹⁶⁴ It demanded that the integrity of Turkey must not be affected. The delegation got a polite but disappointing

¹⁶¹ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁶² Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 537.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

reply from the Viceroy.¹⁶⁵ Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar (1878-1931) led a delegation of the Khilafat Conference to England to see the British Prime Minister Lloyd George but failed to get any concession for Turkey.¹⁶⁶ Allama Iqbal who had developed differences with the Khilafatists on the question of sending a Khilafat delegation to England and seeking Hindu-Muslim unity for Non-Co-operation programme, resigned from the Khilafat Committee.¹⁶⁷ The humiliating Treaty of Sevres (1920) was thrust upon Turkey. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and other Khilafatist leaders, after their disappointing visit to England, led a vigorous campaign for Non-Co-operation with the help of Gandhi, who had toured the Punjab in mid February 1920 and preached his three basic principles: Satyagraha, Hindu-Muslim unity and the use of *sawadeshi* cloth.¹⁶⁸ Fazl-i-Husain opposed the idea of Non-Co-operation when in August Punjab Muslim League Council passed a resolution in favour of Non-Co-operation.¹⁶⁹ The session of

¹⁶⁴ K. K. Aziz, ed., *The Indian Khilafat Movement 1915-1933 A Documentary Record* (Karachi, 1972), pp. 64-71.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁶⁷ Javed Iqbal, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-410 & 414-415. On this situation he wrote a few verses in a personal letter to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi:

ہمیں مجھ کو تاریخ سے آہنی کیا
خدیجہ کی کہنے لگا تو گواہی
خریدیں نہ ہمیں کو ایسے ہیرو سے
سدا کی کہ ہے تنگ وہ بارشاہی

Shaikh Ataullah, *Iqbalnama* (Lahore, n.d.), Vol. I, pp. 106-107.

¹⁶⁸ *A History of Non-Co-operation in the Punjab 1919-24* (Lahore, 1925).

¹⁶⁹ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

Khilafat Conference held at Burhanpur in March 1920 was presided over by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan who brought the message of Khilafat movement to thousands of people in Lahore, Amritsar, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Wazirabad, Hazro, Bombay, Calcutta, Meerat and Allahabad.¹⁷⁰ In 32 important cities of the Punjab, 22 district-level Khilafat committees and more than two thousand primary Khilafat committees were established.¹⁷¹ The Punjab did not lag behind in contributing funds for Khilafat. Hundreds and thousands of rupees were collected as Khilafat fund during the Khilafat movement. From the Punjab, apart from the help sent for the Turkish soldiers on the war-front, 250,000 rupees were sent to Mustafa Kamal. Another 200,000 rupees were sent for the affected people of Samarna.¹⁷² Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), Ali Brothers and Gandhi addressed a large public gathering at Lahore on October 19, 1920. From the Punjab Dr. Kitchlew, Syed Daud Ghaznavi (1885-1963), Dr. Muhammad Alam (1887-1947) and Malik Lal Khan also attended and addressed the meeting insisting on Non-Co-operation.¹⁷³ Fazl-i-Husain tried to control the situation but in vain. The students of Islamia College went on strike and the college had to be

¹⁷⁰ Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Hayat Kidmat-o-Aasar* (Lahore, 1993), p.165. For complete text of presidential address of Zafar Ali Khan see *ibid.*, pp. 668-694.

¹⁷¹ Muhammad Jamil, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-130.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 137-140.

closed.¹⁷⁴ Later it was opened on Allama Iqbal's intervention, who was General Secretary of Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam at that time.¹⁷⁵ In this situation Professor Maulvi Hakim Ali (1869-1944), the Vice-Principal, who had issued a *fatwa* (religious decree) against Non-Co-operation, resigned from the college.¹⁷⁶ Generally, the move to boycott the educational institutions was not very successful in the Punjab. According to a survey, out of 1,11,078 students of Government educational institutions in the Punjab only 828 could stick to their decision of boycott and this was the lowest percentage as compared with that of other provinces of British India.¹⁷⁷

Meanwhile the ill-advised *Hijrat* movement was launched. India was declared as *Dar-al-Harab*. In April 1920 Ghulam Muhammad Aziz of Amrisar (Aziz Hindi) (1886-1971) pleaded for *hijrat* in a meeting of Khilafat workers in Delhi.¹⁷⁸ When Maulana Abdul Bari was asked for a religious ruling regarding *hijrat*, he, adopting a very guarded language, refused to give a clear injunction. To him it was permitted under certain

¹⁷³ Muhammad Siddique, *Professor Moulvi Hakim Ali* (Lahore, 1983), pp.97-98.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 103,105.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-110

¹⁷⁷ Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri *et al.*, *Tehrikat-e-Milli* (Karachi, 1983), p. 379.

¹⁷⁸ Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics* (Karachi, 1974), p. 265.

conditions.¹⁷⁹ However Maulana Abul Kalam Azad clearly announced in his *fatwa* that it was incumbent upon all the Muslims who wanted to do the greatest Islamic deed in India to migrate from the country.¹⁸⁰ In the Punjab Aziz Hindi, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Agha Safdar, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Malik Lal Khan and Ataullah Shah Bukhari (1891-1966) actively worked to instigate the Muslim masses for hijrat.¹⁸¹ However, Dr. Kitchlew, Allama Iqbal, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Mian Fazli-Husain adopted very reasonable attitude and did not favour the Hijrat movement.¹⁸² Pir Mehr Ali Shah of Golra (d. 1937) and Pir Syed Jama'at Ali Shah (1845-1951) of Alipur (Sialkot) were also against the ill-conceived Hijrat movement.¹⁸³ Maulana Ahmad Ali of Lahore (1886-1962) not only favoured migration but he himself alongwith a large group of Muslims migrated to Afghanistan.¹⁸⁴ The Afghan government initially encouraged the immigrants but the influx of people was far greater than the Afghans expected. In August 1920 the Afghan government sealed its borders and the *muhajreen* had to come back and the movement came to a disastrous failure.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ Ghulam Hussain Zulfqar, "Tehrik-e-Hijrat our us ka pas manzar", *Mujillah Tarikh-o-Thaqafat-e-Pakistan* Vol. 2, No. 2 (October, 1991), pp. 21-22.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁸¹ Muhammad Jamil Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

¹⁸² Shahid Hussain Khan, ed., *Tehrik-e-Hijrat 1920* (Karachi, 1989), p. 37.

¹⁸³ Raja Rashced Mehnud, *Tehrik-e-Hijrat 1920* (Lahore, 1986), pp. 263-265.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

¹⁸⁵ Shahid Hussain Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

During the *hijrat* movement *Paisa Akhbar* played a positive role as it had been warning the people that migration was not in the interest of the Muslims. On the other hand the *Zamindar* of Zafar Ali Khan instigated the people to continue *Hijrat* even when the Afghan government had prohibited any further migration. The *Zamindar* alleged that the news about the sealing of borders was a fraudulent move to stop the *hijrat*.¹⁸⁶ Another newspaper *Hurriyat* edited by Maulana Arif Hasvi (1888-1936) also provoked the people for *hijrat*.¹⁸⁷ Many people migrated from the provinces of Sindh, Punjab and NWFP. Exact number of the Muslims who migrated to Afghanistan is not definitely known. The estimates drastically vary ranging between 18,000 to 2000,000.¹⁸⁸ Keeping in view various evidences, the estimate of 100,000 people appears to be more reasonable.¹⁸⁹

Though Gandhi favoured the Non-Co-operation movement of the Muslims, some of the Hindu leaders were against the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity on the issue of Khilafat. The leaders like Lala Lajput Rai and Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyya (1861-

¹⁸⁶ *Zamindar*, August 18, 1920 quoted in Raja Rashid Mehmud, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

¹⁸⁷ Ubaidullah Qudsi, *Azadi ki Tehriken* (Lahore, 1988), p. 163.

¹⁸⁸ Raja Rasheed Mehmud, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-380.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-388.

1940) apprehended that the Muslims favouring the Khilafat and Turkey were Pan-Islamists and they would possibly make a common cause with the Afghans and the Turks against Hindu India.¹⁹⁰ The idea was further reinforced by some strong statements of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar.¹⁹¹ In this background Gandhi himself wanted to withdraw from the movement. The incident of Chauri Chaura provided this opportunity and he called off the Non-Co-operation movement unilaterally without consulting any of the Muslim leaders. Muslim leadership and Muslim masses were left in bewilderment high and dry.

The movement continued for some time but in 1924 Mustafa Kamal Ataturk himself abolished the institution of Khilafat. Khilafat movement appears to be a story of purely emotional approach, political short-sightedness, and failure to appreciate the existing international realities on the part of the Muslim leadership. It should have been taken for granted that the Hindus had no sympathy for the Ottoman caliphate. They participated in the Non-Co-operation but always kept their own objectives and interest in their mind. During the Non-Co-operation movement, the Prince of Wales

¹⁹⁰ Abdul Waheed Khan, *Musalmanon ka isar our azadi ki jung* (Lahore, 1982), pp. 102, 122, 134; H. B. Khan, *Bar-e-Saghir Pak-o-Hind ki siyasat main ulema ka kirdar* (Karachi, 1985), p. 168.

¹⁹¹ Muhammad Yamin Khan, *A'malnama* (Lahore, 1970), Vol. I, pp. 164-167.

came to India. When he visited Aligarh University, a mass picket was organised but Pundit Malaviya did not allow Gandhi to enter Benaras Hindu University and awarded an honorary doctoral degree to the Prince.¹⁹² Gandhi and other Hindu leaders had whirlwind tours of the whole country financed through the Khilafat funds. It was actually Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and other Khilafatists who had transformed Gandhi into 'Mahatma Gandhi' during the Khilafat movement without knowing that the same 'Mahatma' would betray the Muslims before long.¹⁹³

It was at this cost that Muslim leadership was trying to protect the Turkish Khilafat in spite of the fact that the Turks themselves had lost their interest in Khilafat and were no longer ready to keep this institution. Probably they were more capable of appreciating the political realities of the Muslim world than the Khilafatists of British India.¹⁹⁴ Even after the abolition of Khilafat by the Turks Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and others were not mentally prepared to give up their romantic affiliation with the Khilafat. This attitude rendered the Khilafat Committee an aimless and useless

¹⁹² Abdul Waheed Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 128

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁹⁴ Meem Kamal Okay, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 188, 204, 205, 210.

organisation.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand Abul Kalam Azad advanced from one extreme to the other i.e., from pan-Islamism to Indian Nationalism. To solve the Khilafat riddle he tried to identify Ataturk's government with the institution of Khilafat.¹⁹⁶ Allama Iqbal who did not participate in the Khilafat movement, could well appreciate the changing realities of the Muslim world in general and Turkey in particular.¹⁹⁷

HEIGHT OF HINDU-MUSLIM TENSION IN THE PUNJAB

Failure of Khilafat and Non-Co-operation movements resulted in increased Hindu-Muslim tension particularly in the Punjab. In March 1923 when a censure motion was brought against Fazl-i-Husain in the Punjab Legislative Council, the house was divided purely on the basis of Muslims and non-Muslims.¹⁹⁸ Though the motion was defeated, yet it further embittered Hindu-Muslim relations. Hindu-Muslim hostility increased in the Punjab to the extent that All India

¹⁹⁵ Abu Slaman Shahjahanpuri, *op. cit.*, p. 406

¹⁹⁶ Meem Kmal Okay, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-218.

¹⁹⁸ S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

Nationalist leaders including Motilal Nehru (1861-1931), Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949), Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan etc. had to visit the province. During the discussion when Chitta Rajan Das (1870-1925) said that the Punjab "must not retard the progress of the rest of the country" since it was "not the whole of India" a Hindu member retorted that though "the Punjab is not the whole of India, it has enough poison to kill the whole of India".¹⁹⁹ As it was expected, no *entente* could be brought about finally. Meanwhile the situation was further intensified when a long series of communal riots broke out in the cities like Multan, Amritsar, Karnal, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Gurgaon, Ambala etc.²⁰⁰

Appearance and activation of extremist Hindu organisations like *Sanghtan* and *Shuddhi* further inflamed the communal situation. The Muslims also organised *Tabligh* and *Tanzim* as counterparts of *Shuddhi* and *Sanghtan*. Branches of the extremist Hindu Sabha and Mahabirdal multiplied rapidly in number. In 1925 there were as many as 218 branches of Hindu Sabha and 104 branches of Mahabirdal in the Punjab.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings*, p. 12.

²⁰⁰ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-371.

²⁰¹ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

Eruption and multiplication of Hindu extremist organisations was appended with the publication of abusive literature by the Arya Samajis against Islam and the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). Publication of *Rangila Rasool* by Rajpal of Lahore, "Sair-e-Dozakh" in a Hindu magazine *Vartaman* (Amritsar) and various articles by Swami Munshi Ram Shardhananda (1856-1926) in *Daily Tej* are the typical examples of such literature.²⁰² Shardhananda was killed by Abdur Rashid in 1926, Rajpal was killed by Ilm-ud-Din in 1929.²⁰³

Hindu newspapers made it a habit to use derogatory and abusive language for the Muslims. In 1926 *Zamindar* prepared a list of abuses published in various Hindu newspapers which counted in thousands.²⁰⁴ On the other hand when the *Muslim Outlook* criticised the decision of High Court in the case of Rajpal, it was immediately convicted.²⁰⁵

²⁰² For details see *ibid.*, pp. 324-329; Dost Muhammad Shahid, *Tarikh-e-Ahmadiyyat* (Rabwah, 1964), Vol. V, pp. 577, 581, 582, & 591.

²⁰³ *Monthly Darvaish* Vol. 6, No. 5 (May 1994), pp. 35-36, 40-41. There were many other Muslims who killed certain Hindus who had produced derogatory writings against the Holy Prophet. For detail see *ibid.*, *passim*.

²⁰⁴ *Zamindar*, July 10, 1926, cited in Ahmad Saced, *Tehrik-e-Pakistan Muashi aur Muasharti tanazir main*, p. 77,

²⁰⁵ Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-362.

PUNJAB AND THE PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE1927-1930

While the second half of the decade of 1920's witnessed the height of communal estrangement, the Hindu-Muslim conflict was also reflected in the discussions and proposals for constitutional reforms at the centre. On March 20, 1927 Muhammad Ali Jinnah presented his Delhi Muslim Proposals to achieve his long-cherished goal of Hindu-Muslim unity, giving his consent to the system of joint electorates provided a few other demands of the Muslims were accepted by the Hindus i.e., separation of Sindh from Bombay, reforms in NWFP and Baluchistan, Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal according to the ratio of their population and 1/3 representation at the centre.²⁰⁶

Most of the Muslim leaders of the Punjab were not ready to accept joint electorates in any event. Sir Muhammad Shafi, though attended the conference at Delhi, rejected the formula after his arrival at Lahore.²⁰⁷ Allama Iqbal and Fazl-i-Husain also opposed it.²⁰⁸ In a meeting of Punjab Provincial Muslim

²⁰⁶ M. H. Saiyid, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah : A Political Study* (Lahore, 1970), p. 118.

²⁰⁷ Syed Noor Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law*, p. 65.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

League on May 1, 1927, it was resolved that the system of separate electorates should continue to exist as basic principle of the constitution. The resolution was moved by Allama Iqbal as General Secretary.²⁰⁹ Stern opposition of these three important political leaders of the Punjab diminished the success of the proposals. In June 1927 Muhammad Ali Jinnah himself visited Lahore to enlist the support of Punjab Muslim League but failed.²¹⁰ Zafar Ali Khan bitterly criticised Jinnah in a long article published in *Zamindar* in three instalments.²¹¹ In July 27 Muslim members of the Punjab Council including Allama Iqbal signed an announcement in favour of separate electorates.²¹² Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (1893-1985) and Dr. Zia-ud-Din, during their visit to England, propagated against Delhi Muslim Proposals.²¹³ The differences on the issue between Punjab Provincial Muslim League and the central organisation caused the division of Muslim League and both the factions (Jinnah League and Shafi League) held the 19th annual session separately in Calcutta and Lahore respectively.²¹⁴ On the other hand Indian National Congress initially tended to

²⁰⁹ *Inqalab*, May 3, 1927 cited by Rafique Afzal, *Gustar-e-Iqbal* (Lahore, 1986), pp. 26-27

²¹⁰ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

²¹¹ Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Zafar Ali Khan*, p. 376. For complete text of the article see *ibid.* pp. 376-389.

²¹² Muhammad Hanif Shahid, *Iqbal aor Punjab Council* (Lahore, 1977), pp. 96-97; Zarina, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

²¹³ Syed Noor Ahmad, *From Martial to Martial Law*, p. 66.

accept the Delhi Muslim Proposals but finally it decided to call an All Parties Conference to discuss the issue.²¹⁵ Hindu Mahasabha rejected the proposals bitterly criticising the initial acceptance of the formula by the Congress.²¹⁶

Apart from the issue of separate electorates there arose another cause of rift between Punjab Muslim League and the central organisation when the British government appointed an 'all white' commission known as Simon Commission to consider the issue of constitutional reforms for India. Because of the exclusion of the Indians from the commission most of the Indian leaders were planning to boycott the Commission. The Governor of the Punjab prepared the ground by influencing Punjab Muslim leaders like Sir Muhammad Shafi, Feroz Khan Noon and Zafrullah Khan to co-operate with the commission.²¹⁷ According to Jahan Ara Shahnawaz (1896-1979), Sir Muhammad Shafi sincerely felt that "if the full case of the Muslims is not placed before the Simon Commission at this critical juncture when the labour government is in the saddle, my

²¹⁴ Syed Sharif-ud-din Pirzada, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 107-108, 128. There was another important issue causing the conflict i.e., co-operation with the Simon Commission.

²¹⁵ Syed Noor Ahmad, *From Martial to Martial Law*, pp. 67-68.

²¹⁶ *Indian Annual Register 1927* cited in Zarina Salamat *op. cit.*, p. 424.

²¹⁷ Qalb-i-Abid Syed, "The Punjab and the Simon Commission", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. X, No., 2, (July-December, 1989), p. 42.

nation will have to suffer for decades to come."²¹⁸ Punjab Muslim League met under Sir Muhammad Shafi on November 13, 1927 and resolved that boycott of the Commission would be against the interests of the Muslims.²¹⁹ Allama Iqbal alongwith five other Muslim leaders appealed to the Muslims particularly to co-operate with the commission.²²⁰ This was against the view held by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and other leaders of All India Muslim League. The net result was a split in the Muslim League.²²¹

On the contrary, Dr. Kitchlew, Malik Barkat Ali, Zafar Ali Khan and Ghulam Mohayyuddin dissenting from Punjab Muslim League urged upon a complete boycott of the commission.²²²

Sir Fazl-i-Husain, when he came back from Geneva after representing India in the League of Nations, talked against the commission in an interview.²²³ The Governor Sir Hail^ey objected to the interview considering it against the policy of the government. Fazl-i-Husain, instead of begging for

²¹⁸ *Father and Daughter*, p. 86.

²¹⁹ Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings*, p. 20.

²²⁰ Rafique Afzal, *Gustar-e-Iqbal*, pp. 53-54. Other five leaders were Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum (NWFP), Mian Abdul Haye, Syed Rajan Shah (Members Central Legislative Council) and Moulvi Muhammad Ali (Amir Jama'at Ahmadiyya). *ibid.*, p. 56.

²²¹ As already discussed earlier in this chapter.

²²² David Page, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali*, p. 20.

²²³ Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain*, pp. 40-44, 47-48.

excuse, tendered his resignation.²²⁴ The governor could not afford losing support of Fazl-i-Husain at that critical juncture. Handling the situation tactfully, he not only yielded but also informed Fazl-i-Husain of the appreciating remarks of the Viceroy about his role at Geneva.²²⁵ Since then Fazl-i-Husain was among the supporters of the commission.

Simon Commission visited the Punjab twice. First time in March 1928 when it was warmly welcomed by the Shafi group, representatives of organisations like Anjuman Hamayat-e-Islam and government officials though there were protests and demonstrations at various places.²²⁶ Second time its members reached Lahore on October 30, 1928. This time opposition to the commission was stronger. In spite of all the preparations, the commission was greeted with black flags and the demonstrators, led by Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri (1865-1942) and Lala Lajpat Rai near the railway station, were baton charged, many receiving injuries including Zafar Ali Khan and Lala Lajpat Rai who later died of the injuries.²²⁷ Amidst this tumult, the

²²⁴ Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain*, pp. 46-47.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50

²²⁶ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, p. 440

²²⁷ Nazir Hussain Zaidi, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Ahwal-o-Aathar* (Lahore, 1986), pp. 164-165; Syed Noor Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law*, pp. 74-75.

Unionist leaders and the government officials arranged a 'warm' welcome to the members of the commission.

The Punjab Legislative Council proposed a Reform Committee of seven members including four Unionists, Sikandar Hayat Khan (1892-1942), Zafrullah Khan, Chhotu Ram and Owen Roberts, to consider the constitutional issue.²²⁸ The report of this committee was in fact a summary of Jinnah's 14 points against which the non-Unionist members of the committee wrote their notes of dissent.²²⁹ The Punjab Muslim League (Sir Muhammad Shafi's group) submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding retention of separate electorates and reservations of Muslim seats.²³⁰ Official report was also submitted by the Punjab government to which Fazl-i-Husain's note of dissent was appended against the wishes of the Governor Haily.²³¹

The Simon Commission Report was published in May 1930. The Commission rejected most of the demands of the Muslims including majority representation in Punjab and Bengal by separate electorates, extension of franchise and landed

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

²³⁰ Qalb-i-Abid Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

²³¹ For details see Syed Noor Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law*, p p. 76-78.

interests. The Commission took an aversion even to retention of communal electorates and allowed them to continue only because there was no other way out.²³² Naturally, the report was resented by all shades of Muslims. Allama Iqbal considered it a document based on the policy to please the extremist Hindu element by rejecting important demands of the Muslims.²³³ Fazl-i-Husain remarked that the report proposed no political advance.²³⁴ All Parties Muslim Conference considered the report as "unacceptable reactionary and retrograde."²³⁵ Thus the Simon Commission Report fell short of the demands and expectations of the Muslims. It was particularly disappointing to the Muslims of the Punjab who had co-operated with the Commission in the face of bitter criticism and protests.

The Congress had constantly been losing popularity among the Hindus and could not do well in the elections of 1926 except in Bengal and Madras. Particularly it could not win even a single seat in the Punjab.²³⁶ It was in this background that the Congress deviated from the course it had taken in May 1927 Bombay session vis-à-vis the Delhi Muslim

²³² Qalb-i-Abid Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

²³³ *Inqalab*, June 26, 1930 quoted in Rafique Afzal, *Gufar-e-Iqbal*, p. 108.

²³⁴ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

Proposals²³⁷ and tried to persuade the Muslims to accept the Nehru Report next year. Nehru Report was published in August 1928 denying almost all the Muslims demands. Surprisingly, Punjab Khilafatists including Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Muhammad Alam, Hassam-ud-Din (1897-1967), Ghazi Abdul Rehman and Zafar Ali Khan consented to the Nehru Report's recommendations of joint electorate with adult suffrage without reservations of seats.²³⁸ Later in July 1929 they formed Nationalist Muslim Party.²³⁹

Allama Iqbal, in a press statement, expressed his dissatisfaction about the report and stressed the importance of separate electorates and reservation of seats especially for the Punjab Muslims.²⁴⁰ Fazl-i-Husain viewed that the report "flashes the Indian autonomy...while it takes no account of the real India which lives in the provinces..."²⁴¹

²³⁶ Uma Kaura, *Muslims and Indian Nationalism* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 27-28.

²³⁷ In May 1927 All India Congress Committee accepted the Delhi Muslim Proposals. Syed Hasan Riaz, *Pakistan Naaguzir Tha* (Karachi, 1987), p. 158.

²³⁸ Zarina Salamat, *op. cit.*, p. 448. According to Maulana Shoukat Ali Congress provided funds to certain Muslim leaders to seek their support for Nehru Report. Shoukat to Mehmud, October 13, 1928, *Shoukat Ali Papers* cited in David Page, *Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperialist System of Control 1920-32* (Delhi, 1982), p. 184 fn. It is significant to note the change in Zafar Ali Khan's view who had bitterly criticized Jinnah's conceding joint electorates in Delhi Muslim Proposals. See *supra* p. 64.

²³⁹ M. H. Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

²⁴⁰ *Inqalab* August 21, 1928 vide Rafiq Afzal, *Gufstar-e-Iqbal*, pp. 66-69.

²⁴¹ Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain* (Lahore, 1976), p. 57.

Apart from the majority of the Muslims of the Punjab, the Sikhs also strongly criticised the Nehru Report and Sardar Mangal Singh, who had signed the report on behalf of the Sikh community was accused of selling out the interests of the community.²⁴²

On October 26, 1928 when Muhammad Ali Jinnah reached Bombay from England, he was hopeful to find some solution to the problem in consultation with the Congress.²⁴³ Later on December 28, 1928 in the open session of All Parties National Convention organised by the Congress at Calcutta, Jinnah put forward his amendments to the Nehru Report but all of his amendments were rejected due to the opposition of Hindu Mahasabha.²⁴⁴ In March 1929, during the Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly when Motilal Nehru referred to the Nehru Report as unanimously agreed constitutional proposal, Muhammad Ali Jinnah corrected him that Nehru Report was not acceptable to the Muslims.²⁴⁵

²⁴² Statement of Master Tara Singh cited in Paul Wallace, ed., *Political Dynamics and Crisis in the Punjab* (Amritsar, 1988), p. 94.

²⁴³ M. H. Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-136. Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind also refused to accept the Nehru Report and published its criticism of the report in December 1928. Perveen Rozina, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 487-500.

²⁴⁵ Sarif Al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Delhi, 1993), p. 557. Zarina Salamat *op. cit.*, p. 460 gives the date as March 1928 by mistake.

In order to organise the Muslims against Nehru Report, an All Parties Muslim Conference was convened at Delhi on December 31, 1928 with Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan (1877-1957) as president. Sir Muhammad Shafi President of Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Allama Iqbal, the General Secretary, and Zafrullah Khan were also in the forefront. Maulana Muhammad Ali, being disappointed from the Hindu attitude at the Calcutta Convention, reached Delhi and attended the meeting of Muslim Conference. The All Parties Muslim Conference passed a resolution demanding federal form of government with residuary powers vested in provinces, continuance of separate electorates, due share in the central and provincial cabinets, majority representation in the provinces where Muslims were in majority, 1/3 representation in the central assembly and adequate share in the services.²⁴⁶

On the other hand the Indian National Congress threatened that if by the end of the year 1929 Nehru Report was not accepted by the government, it would be cancelled and the Congress would adopt the objective of "complete independence". In the Lahore session of Indian National Congress presided by Jawahar Lal Nehru the recommendations of Nehru Report were cancelled and "thrown into the Ravi",

²⁴⁶ Latif Ahmad Shervani, ed., *Pakistan in the Making: Documents and Readings* (Karachi, 1987), pp. 430-432.

adopting the resolution of "complete independence."²⁴⁷ Thus in the words of Khashwant Singh, the Nehru Report "found honourable burial in the archives of the National Congress".²⁴⁸

Since both Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Shafi had finally rejected the Nehru Report, this helped them to come closer, particularly after the former's formulation of 14 points containing the demands similar to those presented by the Muslim Conference at Delhi. Both the factions of the League were united in a meeting of the Council of Muslim League on February 28, 1930.²⁴⁹

While the debate on constitutional issue was going on, Fazl-i-Husain was appointed against a temporary post in the Governor General's Executive Council later extended for a full term of five years.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Syed Tufail Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

²⁴⁸ *A History of the Sikhs* (Delhi, 1987), Vol. II, p. 228.

²⁴⁹ *Indian Annual Register 1930*, Pt. I, p. 28.

²⁵⁰ Syed Noor Ahmad, *Mian Fazl-i-Husain*, p. 87.