SOURCES ON PUNJAB HISTORY

W Eric Gustafson / Kenneth W Jones

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SOURCES ON PUNJAB HISTORY

Editors
W. Eric Gustafson
Kenneth W. Jones

محمد عامل محمدی
ذخیرہ لاہور

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To our predecessors in Punjab Bibilography

Ganda Singh and Ikram Ali Malik

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Preface

The process of historical research is an endless dialogue between questions posed by professional scholars and their answers fashioned from historical data. During the last decade historians of South Asia have increasingly called for new approaches to the past, particularly within the historical era of British imperial dominance. The overwhelming preoccupation with political-administrative history of the British government in India no longer suffices. Too long has historical scholarship been limited to governmental documents written in English. Prestige within the academic world and easy accessibility of sources encouraged studies based on official documents, the personal papers of government officials, bureaucrats, and political leaders. Even the major counter trend to the study of government, history of the nationalist movement and its heroes, is still heavily tied to governmental records and publications.

To call for new areas of research in social, cultural, religious, economic or intellectual history is all to the good, but new directions demand the location and use of new historical sources. The nine articles included in this volume examine historical sources as yet but partially explored by scholars in South Asia and elsewhere. The data they present are "new" only in that they have recently been rediscovered by individual scholars. These essays

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point to a vast wealth of unused and under-used historical data that await the attention of interested scholars. The material discussed here represents only a fragment of the historical data available in one region of South Asia, the Punjab. Those who have traveled and searched for such material know full well that an immense treasure of resources still awaits discovery and utilization.

This vast untapped pool of source material will allow scholars to investigate a number of questions and historical process hitherto ignored. The patterns of interaction between British and South Asian civilization, the modernization of religious life, changes in family and rural social norms, in patterns of land-ownership, in literary development, the nature of economic change at the village, district, and state level, the role of traditional aristocrats in a modernizing world, are but a few of the problems to be tackled by future research. We can only hope that this volume will aid others to probe further in these and other areas. These are exploratory studies which should propel others toward their own investigations. Finally, we also hope that librarians, both public and private, will be moved to aid in the preservation of pamphlets, tracts, journals, newspapers and memoirs not previously thought to be of historical importance. Much of the literature discussed here now exists beyond the realm and beyond the concern of professional librarians. It is in danger of disappearing forever if not collected and preserved for future generations of scholars. This is the raw material of history and as such belongs to those who come after us. It is the inheritance of the future, ours to collect, to use, and above all else to preserve.

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This volume was sponsored by the Research Committee on the Punjab, an association of scholars interested in and working on the Punjab. The Research Committee acts to encourage research and to facilitate communication between scholars concerned with any aspect of Punjab in any period: pre-modern, British Imperial, Indian or Pakistani. The Committee has already published two volumes, N. Gerald Barrier's The Punjab in Nineteenth Century Tracts: An Introduction to the Pamphlet Collections in the British Museum and India Office, and The Punjab Press, 1880-1905, edited by N. Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace. The Committee expects to sponsor additional studies to support and further scholarly research on Punjab. We hope that this volume too will contribute to the development of Punjab studies both in South Asia and beyond.

W. E. G.

K. W. J.

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In Villages and Offices

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SOURCES FOR THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF RURAL PUNJAB[1]

by

Tom G. Kessinger

The very nature of rural society in the Punjab complicates the study of its history.[2] Until the relatively rapid growth of public education after the first World War--and especially since 1947--literacy in rural Punjab was low, and groups of specialists performed the few functions requiring the ability to read and write for an essentially peasant society. This means that written materials are virtually non-existent in the villages, making it difficult for the historian to achieve an inside view of rural history. Some documents do exist, since villagers retained almost reverently every piece of paper presented to them even though, or perhaps because, they could not read it.[3]

But Punjabi peasant cultivators did not keep records and diaries on their own like small farmers in Tokugawa Japan.[4] There are a few exceptions to this generalization in other regions of India; collections of manuscript materials authored by rural Indians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that historians are using to write history from the rural and Indian point of view. Thomas Metcalf's use of talukdar estate records as a source for the social and economic history of Oudh, and Walter Hauser's research into peasant politics and agrarian conflict at the local level in Bihar on the basis of the Kisan Sabha materials are two prominent examples.[5] But there is nothing comparable for the Punjab so that historians must turn to official records for information on which they can base their research.

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Official records housed in archives in London, Delhi, Lahore, and Patiala, contain a good deal of information on rural Punjab that has provided the basis for several important studies. Scholars have used these materials to examine aspects of administration and official policy, land tenure, and the growth of social, religious and political reform organizations central to Punjab's history. But the records' official character limits their value for the study of change in the economy and society of the region. The pronounced administrative bias is evident in the rapid shift from the collection and examination of data on a problem to prolonged exchanges between various officials about an appropriate policy. Norman G. Barrier's thorough study of the passage of the Punjab Land Alienation Act (1900) illustrates this process of official abstraction and isolation nicely. British officials, and somewhat later, Punjabi politicians, felt that the transfer of land from hereditary agriculturalists to non-agricultural commercial groups was the leading social and political problem of the period 1885-1935. And yet an exhaustive examination of official documents on agrarian indebtedness and land sale yields little information on the extent of the problem in the province or its underlying causes.[6] It is even difficult to ascertain the effectiveness of the new legislation since the passing of the Act satisfied the administrative need, and reporting of its workings was routinized into a sketchy series of annual statistics which are open to various interpretations. Barrier's work is a case study in the process of policy formulation at the provincial level that only indirectly relates to the history of Punjab's society and economy.[7]

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The principal obstacle in writing rural history is the absence in the provincial level official records of any information at all on just those aspects of rural life in which the historian is most interested. There are no materials in the Punjab archives comparable to those used by Dharma Kumar for South India and Ravinder Kumar for Bombay.[8] P. H. M. van den Dungen, through an exhaustive examination of every settlement and assessment report and the painstaking collation of information on each caste group has made the most of what is available yielding an important beginning in the study of social and economic change.[9] The lack of data in the provincial records can be explained by the nature of British rural administration and the orientation of scholars interested in rural areas.

An important source of information in other provinces are the surveys carried out at the time of the first revenue survey following British annexation. But since Punjab's initial settlements were based on a pattern established in the United Provinces earlier in the century, and were executed by officials who had obtained their training under Thomason in U. P., there was no need for additional study in the Punjab.[10] Nor did Punjab's villages receive detailed examination later in the century. The study of Indian villages in the nineteenth century was dominated by social theorists interested in the village as a type in an evolutionary sequence that could be used for comparative purposes.[11] This outlook influenced the thinking of British administrators because working in terms of types and classifications of villages had the advantage of reducing the need for specific knowledge. "Latently, the categor-

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ical or conceptual thinking about villages directed attention away from internal politics in villages and from questions of the nature of actual social relations, of the distribution of wealth, of what was happening to agricultural production...."[12] with the effect that official records contain little to aid in the reconstruction of much of the social and economic history of rural India.

But research into nineteenth and twentieth century rural Punjab need not be governed by the availability of material produced by an alien colonial administration and housed in conventional archives. In fact a considerable range of materials is available in the district offices, containing information on the behavior of rural people, and leading features of rural social and economic organization. Admittedly these are official records, but they are different in nature and in the level of society to which they relate, and are therefore not subject to the same bias as provincial level proceedings and reports. The official records available in the districts are land ownership and tax records, manuscript censuses, military pension lists, school registers, summaries of court cases, postal records, the police register, and special subject matter files of the administration. One non-official source of considerable value is the pilgrimage records maintained at Hardwar and other places of pilgrimage in north India.

For the most part, the materials I will describe form part of the permanent record maintained in every district in the Punjab for official reference and use in the courts. The primary factor determining their preservation and, alternatively, the destruction of documents of less enduring significance from an administrative point of view, are the procedural rules for different branches

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of the Government. James Douie's Settlement Manual of the Punjab, published first in 1899, is still the best guide to the different revenue records, the rules for their compilation and maintenance, the terminology employed, and even in some cases, the actual location of specific records. The older manuels trace the development of procedures in the Punjab from precedents in the United Provinces and provide information on the records drawn up immediately after annexation in 1849.[13]

In addition there are at least three recent accounts of local sources in the Punjab and North India. Thomas R. Metcalf's "Notes on the Sources for Local History in North India" is of only marginal utility for village records because it is confined to a description of the system and a listing of different kinds of records with their contents, omitting any mention of the period for which they are still available.[14] The same criticism applies to most of the discussion in an appendix to Village Life in North India, since Lewis conceives of the records of the patwari (village revenue official) as a quick way to gather basic information on the background and organization of a contemporary community and not as historical sources.[15] His section on the "Social Role of the Patwari" is however very instructive. By contrast B. N. Goswamy's description of the pilgrimage records is very thorough.[16] Unfortunately, scholars have not yet used the other materials--census, military, school, and judicial records--in their work.

The following is an account of the records which I located during fifteen months of research in India and Pakistan when I examined the records in three districts (Jullundur, Amritsar, and Lahore) in detail. The description includes the name, contents;

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and location of each record, and the script in which it is written. To illustrate the period covered in the materials, I will use the dates of the records in Jullundur District. There is some variation in the dates in the other districts, but the basic outline is the same. In addition, I will suggest how different records might be used, and consider some field-work techniques for the combination of documentary sources with oral history in rural Punjab.

Village Revenue (Patwari) Records

The village was the basic unit in the land revenue systems of the Mughals, Sikhs, and the British. All three administrations aggregated assessments at the village level and collected records which contained detailed information on the community. Yet the Mughal and Sikh records must be distinguished from documents belonging to the British period in terms of both contents and availability. The pre-British records were concerned exclusively with revenue matters; the collection of information on the area under cultivation, cropping patterns, and yields as a basis for the assessment of the land tax. After deriving the assessment the village records were of little further significance. There was no provision or necessity for revising the village account, and the records themselves seem to have been retained by the hereditary record keeper (patwari) as family property rather than stored in a central place as part of an official file.[17]

Some mauzinas (village registers) dating from Akbar's reign still existed in 1849 when the British conducted their first assessment surveys. Settlement Officer Richard Temple, for instance, mentions finding the registers in Jullundur, which listed the names of revenue payers, the rate of assessment, and the area under cul-

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tivation,[18] and using them as a check on his own estimates.[19] But he does not indicate where the mauzinas were then stored, and I was never able to find them. There is a good possibility that some village records from Maharajah Ranjit Singh's administration are available in private family collections. Sita Ram Kohli shows that at times the revenue administration of the Sikh kingdom was as well organized and methodical as that of Akbar.[20] But because of the brevity of Sikh rule, and the fact that tax farming and revenue assignments were quite common, there are few records for some areas like Jullundur.[21]

The British land revenue system in the Punjab, though similar in form to that of the Mughals and the Sikhs and explicitly conservative in spirit, differed from that of its predecessors in one fundamental respect. The British made the revenue records into a permanent legal record of rights in the land as well as a source of information for the assessment and collection of revenue.[22] With this innovation, the Government penetrated the political and social organization of the village based on kinship and caste while the Mughals and the Sikhs had merely grafted it onto the bottom of their administrative and authority structures. From the time of British annexation, the records maintained in the district office, and not the individual's membership in the dominant caste, insured possession of land and the social and economic standing that it brought.[23] Since the records were now legal proof of ownership, they had to be minutely detailed, systematically stored and regularly revised. Later in the century the records became still more comprehensive as the Government decided that accurate annual statistics on agriculture were necessary to avert famine, and, after the turn

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of the century, to launch development projects. The major elements of official policy toward rural Punjab in the early twentieth century also relied heavily on the revenue records. The Land Alienation Act (1900), the Pre-Emption Act (1910) and tenancy legislation in general all depended on the accurate and detailed maintenance of the record of rights in the land. The effect was to further enhance the importance and the coverage of the records. This is ironical in that the underlying purpose of official policy was the maintenance of Punjabi society in what the British saw as its traditional form against changes which were directly related to the revenue system itself--the creation of absolute ownership of land and its recording in the revenue records.

The patwari (village record keeper), a Government employee, compiled a number of different records for each officially designated village in the Punjab. Most were made in duplicate, one copy for storage in the revenue record office of the district headquarters, and the other for the daily use of the patwari. The file in the district office is quite complete and easy to use since the staff is accustomed to searching out older records for use in legal cases. Urdu was used for all of the revenue records in the Punjab until 1965. Since then the records in Indian Punjab are in Hindi and Gurumukhi while Urdu continues to be used in Pakistani Punjab.

Of the records still extant, the jamabandi,[24] which is compiled every four years, is the most important for the revenue system and historical research. This document, serves as a permanent record of all rights in the land (ownership and tenancy) and an account of revenue due to the Government. It provides an outline

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of the structure of land control and use, and a range of statistics on the size of holdings, extent of tenancy, and rents. In the record, each distinct owner or joint ownership group is listed by name, parentage, and (until 1947) caste, with the identifying number, area, and type of land of every plot owned. Formal arrangements for the distribution of profits in joint holdings are also spelled out in many cases. If a tenant cultivates the land, the jamabandi gives his name, parentage, and caste, as well as the type of tenancy and the amount of rent paid to the owners. The record contains the same information for both parties when the land is under mortgage. The Jullundur District record room has the jamabandi drawn up as part of the first revenue survey after British annexation (1848-49), as well as those for 1884-5, 1898-9, and every fourth year lhereafter to the present. The khasra girdavari (harvest inspection register), an annual record from which the jamabandi is prepared, exists only for the year 1848-9, and the period 1956-7 to 1967-8. The patwari compiles the girdavari by visiting every field in the village and noting the name of the owner, cultivator, terms of use, and the crops grown for each of the two yearly cropping seasons. His findings then form the basis of all other village records.

The entries in the jamabandi contain enough information on each land owner and tenant to reconstruct the genealogy of each family mentioned in the record. This information is more conveniently available in the shajra nasib (genealogical table) of owners and permanent tenants which is drawn up with the jamabandi every four years. Since 1898-9 owners of residential properties in the

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village have been included as well. Although no shajra was compiled with the first jamabandi in 1848-9, the 1884-5 table includes the genealogy of every landowning family back to the common ancestor who had founded the village, in Jullundur District as many as thirty-one generations before. The information in the shajra nasib, supplemented by genealogical information collected orally and from other documents can be used as a framework of the village's population over time for ordering and analyzing other data available in the records.

Statistical material in the jamabandi (size of plots, rents, and area cultivated by tenants/owners) can be used for examining some straight-forward questions of agricultural economics. One possibility would be to determine both the average size, the distribution of sizes of owners' holdings and actual operating units over time. Similarly, one could trace both the changing ratio of tenant/owner cultivation and the history of rents throughout the period.

The potentials of the materials for relating population growth to village social structure and social relations are even more interesting. Throughout the period covered in the records, land has remained both the most important economic resource and one of the most important determinants of social and political status in Punjabi villages. By relating the genealogies in the shajra nasib to information on land ownership and use in the jamabandis of different years, it is possible to trace the changing distribution of land among families within a village, illustrate the operation of the law of inheritance (coparcenary division), and document

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the results of its differential impact on the social and economic position of families within the community. It is also possible to determine the fate of land belonging to families which die out completely. Once the shifting pattern of land control is clear, it can be related to biographical data of family members on migration, education, occupational change, sale and purchase of land, innovation in agriculture, and the changing status of each family drawn from interviews in the village.

A second possible line of inquiry would be to examine the relationship of owner and tenant over time. The records indicate in what situations owners rent land to tenants, and how increasing pressure on the land from population growth affected the social groups (caste and kinship) from which tenants are drawn and the amount and type of rents obtained. In Jullundur rents varied greatly from tenant to tenant. Apparently both kinship and caste influenced the type and amount of rent in the past and to a lesser extent, recently and at present. But it also seems that low caste tenants were more numerous in the nineteenth century than in recent years. A thorough analysis would trace this change over time relating it to population growth, availability of alternative occupations, changing cropping patterns, and the profitability of agriculture.

The jamabandis, in the framework of the family genealogies in the shajra nasibs, contain a good deal of data on family structure since 1849. The formal arrangements for the division of the produce of the land are one source, and the information which one can extract concerning the division of land between father and son, or among brothers, another. The proportion of joint property groups in a village and the frequency of division of property between a son

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and father during the latter's lifetime could both be followed over time as indications of change in family composition and structure. The data on the family can be used in conjunction with material drawn from interviews to determine the relationship between family organization and economic activity. It is in connection with the family, however, that the limitations of the revenue records for the social history of Punjabi villages are most apparent. Most of the information in these materials relates only to the landed families, or slightly over half of most communities. Information on non-landed families must come from other sources.

The intiqal (mutation) register contains the details of every transaction concerning land, both agricultural and residential. Before the patwari changes the title to a piece of land in the jamabandi he records the information about the transaction in the intiqal register: name, parentage, and caste of both parties, type of transfer (sale, mortgage, inheritance, division of patrimony between heirs), sale price, mortgage money, and the type and amount of land involved. Entries frequently also indicate the circumstances leading to the change--mortgages to obtain cash for the purchase of animals, sales to repay old debts, divisions to end disputes between joint-owners. The intiqal register is available in its entirety; I found, for instance, the details on more than 3000 transactions in one Jullundur village. This material can be employed for the study of the incidence of land sales, mortgages, and the price of land over time. In the context of the full examination of the economic activity of various families, it should be possible to isolate some characteristics of both parties to these transfers. In the past, studies of agricultural economics and economic history

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in India have taken the amount of debt and the large volume of land sales as indications of the impoverished state of agriculture. The data in the intiqal register in the context of information from the jamabandis and village interviews will make it possible to discover the trends of transfer within a village (increasing concentration, wider distribution, static, or cyclical), and to determine who is buying land.

The lal kitab (village notebook) contains statistics abstracted from the yearly khasra girdavari before its destruction. Although less satisfactory than the complete record because of the aggregate nature of the figures, the material in the lal kitab is an important source of time series on various aspects of the village economy. Yearly cropping statistics, including the total area cultivated, area irrigated and double-cropped, and the area under each crop for the year 1848-9, and the period 1884-5 to 1967-68 are still available in Jullundur. In addition a quinquennial cattle census, an inventory of important implements including the number of wells, and the results for the village of the regular decennial census of the population are recorded in the lal kitab.

All of the revenue records described to this point form series whose value is derived primarily from the fact that they are available at regular intervals over a long period of time. A variety of other materials relating specifically to the village exist; these materials are interesting, even though not serial in form. Most of these records were generated by settlement operations when, after a period of about thirty years, the land was re-surveyed and the land revenue re-assessed. Settlements occurred in Jullundur

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in 1848-9, 1884, and 1914-5. This process included the compilation of a wajib-ul-arz (village administration paper) detailing village customs regarding rights and obligations of various parties in the community. Although their contents varied from one settlement to another, all three wajib-ul-arz contain a statement of fees to be paid to "village servants" (carpenter, blacksmith, sweeper, agricultural laborer, etc.) in return for specified services. These accounts, supplemented by oral information, provide data for examining change in the jajmani system, village occupational structure, and some aspects of social relations in the community.

The materials compiled as part of the first British revenue survey of Jullundur, are by far the fullest for any single year. In addition to the khasra girdavari, jamabandi, and wajib-ul-arz already mentioned, this record includes an outline of the origin of the landowning caste, its settlement of the village, and the history of the community under Mughal and Sikh administrations according to traditions current in the mid-nineteenth century and what could be gleaned from old records. It is therefore possible to take the records of several neighboring villages and study the settlement of the area by a particular caste group, and the fissioning process by which the parent settlement yields a number of satellite villages over several generations. Officials who visited the village often made notes at irregular intervals containing a good deal of interesting information. In Jullundur these touch on a variety of subjects of general interest, on the number of deaths in different epidemics, village participation in nationwide political events, and overseas migration; as well as matters important

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for the study of particular villages, like persistent conflict between one or two families or lineages, the number of brick houses in a given year, and the illicit distillation of rum. These notes add richness to the statistical data in the main part of the revenue records, and provide an important source of indigenous terminology for kinship and social relations in the nineteenth century.

Census Records

Unpublished census materials contain some valuable information for the basic demographic history of rural Punjab. Although it has been the practice since 1881 to destroy the actual enumerator's slips from each census upon completion of the succeeding one, some information is still available. In Jullundur District, there are manuscript materials for the censuses of 1848 and 1961, (and some figures for the village for the years 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1941). The results of the village census of 1848 are appended to the jamabandi for that year. The report lists the name of the head of each household, his caste, occupation, type of house, and the number of males, females, and children residing with him. The other information is the number of draught and milk cattle, and the number of wagons owned by each household. I cannot over-emphasize the importance of the mid-nineteenth century manuscript censuses for the study of the social and economic history of Punjabi villages. With a detailed census of a community, it is possible to establish precisely the composition and basic social structure of a village at a point in time, and follow changes in occupational structure over a number of years. The census also provides the name of the individuals in the genealogies of all castes who were

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present at that time. This base-line facilitates the examination of the importance of demographic variables for family structure and the discovery of the nature and extent of migration in and out of the community.

The 1891 census includes a printed report for each district in the Punjab. Most of the figures are simply district totals for the same tables which appear in the published volume: the only village statistic is total population. The "Village Census Register" in the revenue record room at the district headquarters has comparable figures for years 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1941. Except for recording the number of inhabited houses, however, the material in the "Register" merely duplicates the material in the lal kitab. The Superintendent of Census, Punjab, was kind enough to provide access to the 1961 census slips. The information on the 1961 slips is: name, caste (if scheduled caste), age, marital status, relationship to household head and occupation. The current slips are useful in manuscript form for material on household composition.

Other Official Records

Although the most numberous and important, revenue and census records do not account for all of the official materials available on Punjab's villages. There are several other sources of information in the district headquarters and the district level offices of different Government departments. The judicial records, located in the judicial record room in the district headquarters, are very similar to the revenue records in the manner in which they are organized and stored. They are maintained in Urdu and divided into three categories, mal (revenue), faujdari (criminal), and

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diwani (civil), each with a separate index for individual villages. The indices list each case in chronological order with a reference to a general register for the tehsil where the essentials of the dispute are abstracted. The papers for particularly important cases are preserved in a separate basta (file) for each village. Although compared with the revenue records, the judicial records are in relatively poor condition, and there are some gaps in the indices, these materials are voluminous and rich. For example, for one village in Jullundur District, the indices contain citations to over 3000 civil cases, 700 revenue cases, and 500 criminal cases for the period 1848-1968. Most of the case-papers in the file had been destroyed when it was felt they would no longer be required for reference. Neglect and worms have also reduced many of the tehsil registers to a state in which they are no longer readable. Yet I was able to collect information on approximately 1000 civil cases scattered over a one hundred year period. For each, the record listed the name, caste, and parentage of both parties to the suit, the nature of the dispute, the judgment of the court, and the total cost of the action. Even these brief notes are valuable for documenting the history of social relations among village families, factions of land-owners, and caste groups. The dates of the first recorded disputes and the volume of cases over time are important inications of the villagers' awareness and use of institutions outside the community, and conflicts between socially ranked caste groups are also a sign of social change.

One last set of materials housed in the district headquarters, the special subject matter files, are different from all of the other records described here in that they contain no information

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about specific villages. The files represent the remains of the District Officer's correspondence after heavy weeding in the 1920's. In general, substantive files were eliminated, since they were of less importance for administration, and procedural ones retained. Thus it is easier to learn about the rules for buying typewriters in 1910 than to recover the district level summary report on the extent of agricultural indebtedness in that year. Some interesting files remain; the papers on the census, the gazeteer, special land grants to leading families, the distribution of land in the canal colonies, the appointment of zaildars and honorary magistrates, and the durbar lists are some of the most important.

In addition to the record rooms of the district headquarters, the offices of several branches of the Government in the district town have materials of considerable value for the study of rural history. The post office keeps a permanent record of the payment of military pensions in the district, dating from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as statistics on regular postal services such as the receipt and payment of money orders, foreign and domestic. Although these records are arranged chronologically, they are not difficult to work with since the area served by a single post office is not very large. In the office of the Superintendent of Police there is a file on the investigation of various complaints in each village, and detailed descriptions of important crimes and persistent disputes. The applications for passports are also housed in the district police headquarters. The police records are organized according to villages and are maintained in English, Urdu, and lately in Hindi and Punjabi.

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School records are somewhat more difficult to locate and use. or anything but sketchy summary statistics it is necessary to ravel from school to school in the district and work through each nrollment register. The returns are often rich enough to justify is effort. One of the oldest elementary schools in rural Jullundur a register that dates from the 1890's and lists the name, father's me and occupation, residence, caste, and educational attainment the students who have attended since that time. With this infor- tion, one can trace the spread of interest in education among ifferent caste, occupational, and family groups in the community o see who first showed interest and to determine the relationship etween education, the size of landholdings, and changing occupational pportunities in the area.

Pilgrimage Records

All of the records described to this point are drawn up and maintained by an official agency for explicitly stated purposes. The bahis (registers of pilgrims) compiled in various pilgrimage centers are, in contrast, the product of an enduring religious practice and the enterprise of a group of private individuals. B. N. Goswamy has already described these records in detail and demonstrated their importance for writing the history of eighteenth century Pahari art and artists.[25] Here I want to make two additional points. The bahis maintained by the pandas (Brahman record keepers) are almost as rich a source for genealogical, residential, and occupational data on village families as they are for lineages of artists. For a village in Jullundur I found records in Kurukshetra (117 miles away), Hardwar (210 miles) and Pehowa (136 miles). The records are kept in Devanagri, and, at Hardwar, the most im-

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portant center for Jullundur, date from about 1650. Each entry includes the name, sub-caste, place of origin, and place of residence of the pilgrim, and then the names of as many living and deceased male agnates as the visitor remembered, and finally, the date and occasion for his visit. This information can be used to construct genealogies, trace migrations over extended periods of time, and document important kinship networks connecting various communities. Although low-caste pilgrims had a separate panda, their record is quite full providing one of the few historical sources of biographical information on landless laborers and artisans in North India.

In addition to the genealogical entries, the bahis and their keepers are great repositories of information on the early histories of different landowning gotras (subcaste; exogamous patrilineal group) and their spread over a number of villages. It is frequently possible to discover the origin of non-landed families and when they became part of the community, and thereby get some sense of the mobility of artisan groups, even in the pre-British period.

The Interview as an Historical Source

Scholars have not yet fully exploited another very different source of information on the social and economic history of rural India. As Metcalf argues, there is no reason why interviewing must remain the tool solely of the anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists.[26] Jan Vansina's general work demonstates the richness of oral tradition and establishes guidelines for its collection and evaluation.[27] In another article he outlines a technique for applying the same methodology developed for collecting data on the cultural and political history of African kingdoms

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to problems of smaller scale, requiring greater detail.[28] While different kinds of questions and differences between Africa and India necessitate some modification in his appraoch, it remains a most useful starting point.

In a village in Jullundur District I conducted interviews with the head of each household to obtain systematic biographical data on three to four generations of the resident families. Rural India is particularly suited to this technique because of the central role of the family in social and economic structure. Since the individual depends upon the family for social status and economic position, informants remember a good deal about members of the community in the past. The existence of detailed village records further enhances the value of this technique by making cross references possible both as supplements and tests of reliability. The primary purpose of an historian's interviews must be to generate information on the past which can be used along with materials drawn from the records. Although the techniques are familiar to anthropologists, the perspective is different, requiring changes in the kinds of questions asked and producing very different data.

I designed the interviews to yield information that would trace the course of change over time rather than contrasting the village "then and now" as is unfortunately the practice in many studies which compare the "traditional village" (an ideal or theoretical construct) with a sociological study of the contemporary village and then label the differences as social change. George Conklin has recently shown that informants themselves are often guilty of this kind of false comparison with regard to changes in family

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organization.[29] An illustration of the need for an adequate baseline are the Chamars in Jullundur, traditionally leatherworkers, who are now primarily engaged in agricultural labor. The 1848 household census indicates that they were all agricultural laborers even at that time. To study occupational change, the focus must be on the shift from the situation in which all Chamars engaged in agricultural labor to the situation in which several perform unskilled factory labor, work in brick kilns, and in two cases even earn an excellent living in the traditional occupation, making leather goods.

My first few interviews also indicated that questions on which data could be generated for the present and immediately preceding generation could not be used to obtain comparable data over a longer period of time. The data on secondary occupations illustrates this point well. On examination I found that informants frequently gave a secondary occupation for living persons and their fathers, while they seldom could do so for the third or fourth generation. In some cases, like that of the chamars, this reflects a basic change, but in most it is probably a function of differential recall on the part of the informants.

Interviews for historical information must be structured around the information available in documentary sources. It is particularly important to avoid questions that yield data only on the present and cannot be given an historical perspective. When dealing with a rural, largely peasant population, this means that questions about attitudes are unworkable. Although it is possible to find out about the educational, residential, occupational, and demographic

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history of villagers no longer alive, one cannot discover their attitudes and ideas because of the absence of any literary materials which characterizes peasant communities. My interviews of household heads in a Jullundur village were divided into two parts. The first focused on the residential history of the family, mechanization of wells, changes in the organization of economic activities types of goods and their marketing, jajmani relationships), and the like. Of these, the data on residence proved to be the most interesting, both substantively and from the point of view of the method of collection. I found that given the stability of the population--in size until 1931 and in constituent families over a much longer period of time--it was possible to tour the village with a group of informants and plot where different families lived at different times, and how they spread out as the population started to grow. This procedure stimulated the memories of several older village residents who recalled people and events when confronted by a building or other landmark. Being in the actual physical setting was the crucial element in the satisfactory reconstruction of residential patterns in the past. It was impossible to work out comparable data for the village in Lyallpur District where several families lived for two to three generations before their return in 1947 following Partition.

The collection of a detailed genealogy of the whole family comprised the second, longer part of the interviews. With the shajra nasibs and the slips from the 1961 census as guides, I recorded as much genealogy as possible, and then the age/age at death, residence, occupation, education, and marital history of each person appearing in the genealogy if known. The results were useful even

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when the answers about an ancestor were all negative--he was not educated, did not leave the village to work, did not get married, etc., since this conveys a good deal of information.

One factor essential for making interviews a reliable source of historical data is the dating of every event and person recorded in the genealogies. To measure changes over a period of time, or between generations, it is necessary to establish chronology with some accuracy. The nature of rural society in the Punjab makes this difficult; illiterate village cultivators seldom know the year of their own birth much less the dates of various occurences. To meet this situation I employed a "date-event" chart, a standard technique of sociologists,[30] along with a local concept of association for dating events like the emigration of a brother overseas, the age of an uncle who had been dead for many years, or the construction of a new house or well. Both techniques are systematic versions of the method used by villagers among themselves when trying to date something, and are accurate enough to at least distinguish generations. Villagers generally start by asking how long ago some well-known event took place, and then state that their house was constructed just two years before or after that. I recorded seventeen events between 1892 and 1965 which can be dated in either the local revenue record or some more general source. The informant was then asked when a given family event occurred relative to these recorded events. In another case an informant will state that he or a family member is the hanni (age mate, from Punjabi han age) of one of the educated people in the village. By collecting birth dates for the five families headed by educated men, and

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he ages of all persons in the school enrollment registers and
ilitary pension lists, I worked out an "age-grid" for the village
hich dates back one hundred years.

The existence of a substantial number of different types of
ecords covering some of the same questions as the interviews also
hances the value of the oral accounts. I have serious reservations
bout relying solely on oral testimony for historical research.
et the reccrds are important for more than simple cross-checks
nd as supplements to interviews. Really complete and rigorous
ata are the product of the continuous weaving of oral and documen-
ary information. I found that direct experience in the village
was crucial for making sense out of the village revenue records
which are difficult to use because of their bulk and their fragmen-
tary character. A comparison of the current record with ownership,
tenancy, and cropping in the village that it reported was essential
for locating areas of inaccuracy, and what is really more important,
understanding what the entries in the records mean. After the
first session of each household interview I checked the records
to clarify confusions and frame new questions. My experience with
the collection of genealogies illustrates the continuous reciprocal
process of reference between oral and documentary sources.

Since I planned to use genealogies collected in the village
to generate basic demographic data, the question of completeness
was relevant. Anthropologists have long been aware that genealogies
collected through the recall of informants, though excellent data
on how local people define kinship ties and relate themselves to
the communities in which they live, are not complete accounts of
all who lived in the past. The interviews in the village started

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by tracing the descent of male agnates for each family now living there. I then compared these accounts with the information recorded in the shajra nasibs, and any individuals omitted for one reason or another were then included with as much biographical information as informants could recall. The genealogical materials in the shajra nasibs are particularly reliable for the period 1884-5 to the present since they were drawn up cumulatively at four year intervals and are not the product of anyone's memory. Although the genealogical data in the 1884-5 shajra nasib is retrospective for the earlier period and therefore probably not complete, there is enough detail in the jamabandis and the census materials to reconstruct the genealogies back to 1848-9. The revenue records, however, contain little information on non-landed families. It is here that the pilgrimage registers were particularly useful. These accounts, when available, are very full and probably quite accurate because they too were compiled by a continuous process. The technique of filling out materials by repeated cross references is not unidirectional, the records were not always correct. In numerous instances I was able to clarify a confused passage in the revenue records or the pilgrimage registers only after an informant stated that he "was some kind of relative" to another family. Frequently new questions were generated by listening to informants, skimming the records, and trying to fit various pieces together and account for patterns of behavior. Comments in the interviews also led me to many of the materials I have described here. I learned of the existence of the judicial records, and the possible availability of military and school lists in this manner, and made the pilgrimage to Hardwar on the villagers' assurance that what

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I would find there would make the trip worthwhile.

Conclusion

To date there are only a few examples of the use of village records as sources for the study of rural India, and even these make limited use of the data available. Harold H. Mann was apparently the first to draw on village revenue records for his classic studies of village economics in the Deccan in the second decade of the twentieth century. He extracted figures from the patwari records to trace the incidence of revenue and the size of distribution of land holdings in the village from 1771-2, and cropping patterns from 1885-6.[31] A few years later, F. D. Lucas, in Punjab's first community study, used patwari records from the end of the nineteenth century in his account of the economic life of a village in Hoshiarpur District.[32] His work set the pattern for the village monographs produced by the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab which began to appear in the late 1920's. For the most part, the Board's studies, which were researched and written according to a fixed outline, follow Mann's and Lucas' examples and use the revenue records only for time-series on various aspects of rural economics: size of holdings, rents, tenancy, crops, and the like.[33] The exception is the tracing of the property of a few families over a period of time as case studies in the process of fragmentation of land holdings.[34] Aside from this neither Mann nor the Board studies made any effort to utilize systematically the sociological data contained in the names, family names, caste ascription, and genealogy of land owners and tenants in conjunction with the information on the distribution of land, cropping, etc. I know of only one

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published study of this type dealing with the sub-continent; S. A. Qadir's examination of the adjustment of population to available land over three generations since the 1890's in a village in East Bengal.[35]

If village records are as numerous and rich as I have argued here, why have so few scholars used them, and why do the few studies based on these materials make such limited use of them? The answer lies in a range of difficulties involved in using village records for scholarly purposes. None of them is located in conventional archives designed for use by researchers. Since the records are part of the working files of Government offices, one must start in Chandigarh and Lahore with the senior civil servants responsible for the departments concerned. I applied to the Financial Commissioner, Revenue, Punjab (India) and the Member, Board of Revenue, Punjab (Pakistan) for permission to examine and make uncertified copies of village revenue records in the two countries. I also requested officials in the post office, census, police, and education departments for comparable facilities. Obtaining entry took some time, but once permission was granted I was given a great deal of freedom and cooperation in District offices. Extensive copying of records presents a problem in district towns where microfilming facilities are not available, but I found that I could hire clerks to do the work by hand at very reasonable rates. By asking the official in charge of each record room to recommend someone who had recently retired from the office staff, I was able to obtain copyists who knew the records well and fit into the routine of the office easily. Once my two full-time copyists became acquainted

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with my interests and goals, they were, as insiders, very effective in ferreting out older records which had not been in use recently and were therefore buried in the dusty recesses of the record room.

But the principal problems in the use of village records are conceptual and methodological and not the difficulties of access and the lack of facilities. The reasons why they have as yet received little scholarly attention stem from the nature of rural society in the Punjab discussed in the first part of this essay, and the type of records I have described. The records are so voluminous, and the data in them so highly fragmented, that it is impossible to dig into them with a vaguely defined interest and the hope that a more definite outline will emerge as one works through the material. Most of the records are compiled and organized by the individual village, and there are over 1300 villages in Jullundur District alone! In themselves the records on an individual community are "often little more than tedious lists of names and numbers..."[36] To give them meaning a set of problems must be defined and a series of questions posed as the basis for the selection of a village or villages, and the collection of appropriate data from each community. One possibility is the selection of a single community for a comprehensive study in which records and interviews are integrated in a detailed reconstruction of the composition of the community over time as a case study in social and economic change.[37]

An historical study of social mobility and elite formation might select a group of prominent Punjabis and trace them back to their village origins, using the village records to study their position in rural society, its contribution to their movement out

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of the village, and the effect of their new status on relatives who remained behind. The impact of public works projects (railway, road, or canal) could be examined by selecting appropriately placed villages and one or two controls and then comparing changes in land use, ownership, and occupational structure in them over time. The effects of the growth of urban centers could be followed in the same way.

There are many other projects that could draw on village records; the research design for each would be different. The point is that in dealing with village records in India, the historian must alter his usual mode of operation of starting with the sources on a period or problem and working through to a study suggested by his material. He must begin by posing a question and framing a procedure for its study. An hypothesis and the process for testing it will then provide a basis for the selection of a workable number of communities or parts of communities, and the collection of relevant information. The data can then be organized and analyzed within the same methodological and conceptual framework.[38] The form of the data will of course necessitate some early decisions about processing techniques, whether by computer, key sort, or whatever.[39]

Bernard Cohn has spelled out the characteristics of the "new" social history in the context of the study of South Asia.[40] Research in India that follows the pattern of recent work in social history elsewhere will be "based on disaggregated data, concerned with the actual changes in behavior of the actors in the system, and oriented toward problems, generalization, and theory testing...."[41]

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Village records are clearly an excellent source for studies of the type Cohn outlines; research based on them will exemplify the value of the "new" social history in the study of India. Quantification will play an important part, since the techniques employed for the processing of data lend themselves to the measurement of social and economic change. Yet it is also apparent that the conceptualization at the base of the "new" social history is essential to make use of village records.

Historical research using village records for the kind of studies suggested here requires a good deal of planning and preparation, but it is my conviction that the effort will be repaid handsomely. If problems are defined and an analytical framework established, these records of the behavior and choices made by villagers have great potential for examining a whole range of long standing questions about social and economic change in rural India.

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NOTES

[1]The generous support of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program made possible the research on which this paper is based.

[2]Unless indicated otherwise, "India" and "Punjab" refer to those areas as constituted prior to 1947.

[3]In an inventory of one village cultivator's personal papers in a village in Jullundur District, I found 147 different documents ranging from a statement of the family's land holding in 1848 signed by a British officer, to a receipt for a bicycle registration tag from 1967.

[4]Thomas C. Smith, The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 84.

[5]Thomas R. Metcalf, "Estate Management and Estate Records," Indian Economic and Social History Review, IV (1967), pp. 99-108; Walter Hauser, "The Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha, 1929-1942: A Study of an Indian Peasant Movement." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961.

[6]Norman G. Barrier, The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill of 1900 (Durham: Duke University, Comparative Studies of Southern Asia, 1965), pp. iii, 12 n. 24.

[7]Ibid., 96. Barrier is well aware of the distinction made here, although some of his reviewers have missed the difference between a study of land alienation and a study of the administration's view of the problem and response to it.

[8]Dharma Kumar, Land and Caste in South India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Ravinder Kumar, Western India in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.)

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[9]P. H. M. van den Dungen, "Land Transfer, Social Change and Political Stability in the Punjab, 1849-1901." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1966; "Status and Occupation in Nineteenth Century Punjab" in Soundings in Modern South Asian History ed. by D. A. Low (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 59-94.

[10]James M. Douie, The Settlement Manual of the Punjab, 4th ed., (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1930), pp. 57-58.

[11]Bernard S. Cohn, "Notes on the History of the Study of Indian Society and Culture," in Structure and Change in Indian Society, ed. by Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 20-21.

[12]Ibid., p. 21.

[13]D. G. Barkley, Directions for Revenue Officers in the Punjab (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1875), and Robert N. Cust, Manual for the Guidance of Revenue Officers in the Punjab (Lahore: Koh-i-Nur Press, 1866). W. H. Moreland, The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces (Allahabad: The Pioneer Press, 1911) provides an excellent introduction in Chapters XII-XXII.

[14]Thomas R. Metcalf, "Notes on the Sources for Local History in North India," Journal of Asian Studies, XXVI (1967), pp. 665-76.

[15]Oscar Lewis, Village Life in North India (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 329-47.

[16]B. N. Goswamy, "The Records Kept by Priests at Centres of Pilgrimage as a Source of Social and Economic History," Indian Economic and Social History Review, III (1966), pp. 174-84.

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[17]Sita Ram Kohli, "Land Revenue Administration under Maharajah Ranjit Singh," Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, I (1918), p. 74.

[18]Horace Hayman Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), p. 336. This is a reprint of the 1855 edition.

[19]Richard Temple, "Settlement Report of the Jullundur District" in India. Selections From the Records of the Government of India, General Report on the Administration of the Punjab, for Years 1849-50 and 1850-51 (London: Court of Directors of the East India Company, 1854), p. 264.

[20]Kohli, pp. 77, 80-81.

[21]Temple, p. 262.

[22]Douie, p. 52.

[23]Bernard S. Cohn, "From Indian Status to British Contract," Journal of Economic History XXI (1961), p. 619.

[24]In general the first occurence of an Indian term will be followed by a parenthetical translation. The jamabandi contains so much material, however, that a simple English rendering is impossible.

[25]B. N. Goswamy, "The Records Kept by Priests at Centres of Pilgrimage as a Source of Social and Economic History." Indian Economic and Social History Review, III (1966), pp. 174-84.

[26]Metcalf, pp. 674-75.

[27]Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965).

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[28]Jan Vansina, "Oral History in Africa," African Studies Bulletin, VII (1964), pp. 2-14.

[29]George H. Conklin, "Social Change and the Joint Family: The Causes of Research Biases," Economic and Political Weekly, IV, (1969), pp. 1945-8.

[30]See for instance, 1960 Population Census of Ghana, Vol. V, "General Report" (Accra: Census Office, 1964), p. 113.

[31]Harold H. Mann, Land and Labour in a Deccan Village (London: Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 43-6, 67; and Land and Labour ina Deccan Village, No. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 41-4, 61.

[32]E. D. Lucas, The Economic Life of a Punjab Village (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette,n.d.) pp. 43, 65, 67.

[33]See for instance Anchal Dass and H. Calvert, An Economic Survey of Tehong: A Village in the Jullundur District, The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1931), pp. 2-3, 17.

[34]Ibid., pp. 59-63.

[35]S. A. Qadir, Village Dhanishwar, Technical Publication No. 5 (Commilla: Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1960).

[36]Metcalf, p. 671.

[37]For the principals used to select a village for this type of study see Tom G. Kessinger, "Historical Materials on Rural India," Indian Economic and Social History Review, VII (1970), pp. 491-2.

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[38]For a description of the methodological and conceptual framework employed in one recent study see Tom G. Kessinger, "Anthropology and History: The Study of Social and Economic Change in Rural India," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, III (1970), pp. 313-22.

[39]For an example, see Tom G. Kessinger, "Viliyatpur 1848-1968: An Historicalal Cast Study of Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972, Appendix III, "Data Processing Techniques," pp. 365-82.

[40]Bernard S. Cohn, "Society and Social Change under the Raj," South Asian Review, IV (1970), pp. 27-49.

[41]Ibid., p. 36.

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Banned Literature in Punjab, 1907-1947

N. Gerald Barrier

Historical research on the evolution of modern India ignores a major source of religious and political problems, the publications banned by the British between 1907 and 1947. During these four decades, the government attempted to destroy a segment of Indian literature. A measure of the raj's success is the infrequency of references to the proscribed (banned) titles in current political surveys. Ironically, even Indian revolutionaries writing their autobiographies or histories of their movements tend to rely on files in the Home-Political section of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, rather than utilizing proscribed works which they and associates produced.

This essay introduces the proscribed literature of one province, the Punjab, and suggests themes and the possible value of the books and tracts.[1] The first section describes the evolution of laws and formal structures affecting Punjab publicists, followed by a discussion of the problems and policies underlying the banning process. A third section surveys how the titles were preserved in three collections and concludes with an analysis of the major categories of material available to scholars. A definitive statement on all aspects of proscribed publications would be premature, but this study should highlight the importance of the literature and serve as a guide to key titles. The discussion also should be useful for non-Punjab specialists because similar themes and types of material on other regions of India can be found in the same depositories.

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The Evolution of Press Controls

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Punjab government possessed several laws affecting its control of literature judged "inflammatory" or "seditious." All-India legislation, Act XXV of 1867, "for the regulation of printing presses and newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India, and the registration of such books," became the legal bedrock for surveilling local publications. The legislation enabled the government, in most cases, to identify those responsible for a given work because each book or newspaper had to contain names of authors, printers, and publishers. Moreover, copies were to be delivered immediately to local authorities for scrutiny. In the Punjab, an official in the Education Department generally reviewed the literature and reported to the police if a work seemed to warrant further discussion. Possible prosecution then could occur under several sections of the penal code. Section 124A, enacted in 1870 and amended by Act IV of 1898, dealt with sedition:

> "Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India shall be punished...."[2]

Act IV also introduced section 153A, making punishable speeches or writing inciting "class hatred." In addition, three other pieces of legislation assisted the Punjab government in checking circulation of printed matter. Act V of 1898 permitted magistrates to execute bonds for good behavior in cases of individuals who disseminated seditious material (124A) or publications inciting class enmity (153A). Section 26 of the 1898 Indian Post Office Act empowered the Governor General to order interception of postal articles, and section 19 of the 1878

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Customs Act extended similar authority to intercept items from outside India.[3]

The Punjab did not often utilize these sections of the penal code, or the sea customs and postal acts.[4] The reason involves the local administration's reading of Punjab politics. On the one hand, the government preferred to use personal influence as a means of control rather than court action. Resort to courts would be demeaning and might stir further trouble, while warnings and private discussions supposedly could be as effective in moderating public viewpoints. On the other hand, Punjabis tended to be more concerned with issues within their own communities or between local groups than in attacking the government. The Punjab was politically active in the nineteenth century, but that activity revolved around control of resources within local organizations or between sects instead of agitation directed at the British.[5] The Punjab government reinforced this pattern by avoiding issues which might stir up anti-British feelings.[6] A few proceedings against publicists were initiated, but these tended to revolve around slander and instances of extreme communal incitment. Caution and reliance upon informal controls characterized Punjab policy toward polemic literature in the 19th Century.

Dramatic changes in Punjab after 1900 forced a re-appraisal of reliance on personal influence and a low legal profile. Militant politics came to the province in the form of a revived Punjab Congress, the radical Anjuman Mohibban-i-Watan headed by Ajit Singh, and the anti-British Panjabee (a daily English-language paper established in

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1904). Frustrated by the sustained attacks, the British struck back with prosecution of the Panjabee (1906-7) which, when combined with numerous pieces of faulty legislation and provincial issues, generated widespread disturbances in the spring of 1907. In May, the Lieutenant Governor, Denzil Ibbetson sent a panicked despatch to the Governor General, Minto, requesting executive powers to deal with the emergency.[7]

The appearance of unrest in Punjab reinforced the Indian government's concern over the state of politics and press opinion. Within a few days after receiving the Punjab communique, Minto and his Council issued a press resolution signaling British intentions to take a firmer line with political commentators. Prior to 1907, all proceedings under sections 124A and 153A had to be sanctioned by the center, thus slowing down prosecutions. The resolution stated that henceforth local governments could institute cases without consulting with the Governor General.[8] This was followed in 1908 with a "Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act" empowering magistrates to confiscate presses known to have produced particularly violent literature. Political murders and mounting extremist politics throughout India nevertheless continued, until by 1910, the Government of India decided to enact comprehensive press legislation.

The India Press Act of 1910 had three major objectives. First, the British enhanced their control over printing presses and publishers. All proprietors making a declaration under the 1867 Press Act were required to deposit security unless dispensed with by local magistrates. Owners of existing presses would have to make deposits only if they printed "objectional matter" (incitement to murder, tampering with the loyalty of the army, inciting racial or religious animosity).

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Once the security had been deposited, local governments could declare the amount (up to Rs. 5,000) forfeit if objectionable matter were printed. The press would either cease to function or the owner could put up a larger deposit (Rs. 1,000-10,000). If thereafter the printer handled similar material, the security and press could be seized. Secondly, the bill widened official control over the importation and transmission of political literature. Customs and postal authorities could detain and search suspicious mail without specific orders from the Indian government. Finally, the act authorized local authorities to declare forfeit any newspaper, book or other printed document containing matters of the prohibited description. The press act therefore provided for new deterrents (securities) and executive action to remove publications from circulation. It barred recourse to judicial review except appeal to a special bench of high court judges, who would decide whether the matter objected to was or was not cf the variety defined in the act.[9]

Although the legislation provided the Punjab authorities with new powers to deal with political challenge, the problem of trying to work out mechanisms to operate the law still remained. The initial scrutiny of publications gradually was turned over to the provincial C.I.D., which examined newspaper editions and non-serial items. The Government of India urged a more elaborate system, but the Punjab refused, noting that at least partial supervision of what was being produced came from Punjabis themselves: "The factional feeling so strongly prevalent in the Punjab affords further safeguard against any prolonged dissemination of objectionable books. The vigilance of the Vernacular Press and its contributors may be trusted to draw attention to anything from which one side can hope to make capital at the expense of its opponents."[10] In

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addition to bickering with the center over specific titles, other problems also appeared, as for example, the issue of jurisdiction and who decided which works should be banned. This was illustrated by a fight between the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province. A politician from Peshawar (N.W.F.P.) published a controversial book in Amritsar, but because copies did not circulate outside Punjab, the N.W.F.P. government felt unable to ban the item or arrest the culprit. The Punjab refused to ban the book, and the affair ended with no arrests and no checks on its circulation.[11]

Despite such bureaucratic tangles, the basic mechanisms implementing the 1910 Act had become routinized by 1914. Newspaper proceedings went through three phases--investigations, seizure of security and demand for enhanced security--a pattern illustrated by the Punjab Advocate forfeiture. In June 1912, the paper charged the bureaucracy with "personal rule" disregarding Indian interests. The C.I.D. had been watching the paper for months and decided that the article provided ample grounds for prosecution. After correspondence within the Punjab and with the Imperial Home Department, a magistrate confiscated the paper's Rs. 200 deposit. The publisher put up a new deposit but moderated his editorial policy.[12] Proscription of books and tracts proceeded on similar lines. Depending on the site of publication, the secretariat or local officers raised questions about an item. On receiving a copy (or occasionally, just background information on content), the Lahore secretariat had a magistrate ban the publication. Seizure of circulating copies quickly followed notification of the ban in the local gazette.

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The crises associated with the First World War brought more comprehensive press controls under the Defence of Indian Act (precensorship, summary trials by special tribunals.) At a time when controls were extended, however, the government began to consider constitutional reforms which eventually culminated in the repeal of recent press acts. The Governor General and Secretary of State, Chelmsford and Montagu, worked out a package of constitutional innovations including greater Indian participation in decision-making and relaxation of coercive laws. In an attempt to conciliate moderate opinion, the government cooperated in the establishment of a committee to examine the operation of press restrictions. The final recommendations of the committee were a foregone conclusion. Headed by Tej Bahadur Sapru and with an Indian majority, the Press Laws Committee urged that the British readjust their press laws because the politically dangerous situation behind the controls no longer existed. The new Governor General, Reading, agreed with most of the suggestions. In March of 1922, the Legislative Assembly repealed provisions for security and special trials. Altnough loosening restraints on journalists, the act permitted the bureaucracy to maintain controls of "seditious" tracts and books. Amendments to the 1867 press and registration act, and customs-postal regulations, permitted banning of material falling under the sedition clause of the code (124A). Also,officials kept the right to seize such material following notification.[13]

The repeal of the 1908 and 1910 press acts resulted from compromises among legislators and bureaucrats. Sapru and other leaders agreed to the continuance of official powers relating to

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radical, anti-British literature in return for an end to securities and forfeiture. The Indian government agreed to relaxation of restrictions so as to maximize the possibility of making and maintaining alliances with Indian politicians. One area was not compromisable, however, protection of the Indian princes. Just beginning to organize politically, the princes expressed alarm at wholesale removal of press restraints and demanded that the British prevent "outstide criticism" of themselves and their administrative decisions. Secretary of State Peel and some M.P.'s sympathized with the princes' position, and the India Office went so far as to threaten withholding assent to the press repeal act unless the Governor General insured that the princes' situation would be examined fully. Reading gave his word, and when the new Legislative Assembly refused to pass an Indian States Protection Against Disaffection Bill, he certified the legislation and forced its enactment.[14]

For several years the British relied on prosecution and selective bans to keep Indian publicists within acceptable literary bounds, but from the British point of view, these restrictions did not seem to be effective. The emergence of widespread communal rioting intensified already harsh religious writings which in turn led to further bad-feeling. Although the polemics were not anti-British, they did affect political relations and threatened disorder. The repeal of the 1910 Press Act excluded communal literature from the proscription process. Consequently, the government worked behind the scenes to get the Indian-dominated Legislative Assembly to amend the existing press laws so that courts could ban not only sedition but publications inciting racial and religious hatred.[15]

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At the same time, the growing boldness of Indian political commentary unnerved the British and led to an internal bureaucratic debate concerning the possible resurrection of the old press laws. The confluence of terrorist activity and Gandhi's threats of civil disobedience tipped the scale once again toward coercion. In 1930 the Governor General issued a temporary press ordinance with provisions for security and forfeiture, and this became first the basis for emergency legislation in 1932 and then a permanent press act in 1935. The government buttressed the act with stiffer regulations relating to protection of princes and new legislation affecting varieties of publications not covered by earlier law, such as news-sheets and cyclostyled notices.[16]

This brief description of the legal and administrative machinery relating to press control has emphasized the formal framework within which the British dealt with controversial literature. As in the case of other aspects of colonial rule, however, the application of laws and decision-making varied sharply with regional circumstance and personalities of individual bureaucrats.

Patterns of Proscription in Punjab

The banning of publications in Punjab, 1908-1947, illustrates the marked independence of local governments in setting policies and implementing all-India legislation. The Punjab administration generally reached its own decisions on bans, sometimes refusing to heed pressures from the Government of India either for or against specific items. Those decisions rested on two related sets of variables. First, the Punjab handling of controversial works reflected a continuity of assumptions and strategies. The British stood at the apex of a complex and expanding political system. To maintain themselves, they had to develop the means and tactics to

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implement goals and to retain policy functions. Key among these were defence of allies (especially chiefs and princes), meeting direct or indirect threats, and maintaining order. Secondly, despite continuities in decision-making, official attitudes and action fluctuated widely with political circumstance. Fluctuations partially derived from changing British perception of danger. Personalities of key administrators played an important role in such judgments. Moreover, developments within Punjab society accounted in large part for the phases and emphases of banning. Revolutionary activity, non-cooperation in Punjab, communal riots, intra-religious conflict-all presented threats at different times, and government responded accordingly. Circumstance conditioned the relative danger of a published work. A book judged innocent in 1910 might be viewed as a threat only a decade later.[17] A brief survey of the rhythm and rationale of proscription should explain the nature of the literature preserved in special collections.

Between 1908 and 1920, Punjab policy toward literary works swerved from a conciliatory attitude toward repression. The adverse publicity from the ill-fated Panjabee prosecution (1906-7) and the aftermath of the 1907 Punjab disturbances left the local government shaken and unsure of itself. The resulting press policy, a tendency not to interfer with newspapers and publicists, aggravated the Indian government to the point that the C.I.D. labelled the Punjab a haven for sedition.[18] The political orientation of Lieutenant-Governor Louis Dane (1908-1914) also stamped the character of administration. Dane thought that the loyalty and cooperation of Punjabis could be insured by minimal use of force. He personally rejected demands from the central secretariat that many works be seized.[19] During his regime, the Punjab only infrequently exercised powers under

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the press acts. The government banned 45 tracts, warned 11 proprietors of presses, forfeited 2 presses, and prosecuted 18 journalists, a relatively small number of proceedings as compared with the records of Bombay and Bengal.[20]

The arrival of Michael O'Dwyer as Lieutenant Governor in 1914 brought an abrupt change. Known for an iron-handed approach to political dissent, O'Dwyer lived up to his reputation. Events surrounding the First World War reinforced O'Dwyer's authoritarian tendencies. Punjab Muslims often associated with the cause of Khilafat and posed a threat to the raj. A more overt challenge came from terrorist rings bombing officers and raiding armories. The alliance between Germany and Indian revolutionary groups in the U.S. (Ghadar party) also generated an upsurge of anti-British literature and infiltration of terrorists into Punjab in 1915. O'Dwyer struck back hard. He set up spécial tribunals, interned hundreds, and widely censored journals. Moreover, the Punjab police accelerated demands for security and banned over 150 tracts.[21] The coercion crescendoed during the 1919 disturbances, with martial law and "summary justice."

Study of British files from the period indicates that the local government paid much attention to overt threats. First, the Punjab and Indian authorities attempted to ban Pan-Islamic works which seemingly eroded Muslim loyalty. Fearful of the Muslim reaction to western interference in Turkish affairs, the British hit Khilafat tracts and journals. The Zamindar and Comrade became favorite targets.[22] Moreover, the government seized terrorist literature and any form of printed matter inculcating violence. This latter category included calls to revolution, eulogic biographies of extremists,

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histories of revolt, and poetry or drama referring to the assassination of ruling groups. Also banned were publications from outside India (most notably, those of the Hindustan Ghadar Party and the Free Hindustan organization in New York), proscribed individually or through general notifications.[23]

Distinctions between revolutionary works and sophisticated attacks on the raj frequently were blurred. Appreciating the potential danger of a nationalist view of Indian history, the Punjab C.I.D. nervously examined the content of new or reprinted books on British rule. It immediately seized works with any suggestion of divide and rule such as Division of the Monkeys and Nand Gopal's Mirror of India.[24] Similarly, the British seized Bhai Parmanand's History of India because of its comments on colonial rule. Additional objections were raised to chapters on the 1857 mutiny and the 1871 Kuka uprising.[25]

The Punjab government also banned publications aimed at the groups or classes on which the bureaucracy depended for political support. The Punjab princes had to be protected.[26] A traditional pillar of empire, the Sikhs, became another concern. The Sikhs had assisted in putting down the mutiny and filled the ranks of the Indian army, but by 1910, the spread of militant self-awareness within at least one portion of the community created anti-British sentiments. Official discussion of Cunningham's History of the Sikhs demonstrates the seriousness with which the British viewed Sikh revivalism. In 1913, a London firm announced plans to reprint Cunningham's book, a treatise so sympathetic toward the Sikhs and critical of British aggrandizement that its circulation ruined the author's career as a political officer. News of the pending publication coincided with C.I.D. alarm at the appearance of unrest among Sikh students. The question was raised whether the India Office should request postponement of the re-issue

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because of the book's dangerous ideas. Following months of debate, the Punjab government decided reluctantly that while the study might inflate "Sikh vanity," it was sound and did not justify intervention. Other works addressed to Sikhs and other troops, however, were put out of circulation.[27]

The post-O'Dwyer phase of Punjab politics brought new variation in the tempo and direction of proscription. Although the Punjab banned numerous books (approximately 1,000 items) between 1920 and 1947, by far the most frequent occurrence was during the 1930-31 civil disobedience campaign. Determined to crush Gandhi and his nationalist efforts, Punjab agents seized almost every work on non-cooperation. In 1930, for example, gazette notices proclaimed over 300 books and tracts banned. Approximately 150 of that number focussed on Gandhi and satyagraha.[28] Events in the North West Frontier Province also related to Congress politics. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his Khidmatgar movement, often referred to as the "Redshirts," attempted to develop a nationalist base among the Pathans along the frontier. There too the British relied on repression, with police firings in Peshawar, raids, trials, and temporary suppression of publications.[29]

Gandhi's militant campaign coincided with a terrorist revival in Punjab. The local branch of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and similar organizations conducted extensive propaganda in addition to robberies and assassinations. The consequences included more trials, executions and bans.[30] Hybrid communist-revolutionary groups posed another threat to government. The sudden appearance of literature (tracts, posters and Kirti, a Communist journal from Amritsar) appealing to workers and peasants also evoked repraisals.[31]

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In the eyes of the Punjab government, nevertheless, the most constant danger throughout the twentieth century came not from the Congress or anti-British publications, but from those generated by religious controversy. The majority of literature banned in Punjab related to religion. Confrontation among Punjab sects often took the form of rioting, mass meetings, and tract warfare. Attacks on opponents probably were no worse in tone than those of earlier periods, but in an atmosphere charged with communal tension, their message had more sinister connotations. A single tract, such as Rangila Rasul (The Merry Prophet) could lead to court cases, murder and ultimately, widespread disturbance.[32]

Although a detailed analysis of the communal situation lies beyond the scope of the essay, several elements should be noted. First, the process of self-strengthening among the various Punjab religious communities had produced new self-awareness, organizations, and heightened attention to boundaries between sects. The political aspects of religious identification were becoming formalized, with politically-oriented organizations such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Khalsa Diwan, and its heir, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandak Committee. A new political context, characterized by elections and legislative activity, underscored the importance of population size, and this helps explain the frantic efforts of Sikhs and Hindus to increase their numbers. Hindus became involved in shuddhi (reconversion) campaigns, while the S.G.P.C. attempted to protect and expand Sikhism by gaining control of the community's finances and religious shrines. Another pattern involved criticism of princely states. Nabha and Patiala became involved in Sikh

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politics, and Kashmir (with a ruling Hindu family and a Muslim population) remained an irritant of Hindu-Muslim relations. Finally, strife within religious communities frequently was more pronounced than between religions. Among the Sikhs, the Tat Khalsa or keshdhari group (associated with the S.G.P.C.) opposed the alleged pro-Hindu faction; within Hinduism, the Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharm were perennial rivals. Among Punjab Muslims, the concept of Islamic brotherhood gave way to Sunni-Shia and Ahmadiya-Ahrar conflict.[33]

The resulting literature threatened order, and from the British standpoint, had to be met with prosecution and proscription. Banning of communal works tended to be selective, tied to particular issues or associations (e.g., the publications of the S.G.P.C. often were banned in 1922 and 1923). Many Arya Samaj and Sanatan productions went unchecked, as did the numerous tracts generated by the Rangila Rasul episode.[34] The British criteria seems to have been elimination of the most blatant, or, at least those items forcibly brought to official attention. Official files suggest a final trend by the 1940s--the Punjab government apparently relaxed its control over religious writing. Tracts by the Arya Samaj and Muslim League, or tirades for or against Pakistan, seem to have circulated more openly than in the past. One factor may have been the altered circumstances in Punjab, with Punjabis controlling many administrative and police positions. Another undoubtedly was the pressure of war, and the concomitant malaise spreading through the British elements in the bureaucracy. The decrease of bans probably reflected the Englishman's psychological disentanglement from the subcontinent, a prelude to "divide and quit."

In summary, the Punjab government had no immutable policy or set of standards determining the literature to be proscribed. Responding

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to immediate events and problems, the rulers evaluated material in light of circumstance. At the back of their minds were certain premises, including the need to maintain allies and order. Religious disturbance posed the most consistent threat, and consequently, communal literature predominates in the proscribed collections preserved and now available to students of Punjab.

The Collection and Content of Punjab Proscribed Works

The preservation of banned literature in India resulted from the British need to refer to previous legal action. Central and provincial authorities considered the controversial works as much a part of their reference-record system as departmental files and correspondence. The Government of India maintained copies in its Home-Political keep-with section, now housed in the National Archives of India. N.A.I. also has a second set, those from the confidential library of the Home Department transferred after 1947.

The two N.A.I. collections currently are being "deproscribed," a lengthy process because state governments have to be consulted on release of individual titles. The Home-Political annual index serves as a guide to the keep-with copies, and a detailed handlist of the library set is available to scholars upon request.

The conviction of English librarians that banned works were a vital element of India's literary output accounts for the preservation of two additional sets of material in London. Initially, proscribed items were not included in the regular shipment of Indian books to the two major copyright depositories, the British Museum and India Office Library. In fact, sometimes the Secretary of State and his Council found that they did not have copies of important titles.[35]

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In April 1914, however, the Bombay government raised the issue of whether London libraries should receive banned material. The Indian secretariat said "no," but the British Museum insisted on its right to possess copies of all publications, not just those judged "safe" by the Government of India. At the same time the Museum trustees offered to lock up controversial items until their inclusion in the public collection might be unobjectionable. The India Office agreed, and the Secretary of State asked Indian authorities to reconsider the matter because of the literary and "perhaps pathological" interest of the tracts.[36] The Government of India changed its mind and instructed local governments to send copies of proscribed items to the India Office. Arrangements kept breaking down, but letters in the British Museum and India Office files suggest that a steady stream of controversial literature reached the depositories between 1914 and 1947.[37]

The India Office and British Museum sets remained closed until 1967, when staffs of the institutions began to organize the holdings and make them available to scholars. The India Office collection now has been handlisted by language and can be examined in the special reading room of the new facilities at Blackfriars Road.[38] The Museum also has a handlist of its materials, and scholars can request specific tracts for use in the Student's Room.[39]

Although inadequate catalogues prevent total bibliographic control of the Punjab material in the four collections, many banned titles obviously have been preserved. The Punjab was especially diligent in making separate shipments to the Indian Office and British Museum. Moreover, on the basis of a preliminary analysis of the London holdings, Punjab material constitutes approximately 40-45% of the 1,750 Punjabi, English, Hindi and Urdu works.[40] A similar but

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slightly lower percentage holds true for the Home Department library set in the National Archives, also probably for the keep-with files in the same institution. Even when an actual work has not survived, in many cases, Home Department files provide background information and excerpts or translations. Leaving aside possible private collections, a substantial set of Punjab banned works may yet be discovered in the unopened records of the Punjab government in Lahore.[41]

Before examining the literature, brief comments on its format and general composition might be useful. The majority of publications tended to be tracts, polemic items generally four-sixteen pages in length. The low price of the tracts (in the 1-10 pice range) reflected their intent, a means of broadcasting an opinion among the widest possible audience. Also common were posters and broadsheets, single-page items to be pasted on sides of buildings or distributed in the market. Sikhs frequently relied on newsheets, issued daily to inform the community of the S.G.P.C.'s actions. Less than 10% of the material could be classified as books, more lengthy works with higher prices. These usually were biographies, histories, detailed critiques, or theological works.

The format of the polemic items varied with their message and the background of authors. Publicists most frequently relied on poetry and songs to communicate. Poems can be found on almost every subject--describing trials, a person, or an event--often in language designed more to inflame than to inform. Dialogues (prose or verse) also were popular, for example, between pro-Congress and anti-Congress adversaries, or "a good Sikh" and "a bad Sikh." Fiction and lively dramas appeared sporadically, usually didactic or ridiculing an opponent.[42]

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The following introduces important banned writings and suggests themes or problems to which they relate. Additional bibliographic information and location of the items is provided in the footnotes.

Although the Punjab never became a bastion for the Indian National Congress, considerable nationalist publications circulated in the province. Publicists expressed their ideas on politics and the British in many ways. The Arya Calendar for 1919, for example, carried pictures of prominent nationalists, one for each month. Bandar Bant, a two-page sheet circulating between 1920 and 1935, charged all communal problems to British "divide and rule." Other works portrayed British exploitation, such as Govind Ram Seth's India's Destruction, a drama on how imperialism ruined India. Historical works sometimes focussed on peculiarly Punjab themes, (e.g., Thakur Singh's Bloody Mutiny which presented data on British treatment of Dhuleep Singh, the deposed son of Ranjit Singh.)[43]

Approximately thirty tracts dealt with Gandhi and the demand for swaraj. Gandhi Gayan, for example, contained poems on nationalism and Gandhi's greatness. The titles of other works reflected their content: The English Crowing is Stopped or Songs of the Nation. Frequently in poetry, these publications interspersed emotional appeal with cross-reference to non-Indian heroes such as Lenin, Mazzini, Washington, and even Napolean.[44]

Literature on political revolution constituted another major category of publication. A few works surveyed the history of Indian revolution (e.g., Mammath Nath Gupta's Bharat Men Sashatra Kranti Ceshta Ka Romancakari Itihas, with chapters on conspiracies in Lahore). Broadsides proclaiming the message of armed revolt were common, as

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exemplified by The Biggest Fraud with India: The Time for Indian Youths to Wake Up. The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association published a range of material including The Philosophy of the Bomb and Arise, Awake Be Ready (an appeal to youth to disregard tradition and social values undercutting national unity). The following conclusion from another manifesto, The War of Freedom of 1857, represents the tone of the Association's literature:

> "Broad was the fiery red cross with which India started her crusade to Freedom.' Hold fast to that red cross, oh ye oppressed people to India, speed on, Angel of revolution, speed on. Go then, preach the Gospel to all the dear children of India--the country is ready for a Jahad to make every one of them free...."45

Radical political leaders also received attention. The lives of a revolutionary gunned down by the British, (Chandra Shaker Azad), the assassin of a prominent political officer (Madan Lal Dingra), and other politicians were treated in individual volumes, while anthologies of biographies sketched the deeds of Punjab "martyrs."[46] A voluminous literature grew up around the heroics of Sardar Bhagat Singh, a young nationalist who helped assassinate officers and tossed a bomb in the Legislative Assembly. Posters, poetry and biographies eulogized him, with portrayals of his smiling at the gallows and embracing death for the motherland. A legend even prior to his execution in 1931, Bhagat Singh rose from obscurity to symbolize India's total commitment to ridding the subcontinent of British domination.[47]

Revolutionary authors frequently addressed their messages to specific groups. Phauji Elan, for example, called on soldiers to rebel, while a collection of poems on "the tyranny of police" appealed for boycott of government service. One anthology of poems

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(Pain of the Country) was written especially for young men and children "whose hearts are not yet inclined toward national work."[48]

Punjab communist literature serves as a source both for exploring how the organization attempted to broaden its political base and for studying inner-party developments. The communists apparently developed an informal system for distributing their illegal publications. One bulletin, addressed to "labourers of the world," called on workers to "read, paste and pass on" cyclostyled messages.[49] Some pamphleteers tried to reach the workers and peasantry, others delved into economic problems and the difficulties of integrating nationalist fervor with international communist doctrine. Communal tensions in Punjab stimulated a concerted communist effort to replace religion with other issues, as illustrated by this 1935 poster:

> "Labourers and peasants of the world, unite yourselves and overthrow Imperialism. Government, which plays holi with the blood of the masses and its henchmen--Hindu, Sikh and Muslim capitalists, seeing the peace of the country being consumed with flames of fire set by them, feel pleased just as Nero felt happy on seeing Rome burn. These capitalists--Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders--have looted Hindu, Muslim and Sikh masses, have created trouble in the whole country. Having misled the masses in the name of religion, they have made them enemies of each other. Their object is that the masses will continue to cut one another's throat, and then the capitalists who suck their blood would continue to do so, and the government, which riddles their chests with bullets, should continue to rule. In short, they would never pay attention to the struggle for their rights. O starving and poor Hindu, Muslim and Sikh labourers and peasants. Rise and understand the motives of the capitalists, understand the policy of a government which thirsts for your blood, and move toward class struggle in order to dash to the ground the hopes of the government and its henchmen. Long live Hindu, Muslim and Sikh alliance. Down with Hindu-Muslim boycott. Down with the capitalists. Down with the government which thirsts for Indian blood.[50]

Finally, Punjab political writings arose from a range of issues and events. Some problems were short-lived and generated only for a few commentaries, such as attacks on how the British

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treated "coloured victims of the great war," or The Blood of Justice, a scathing criticism of police mishandling of criminal cases.[51] Other more dramatic incidents, such as the 1919 disturbances and revolt in Peshawar, produced a substantial literature. Bage Jaliyan, a poetry on Jallianwala Bagh, symbolized the horrified response to the massacre. Other examples of tracts relating to the same incident include Songs of O'Dwyer's Martyrs and a broad-based attack on British laws and administration (Rowlatt Act Ka Asli Mansha.)[52] A decade later, developments along the North West Frontier evoked studies on the Pathans and Red-Shirts, poetry on Pathan bravery (Border Lion), and a controversial, Congress-sponsored enquiry into the Peshawar shootings, which the British promptly banned.[53]

The most consistent, long-term themes reflected in Punjab banned literature tended to be communal in nature. Even nationalist writings in Punjab had a peculiar mixture of anit-British and communal sentiment. One set of tracts narrated the exploits of an imaginary hero, Harphul Singh Jat. The numerous tales of his bloody encounters with police officers and Muslim butchers usually were presented in melodramatic, spicy dialogue, such as this conversation with an old woman:

> Woman: O Darling; bloodthirsty butchers live here.
> O Darling, we are so weak and helpless.
> O Butchers, they daily slaughter the poor cows.
>
> Harphul: I will become a warrior (Kshyatria). I will remove forever the sufferings of cows and cause mourning among butchers. With Durga's help I will crush our oppressors just as I have crushed the British officials.[54]

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Cow protection writings and publications on the princely states had a similar blend of religious and secular politics.[55]

Throughout the twentieth century, the Arya Samaj continued its traditional role as ardent defender of Hinduism with systematic proselytizing (shuddhi) and controversial literature. The Samaj specialized in shahid or "martyrdom" publications. One special number of the Arya Musafir, for example, focusses on the history of martyrs (mostly Hindu) with the form of emotional essays and color pictures.[56] The assassination of a leading Arya, Swami Shraddhanad, provided the opportunity for a series of biographies and eulogic poetry on a contemporary martyr.[57] An extensive Arya Samaj campaign in Hyderabad also became a favored topic for the organization's publicists. Nizam Defence Examined and Exposed, for example, attempts to demonstrate that the Muslim ruler of Hyderabad pursued "bigotted" policies toward Hindus in his state. The study contains numerous cases, as do The History of the Nizam Hyderabad's Religious War and Arya Satyagraha.[58] Commentaries on Muslim theology and history reflect a similar communal tone, illustrated by The Truth about the Islamic Concept of Paradise and The Muslim Religion and Its Spread (by the sword). Also important was Mirror of Islam, the work of an Arya propagandist just recovering from a murder attempt.[59]

One pamphlet, Rangila Rasul, especially irritated Hindu-Muslim relations. Initially published in 1924 by the Arya Pustakalya, Lahore, the Merry Prophet examines Mohammad's sex life in order to poke fun at the Prophet and his followers. The opening section describes his marriages (with emphasis on the disparity in age of the wives, one allegedly old enough to be his mother, another his grandchild), followed by "ornaments of the harem" a survey of

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Mohammad's other "sexual conquests." Mohammad is presented as a licientious old man, a "bridegroom at all hours," the Henry VIII of Islam. Although Rangila Rasul probably had less inflammatory language than earlier Hindu treatments of Mohammad, riots and bitter propaganda after 1921 inflammed Punjab religious feelings and made devout Muslims particularly sensitive to such criticism. Moreover, the lengthy trial of the Pustakalya's manager, Rajpal, kept the publication constantly in the public eye for eighteen months. To make matters worse, Muslim journals, such as the Muslim Outlook, which commented on the case received rebukes or penalties from the judge involved. The assassination of Rajpal and accelerated prosecution of similar works ended the immediate issue, but Rangila Rasul remained a catchword for how polemic literature could lead to worsening communal tension.[60]

Despite Rangila Rasul and its genre, the Arya Samaj reserved much of its strongest language for Hindu opponents. The Samaj-Sanatan Dharm conflict ranged over decades and fostered frequent exchanges of pamphlets, in which personal attacks and sexual insinuations often overshadowed theological debate. One Arya Samaj tactic involved "exposure" of Sanatan reliance on the Puranas as sacred literature (complete with copious translations of passages relating to sex and activities of gods). For example, Shashtrarth, The Arya Samaj's Open Shops reviews Sanatan outlook on literature, religion, magic and women, while Puranic Dharm Ka Janaz damns orthodox Hindus for their "absurd notions." The author of the latter, Vishva Mittar, claims that the "Puranic brethren" reply t honest criticism with attacks on the personality of Dayanand, and then he proceeds to do approximately the same thing to the-Sanatanists (suggesting as an opener that the term "Sanatan Dharm" actually

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means a variety of sexual intercourse.) This short quote from Exposure of the Puranic Hollowness, a response to The Death of the Arya Samaj, probably best illustrates the Samaj portrayal of their rivals: "The Sanatanist religion is a mixture of several elements, all rotten and defiling matter finds a place in it."[61]

Sanatanist literature tended to be just as intense and derogatory. One tract, A Shoe on the Head of the Arya Samaj, has sections entitled "Dayanand was an abuser of Saints," and "A Shoe on the Head of the Arya Samaj's Domestic Policy" (criticism of alleged Samaj marriage practices, niyog). Dayanand was a favorite target. Calling the founder of the Arya Samaj a pimp, Rampuja claims that "Your Satyarth Prakash alludes to prostitute quarters, and you believe in idol worship. Send this Dayanand in hell."[62] Another prodcution suggested that Dayanand urged sexual relations with animals.[63] Shiv Puja Aur Dayanand Ki Talim, trying to prove that Dayanand worshipped stones and Shiva, contains the same type of material: "I call Dayanand a Rishi in the sense that he was a master of sexual science. He was not a seer but a butcher of hymns[64] ...."

Muslim banned literature illustrates how another Punjab religious community viewed itself and its opponents. Most anti-government writing clustered around the 1913-1923 khilafat issue, exemplified by a Pan-Islam poster (British Atrocities) and collections of khilafat poetry (Islam Ki Faryad and Zazam-i-Vajahat). The khidmatgar or "redshirt" activities along the frontier produced other political

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essays, such as The Reward for Loyalty is a Sword at the Throat of Isla Motifs in these publications include the need for Muslim political autonomy and boycott of British service.[65] Closely related to denunciation of the raj were attacks on Western culture and Christianit Pamphleteers claimed that Christianity and the government combined forces to destroy Islam.[66]

Although Sikhism came under sporadic fire (e.g., Gyani Wahid Hussain's description of Sikh ritual and history), Muslim publicists viewed Hinduism and the Arya Samaj as the major external threats to their faith. As in the case of Hindu publications, martyrs and militar heroes became the subject of poetry and a neo-Muslim reinterpretation of Indian history.[67] One tract, written during an intense period of Hindu-Muslim confrontation in 1929, graphically illustrates how Musl reacted to contemporary communal developments in Punjab. Attacking shuddhi and Hindu militancy, Ta'am-i-Hunud urges boycott of Hindu trade because continued economic cooperation would only help the enemy. Hindu fairs should be similarly avoided since Hindus are polytheists and "damned to hell." Constantly referring to alleged unclean practices of Hindu traders, the work concludes with a stinging charge to Punjab Muslim:

> Make yourself steady and take your brothers by the hand, protect Islam...You have seen with your eyes that Hindu dhotis are full of urine. They take very little water in the lotiyas while going to answer the call of nature, and become befouled with feces, and were their dhotis in that state. They rub their hands aganist their clothes, and then touch the thing which you are buying with the same hand."[68]

Another political/religious theme common in Muslim works involved Kashmir. A series of tracts question British support for the princely state's Hindu regime and call for holy war in

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defence of Kashmiri Muslims. The battlecry became "The Muslim is he who neither fears the Dogra nor the Whites."[69] Sometimes authors utilized poetic dialogues to convey their feelings on Kashmir. In Kashmir De Zulum, for example, a husband and wife discuss the state, with the husband eventually leaving home to join a campaign there and become a martyr.[70]

Besides discussing politics and other religions, Muslims devoted themselves to two controversies within their own community. The obscenity and personal attacks in Sunni-Shia exchanges easily matched the tone of Arya Samaj-Sanatan Dharm writing. Sunni publications lambasted Shia beliefs and festivals such as Muharram. One Sunni work in the form of a dialogue, Husain-i-Mazlum, quotes the Encylopedia Britannica and Christian books as "unbiased authorities" in labelling Shias as butchers and "innovators of religion." A volumnious book on the first three Calip's, Zulfikar-i-Safdari, is representative of comparable Shia tract material.[71]

The most heated discussions among Punjab Muslims centered on the Ahmadiya sect of Ghulam Ahmad, who claimed special knowledge of Islamic truth and virtually messianic authority. Although hitting at many targets, the Ahmadiya writers often turned on Muslim opponents. The Cutter of the Nose of the Vile Shias, for example, tries to show that Shias are heretical and involved in unnatural sexual acts.[72] Ahrars, a militant political group based in central Punjab, spear-headed the Muslim counter-barrage. Ahrar tracts charge Ahmadiyas with drinking wine, eating pork and being "sons of Satan." This quotation from Absurdities of Mirza denotes the depth of Muslim resentment at Ahmadiya claims: "Look at the hair-splitting and faith-consuming activities of the muddle-headed Swadeshi prophet of Qadian, who is a lover of tonic wine, electuary and pearls,

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who sits on sofas and carpets, rides in motor cars, sows seeds of mischief, and teaches the lessons of slavery."[73] The work sounds a familiar theme in anti-Ahmadiya writing, that the sect supported the British and worked against Muslim interests. A similar tract concludes its tirade against a government-Ahmadiya coalition with a challenge: "If the government proscribes this pamphlet, we have more ammunition."[74]

Although the banned literature of a third Punjab religious community, the Sikhs, related primarily to struggles over reform of shrines and local politics, the mode of presentation and central themes resembled those appearing in Hindu and Muslim publications. Sikh authors relied heavily on poetry and posters to convey messages concerning their history, great men, and current affairs.

The crisis of Sikh self-identity, which have been building for at least three decades, exploded after 1920 in a sequence of dramatic encounters with the government and its allies. The slaughter of Sikh devotes at Guru-Ka-Bagh and Nankana stimulated an upsurge of anti-British writing. Peels of Thunder, The Appeal of Martyrs, The Peaceful Bomb, The Communities' Stories, and similar volumes focussed on atrocities and concomitant Sikh determination to control their own future. A challenge to the raj was implicit in the literature--abstain from interference in internal Sikh matters or take the consequences: "We shall never obey laws that interfere with our freedom and shall know no peace until we have attained religious and political freedom."[75] A logical outcome were documents such as Ratan Singh's What is the Government of the Revolutionary Sikh?, a denial of British authority.[76] Confrontation with the rulers also generated fiction with political themes, exemplified by A

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Real Photo of Oppression, Bloody Coffin, an imaginary travel journal which discusses nationalism and Akali Dal activities.[77]

Organizations published many of the controversial works. At the head of the list stood the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, with at least five reports and essays banned by the British. An affiliated association, the Sind Sikh Publicity Committee, also circulated commentaries on Punjab events. Conveners of a "martyrs conference" held in March 1937 printed their proceedings, while the Indian National Congress temporarily became involved in Sikh problems by establishing a committee on the Guru-Ka-Bagh massacre and circulating its report.[78] Finally, the Akali Dal produced innumerable newsletters, brochures and books which the British confiscated almost routinely.[79]

Akali politics and the drive for gurdwara reform intensified the already prevalent Sikh tendency to re-evaluate their history. Among the themes running through the historical treatises was emphasis on martial spirit, particularly with reference to events surrounding the latter Gurus and conflict with the Mughal Empire. With the exception of the martyr tales relating to the Mughals and sporadic tracts on incidents (such as Shahidganj struggle with Lahore Muslims), however, very few banned Sikh works can be classified as anti-Muslim.[80] Other prominent themes include reminiscences on the real and imagined glories of Sikh power during Ranjit Singh's rule, coupled with occasional tirades on the annexation of Punjab and the treatment of Ranjit Singh's family.[81] A sense of guilt also emerges from Sikh writing, a response primarily to the community's military contribution during the 1857 mutiny and in foreign wars. The following statement epitomizes such bitterness and accusations:

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> "If we had not sacrificed our bodies, minds and wealth, and had not gone abroad and made other countries slaves of the English, we would never have suffered the hardships which are entailed on us these days while we are engaged in religous work. If the Sikhs had not obliterated all traces of the Mutiny insurgents, not even a spot of the English would now be left. But such was our fate. We were misled into loving snakes."[82]

Because the events of 1921-1925 legitimized the leadership of Sikhs who demanded sharp differentiation between themselves and Hinduism, very little banned literature pertained to conflict over whether Sikhism was a distinct religion. Controversies over doctrine did come from two Sikh groups, however, the Udasis and the Namdharis (Kukas). Examples of their tracts include a Kuka attempt to prove that their founder was the eleventh Guru, and similar pretentions by Udasi leaders.[83] Another Kuka product, Sant Khalsa, is important because of its communal tone (with stress on the sect's cow-protection activities) and its portrayal of Kukas as freedom-fighting Sikhs put down cruelly by the British. The author obviously was trying to prove that Kukas did not support the raj, a common charge after the conduct of the sect during the 1919 disturbances and subsequent Akali activities.[84]

All Punjab religious communities became involved in developments within princely states, and the Sikhs were no exception. Most of their attention focussed on the Phulkian states, Nabha and Patiala. Sikhs had been very critical of Patiala since the forced resignation of Nabha's ruler and mass marches on Jaito. The government considered banning one book printed by the Punjab Riyasti Praja Mandal (an organization closely linked to Sikh radicals), Indictment of Patiala, but backed off because of possible bad publicity.[85] Nevertheless, Punjab authorities did confiscate similar critiques of Patiala, such

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as An Alarm Signal to Indian Princes and Shahdid Sardar Seva Singhji Ashram: Adarsh Unnati No. 1.[86] In addition to supplying information on Sikh-princely relations, the publications raise questions about the tendency today to view the Akali Dal as a striking arm of Sikh militarism throughout its long career. Some contemporary authors, for example, charged Akalis with accepting bribes from Patiala and denounced Tara Singh for proclaiming "the Patiala cigarette smoker to be the contractor of Sikhism."[87]

Concluding Remarks

A word of caution is in order for Punjab scholars attempting to use banned literature. Most works are polemic in nature and do not in any sense reflect "public opinion." To rely on Arya Samaj or Akali judgements as the sole yardsticks of communal temperature, for example, would be highly misleading. Moreover, much political writing did not fall into the British net, and as a result, the banned works must be evaluated in light of non-banned material (the most striking examples include the publications of the Unionist party and the Punjab Muslim League).

Despite these limitations, proscribed material remains a valuable, untapped research tool. The biographies, reports, and histories contain verifiable data and personal accounts unobtainable from other sources. In addition, the works reflect how an author or a group of Punjabis looked at themselves and others. Perhaps the images were inaccurate, but some political and religious leaders held the views and acted upon them. Also related is the literature's utility as a means of exploring the style and varieties of political commitment among educated Punjabis. In particular, the communal publications underline the often ignored fact that

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secular nationalism was transient in Punjab, generally connected with local or religious incidents which made the Congress cause temporarily relevant (e.g., Congress support of the Sikh or Muslim cause, and the frontier disturbances). Until the literature of confrontation, so long removed from circulation, is given serious consideration, our understanding of these areas of Punjab history will remain cloudy. Banned publications are not the only missing pieces, but without them, the puzzles may never be complete.

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Notes

1. For the purposes of this study, the Punjab is defined geographically as the pre-1901 Punjab (including the North West Frontier Province, Delhi, and Punjab). Financial support from the American Institute of Indian Studies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Research Council of the University of Missouri made possible the research and writing.

2. For discussion, G.K. Roy, Law Relating to Press and Sedition (Hare Press, Calcutta, 1922), pp. 104-106. Background also is in J. Natarajan, History of Indian Journalism (Pub. Division, Indian Ministry of Information, New Delhi, 1955), pp. 1-121.

3. Ibid. Also, background on postal and custom laws in Government of India Home-Political (henceforth, GIPOL), June 1909, 132-34A.

4. Notes and statistics in GIPOL July 1907, 178-80A. Many warnings occurred, but only a few papers were prosecuted under these proceedings.

5. Surveyed in recent articles by Kenneth W. Jones and N.G. Barrier. The Indian Archives. Also, N.G. Barrier, The Sikhs and Their Literature (Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1970).

6. For example, the government periodically followed up Tribune reports of bureaucratic zulum (injustice), and minimized Congress participation as an issue.

7. Detailed treatment in N.G. Barrier, "The Punjab Disturbances of 1907" (unpub. dissertation, Duke University, 1966). A useful collection of documents on the disturbances is in Ram Sharma, Punjab in Ferment (S. Chand, Delhi, 1971).

8. Background in Minto to Morley, June 5, 1907; Minto to Lady Minto, June 5, 1907, in Minto Collection (National Library, Edinburgh). Also, copy of resolution in GI Gazette, pt. 1, June 8, 1907, p. 443.

9. Notes by Risely and Stuart (Jan. 1910), GIPOL July 1910, 5-32A. Proceedings are duplicated in that file, with the final act in Roy, Law, pp. 50-58. The "racial hatred" and "religious animosity" clauses were added primarily to have the act conform with section 153A, not as a response to mounting communal tension. As will be noted, however, the Punjab government frequently used the act and its successors against communal writers.

10. PG to GI, 13C, February 25, 1914, GIPOL March 1914, 108-116A.

11. Correspondence (particularly N.W.F.P. to GI, 2102, December 10, 1913), GIPOL October 1914, 241-256A.

12. Proceedings and correspondence in GIPOL August 1912, 93-98A.

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13. Background in J&P file 4468, 1919 (India Office Library).

14. Proceedings from Council of Princes, November 10, 1921, and S.S. telegram to GG, July 31, 1922, JP 4468.

15. Background on the legislation and the Rangila Rasul case on communal problems is in JP 1513, 1927. For the communal situation, see JP 3833, 1924.

16. The background on these measures is found in the following J&P files: 117-B-1, 3094 of 1932, 4977 of 1930. A useful survey of the politics of the period is in the annual Moral and Material Progress reports; also, see Central Intelligence Bureau, The Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930-34 (New Delhi, 1934).

17. Katha Salwi, originally published in Delhi in 1852, for example, was reprinted and banned around 1910.

18. Correspondence in C.R. Cleveland note (Aug. 28, 1914), GI Police, Sept. 1914, 177-178. Also, notes by H. Wheeler (Jan. 1913) and S.H. Butler (Jan. 8, 1913), in GIPOL May 1913, 9-13A.

19. Ibid. Notes by Adamson and Stuart (May 18, 1909), GIPOL Oct. 1909, 145-153A.

20. For example, Bengal banned 119 items, prosecuted 43 publicists, forfeited 4 presses and securities, and gave 25 warnings. Bombay banned 204 titles. the N.W.F.P. banned 118 titles. Tables based on data from the following GIPOL files: May 1913, 9-13A; Feb. 1914, 67-68A; April 1914, 41-46A.

21. For two differing perspectives on the events surrounding O'Dwyer regimes see L.P. Mathur, Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States of America (S. Chand, Delhi, 1970) and Michael O'Dwyer, India As I Knew It (2nd ed., London, Constable, 1925).

22. Pan-Islam and Muslim papers discussed in the following: GIPOL March 1913, 45-55A; Aug. 1913, 40-41A.

23. Notifications under the Sea Customs Act are found in General Rules and Orders Made Under General Acts of the Governor General in Council (v.I, Calcutta, 1935), pp. 77-102. Ghadar publications treated in GIPOL Jan. 1914, 32-43A.

24. Bandar Bant (np., nd., c. 1932); Lala Nand Gopal, Sada-i-Hind (Lahore, 1909). A translation of the latter is in N.G. Barrier, The Punjab in Nineteenth Century Tracts (Asian Studies Center, Michigan State, East Lansing, 1969).

25. Bhai Parmanand, Tarikh-i-Hind (San Francisco, 1918). Other illustrations will be given in the concluding section.

26. For example, Choose Oh Indian Princes (London, c. 1909). Background in GIPOL July 1915, 56-72A. This pattern became more prominent after 1921.

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27. Discussed in J&P 3784 of 1914.

28. Based on a handcount of books banned during the period. The British proceedings contain quarterly reports on proscription.

29. A useful survey is in Mohammad Yunus, Frontier Speaks (Lahore, Minerva Book Shop, c. 1942). An earlier edition was banned.

30. Background in Kali Charan Ghosh, The Roll of Honour (Vidya Bharati, Calcutta, 1965), pp. 390-412.

31. Background in a confidential C.I.D. handbook, H. Williamson, India and Communism (Calcutta, 1933).

32. Trans. and discussion in JP 1513, 1927.

33. Useful surveys of the period include the following: Ruchi Ram Sahni, The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening (Desh Sewak Book Agency, Jullundur, 1922); reports in J&P files, 3833 of 1924; 3651 of 1926; 8/680; 3998 of 1934; voluminous reports and correspondence in Hailey Collection, Eur. Mss. E 220 (India Office Library).

34. For example, replies to Rangila Rasul (Barguzida Rasul-Fazl-i-Husain) and Ahmadiya, communal literature surveyed in Quarterly Report on Punjab Publications, 1927-1928 (I.O.L.).

35. GI Home-Pol. Despatch to S.S., 1773, Oct. 8, 1914, R&R files (I.O.L.), 3336 of 1914; note by F.W. Thomas (Nov. 17, 1914), same file. Also, discussion in Minutes of the Trustee of the B.M., 1914-1926, p. 27 (B.M. Archives).

36. Note by M. Seton, Nov. 13, 1914, and Records Despatch 1, Jan. 22, 1915, R&R 3336 of 1914.

37. Noting and keep-with, R&R 3336 of 1914. Further information on the acquisition of Indian materials is contained in N.G. Barrier, "South Asia in Vernacular Publications," The Journal of Asian Studies, XXVIII (Aug. 1969), 803-810.

38. The author is preparing a guide to the B.M. and I.O.L. Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, and English collection of banned works. Correspondence concerning the use of I.O.L. material should be directed to Miss J.R. Watson, Indian Office Library.

39. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. G.E. Marrison, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum.

40. The author appreciates the assistant of Prem Singh, Mrs. Usha Tripathi, Miss J.R. Watson, and Dr. G.E. Morrison in making the survey. Further information on the Punjab shipments are in the B.M. correspondence books and in I.O.L. R&R 2129, 1938.

41. The C.I.D. records in Lahore, as well as those in Delhi, also may contain copies of important titles.

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42. Background on specific items will be provided in the concluding section.

43. Arya Calendar for 1919 (Delhi, 1919, BM 154, IOL F 10); Khuni Ghadar (Amristar, c. 1924, GIPOL 33/11, 1925); Barbad-i-Hind (Lahore, c. 1926, 1928-2 editions, Hindi and Urdu, NAI, BM 26). Wherever possible, references to the location and call number of the items (IOL, BM, NAI) will be given.

44. Gandhi Gayan by Pandit Dev Raj Dev (Lahore, 1930, BM 29); Ram Sharma (ed.), Angrezon Ki Tayen Tayen Phis (Delhi, c. 1930--both Urdu and Hindi versions IOL 99, IOL B 314, BM 64); Vatan Ka Rag (Lahore, c. 1931, BM 29, NAI); Rashtriya Gan (Lahore, n.d., BM 282).

45. War of Freedom of 1857 (n.p., n.d.) GIPOL 48/4, 1933). Bharat Men...Itihas Allahabad, 1939, BM 14, NAI 144); Rise, Awake, Be Ready (c. 1933, n.p., GIPOL 48/4, 1933); The Philosphy of the Bomb (n.d., n.p., BM 71); Long Live Revolution (Erehwan, c. 1929, IOL B 203). Hindustan Nal Sab Ton Vadha Dhokha: Hindustani Naujavan Da Jagan De Vela A Giya (Amritsar, c. 1934, GIPOL 37/1, 1935).

46. In Memory of Pandit Chandra Shekhar Azad (Hindustan Soc. Rep. Assn., c. 1933 GIPOL 48/4, 1933); Vilayat Men Phansi (Delhi, 1929, IOL B 183); Sachindranath Sanyal, Azadi Ke Shahid (Cawnpur, 1939, BM 31, IOL B 30, NAI 91); Ashpha Kulla Khan, Khuni Raj (Delhi, c. 1930, IOL B 133); Zinda Shahid Babe (various editions, Amritsar, BM 182, NAI).

47. Examples include the following: Yuvak Hraday, Bali Vedi Par (n.p., n.d., BM 8, IOL B 351); Virlap (Lahore, c. 1931, BM 8, GIPOL 116, 1932); Shahid Sardar Bhagat Singh (Lahore, c. 1931, BM 8, IOL B 352, J&P 4245, 1931); Inkilab Zindabad (Lahore, c. 1930, BM 9--a poster in red ink on Bhagat Singh denouncing non-violence, and claiming "we want blood for blood").

48. Phauji Elan by Mohar Chandra "Masta" (Delhi, n.d., IOL B 225); Thakar Sabhun, Police Ka Atyacar (Delhi, c. 1930, BM 29, IOL B 111, NAI 45); Om Prakash Sahni (ed.), Dard-i-Watan (Lahore, 1930, GIPOL 28, 1930).

49. Duniya De Mazduro Ek Ho Jao (Amritsar, 1935, BM 159, GIPOL 37/2, 1935).

50. Inkilabi Nara (n.p., n.d., GIPOL 37/2, 1935). Other examples include Vartman Rajat Halat Te Mazdur Kisanon Da Farz (Amritsar, 1935, GIPOL 37/1, 1935), Sada-i-Dard (Sialkot, n.d., BM 81, IOL 173).

51. Coloured Victims of the Great War (Invalid Soldier's Association, Delhi, n.d., BM 59, NAI); Shiv Lal Bismil, Insaf Ka Khun (Lyallpur, 1931, BM 8).

52. Bage Jaliyan (Jullundur, 1923), BM 177, IOL B 105); Suraj Bhan, Sangit O'Dwyer Shahid Yani Mazlum Punjab (Amritsar, n.d., Barrier collection); Rowlatt Act Ka Asli Mansha (Delhi, 1919, Barrier collection).

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53. Sarhadi Sher (Lahore, c. 1930, BM 8). Other examples include The Frontier Tragedy (Lahore, 1932, Barrier Collection), Nirah-i-Jang (Lyallpur, BM 162).

54. Harphul Singh material includes the following: Surman Harphul Singh Daku (Lahore, c. 1936, BM 164); Harphul Jat Julani (Delhi, n.d., Barrier collection); Ath Ati Rasila Upnias Parupkari Harphul Singh Daku (Lahore, Moga, c. 1936, BM 160, GIPOL 37/1, 1937); Quotation from Ath Nawan Kissa (Lahore, c. 1936, BM 164, GIPOL 37/2, 1937).

55. Guru Ghar Ki Durga Bhagti (Amritsar, 1934, PIB 68). For a cow tract, see the appeal for protection and boycott of Muslims, Gomata Ka Sandesh (n.p., n.d., BM 120).

56. Arya Musafir (March, 1937, Lahore, BM 161, IOL 16).

57. Nizam Defence Examined and Exposed (Delhi, c. 1939, Barrier collection); Nizam Hyderabad Ke Dharm Yudh Ka Itihas (Delhi, c. 1939, BM 132); Hyderabad Neb Arya Samaj Andolar (Delhi, n.d., Barrier collection); Arya Satyagraha, Satyadev Vidyalankar (Delhi, 1942, BM 207), Background in Crown Rep. Papers, 1/29/1803 (IOL).

58. Khun-i-Darvesh (Lahore, 1927, BM 62); Swami Shraddhanand (Ajmer, 1927, BM 112, IOL B 107, NAI 46).

59. Islami Bahshat Ki Hakikat (Delhi, n.d., BM 79, NAI); Din-i-Islam Aur Uski Ishait (Lahore, 1927, BM 54); Aina-i-Islam, by Hari Singh Khalifa (Delhi, c. 1935, BM 105, IOL 170, NAI).

60. A copy of the tract and background is in GIPOL 132, 1927; J&P 1513, 1927; Additional background on the case and the Punjab communal situation, see GIPOL 10/72, 1927; GIPOL 11/X, 1927; J&P 3833, 1924.

61. Quotes from Mansa Ram (Arya Updeshak), Puranik Pol Prakash (Lahore, 1936, BM 215, NAI 140); Also, Munishvar Dev. Adarsh Dayanand Rawalpindi, 1937, GIPOL 37/1, 1937); Jebi Pistol, by Prem Chandra (Lahore, 1937, BM 25, NAI) Puranic Dharm Ka Janza (Amritsar, c. 1936, BM 152, NAI 190); Shashtrarth Arya Samaj Ka Khul Mandi (Lahore, 1931, Barrier Collection); Arya attacks on the Dev Samaj includes Dhol Ke Pol (Rawalpindi, 1937, GIPOL 37/1, 1937).

62. Quotes from Rampuja Arf Shaitan Kil Talim (Peshawar, c. 1937, GIPOL 37/1, 1937). Also, Arya Samaj Ke Shir Par Sansar Ka Juta (Delhi, 1938, IOL B 281); "A Nail in the Nose of the Arya Samaj," Arya Samaj Ki Nak Men Nakel (Bhivani, 1937, BM 25, NAI 65).

63. Surapnakha Ke Himayti Ki Nak Kat Gai (Bhivani, 1936, BM 158, NAI 47).

64. Shiv Puja Aur Dayanand Ki Talim, Gopal Misra (Amritsar, 1937, GIPOL 37/1, 1937).

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65. Islam Ke Gale Par Churi Ya Vafadari Ka Sila (Peshawar, c. 1931) BM 9, NAI); Angrezon Ka Zulam (n.d.,n.d., IOL 10); Islam Ki Faryad Delhi, 1921, IOL 142); Nazam-i-Vajahat, Vajahat Hassain (Lahore, 1914, BM 305, IOL 131).

66. Paigham-i-Zindagi, Abdul Rahim Azia (Amritsar, c. 1939, BM 181, IOL 110); Bhonchal Bir Lashkar (Rawalpindi, 1934, BM 158); Akaid-i-Islam (Lahore, n.d., BM 192, IOL 70).

67. Tuphat al-Hind, Nazir Husain (Delhi, c. 1925, BM 71); Kissa Ashik-i-Rasul (Lahore, 1934, GIPOL 37/6, 1934). On the Sikhs, Sikh Mazhab Aur Kesh (Kadian, 1936, BM 91).

68. Ta'am-i-Hunud, Muhammad Basit Yarkhan (Bareilly, c. 1929, J&P 720, 1930). Also, Azhar Usman's Fughan-i-Muslim (Delhi, 1933, BM 188, NAI), "Wail of the Muslims," a tract criticizing Hindu administration in Karnal district Tracing injustices, the author notes that "it is just as silly to play a flute before a buffalo as it is useless to call on Hindus for justice."

69. Mussalman Vah Hai Je Na Dogra Se Dara Na Gore Se, Maulana Habib-ul-Rahman (President, Majlis Ahrar-i-Islam) (Lahore, c. 1931, GIPOL 117, 1932). Also, Halat-i-Kashmir (Lahore, 1931, BM 6); Tere Kurban Mani Kashmir Ko Jane Vale (Lahore, 1932, GIPOL 117, 1932).

70. Kashmire De Zulm, Hafiz Amir Baksh Soz Multani (Multan, 1932, IOL, GIPOL 149, 1932). Background on Kashmire and the Khaksar movement in J&P 8/680.

71. Husain-i-Mazlum (Lahore, 1936, GIPOL 37/2, 1936, Barrier Collection) Kahar-i-Khudai Bar Sare Ibne Sabai, Alam Syed Hussain Shah (Ferozepur, c. 1938, Barrier Collection). Aulfikar-i-Safdari, Inayat Ali Shah Sialkoti (Sialkot, c. 1913, BM 66).

72. Kati-ul-Anaf-ul-Shia-ul-Shaniah (Lahore, 1935, BM 107, Barrier Collection, GIPOL 73/2, 1935); Judgment of the Lahore High Court in the Case of the Murder of M. Fakhar-ud-Din of Qadian (Qadian, n.d., BM 114); Bayat-i-Razvan Ki Hakikat (Lahore, 1939, IOL 51, Barrier Collection); Gur Bachan (Qadian, 1935, BM 101, Barrier Collection). Background on the Ahrar-Ahmadiya controversies in J&P 3998, 1934.

73. Hazliat-i-Mirza (Sialkot, 1936, GIPOL 37/2, 1936). Also, Sheikh Ahmad Husain Akhtar, Balaghat-i-Hak (Lahore, 1936, BM 85, IOL 113); Abdul Karim, Khenchvan Nabi (Lahore, c. 1934, BM 173, Barrier Collection); Abdul Vahid Haji, Khatam-i-Nabuvat (Sialkot, n.d., BM 141); Kya Mirza-i-Qaduabu Aurat Thi Ya Mard? (Lahore, c. 1934, GIPOL 37/2, 1935); Mazhabi Daku (Amritsar, n.d., BM 95, IOL 87); Muhammadi Gola (4 pts., Amritsar, c. 1930, BM 70, Barrier Collection Nikamma Nabi Bam Tirtali Dave (Lyallpur, 1937, BM 160, Barrier Collection); Yad-i-Raftagan, Rahmat Ullah Mahajir (Gurdaspur, 1938, BM 155, NAI, Barrier Collection).

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74. Abdul Latif Afzal, Khenchvan Ilham (Gujrat, c. 1936, BM 173, IOL 114, GIPOL 37/2, 1936).

75. Quotation from Autar Sing "Azad," Shahidi Parvane (Khalsa Dramatic Agency, Amritsar, 1924, BM 64A); also: Pritam Singh, Kaumi Kahanian Arthat Dardan De Hanju (Khalsa Sewak Agency, Amritsar, n.d., BM 64A, NAI 154); Bhai Vidhata Singhe "Tir," Tir Tarang (Amritsar, c. 1923, BM 64A); Azad Di Garj (Amritsar, 1924, BM 80).

76. Baghi Sikh Ki Sarkar? (Amritsar, n.d., BM 64A). This tract got the author, Bhair Ratan Singh, five years imprisonment.

77. Also Hirde Vedhak Bad Nasib Bharat De Bacchian Te Hoe: Zulman Asli Photo Arthat Sarhe Itihas Shahide Da Khuni Coffin (S.G.P.C., Amritsar, IOL, NAI). Alsok Kale Te Gore De Saval Javab, Arthat Gora Shahi De Dhol Da Pol (Amritsar, n.d., BM 64A, NAI 191), a a dialogue on British rule.

78. From the S.G.P.C.: All for Law and Order (Amritsar, 1922, Barrier Collection); Truth About Nabha (Amritsar, 1923, Barrier Collection). Sind Committee: Government Allegations Against the Sikhs Refuted (Hyderabad, c. 1922, NAI, J&P 122, 1920); A Brief Account of Military Sikh's Struggle For Religious Freedom (Hyderabad, 1921, J&P 122, 1920). Ruchi Ram Sahni (ed.), Report of the Guru-Ka-Bagh Congress Enquiry Committee (Lahore, 1924, Barrier Collection).

79. For example, an Akali poster: Zulam Di Had Hogai Nanka Shahivallan Sikhan Nun Khula Challenge (Amritsar, 1930, GIPOL 171, 1930).

80. Exceptions include the following: an anti-British, anti-Muslim novel by Ranjit Singh "Tajvar," Khun Karhan (Amritsar, n.d., BM 163); Hari Singh Khalifa, Vajh Zahur-i-Koran Majid (Delhi, 1936, BM 83, IOL 171, NAI), criticism of the Koran; Khalsaji Pind Pind Jathe Banae Ate Bagaida Shaster Abhias Sikhe (Amritsar, 1935, GIPOL 37/2, 1935), in which the author claims that the Muslims are preparing to oppress Sikhs, and calls on all Sikhs to organize and learn the art of weaponry.

81. E.g., Shahidi Yatra (Amritsar, 1924, BM 64A, NAI 73); Bal Updesh) Lyallpur, 1938, BM 118), pictures of the Gurus' torture, then a primer with political themes; Shahadat Namah (New Delhi, 1935, BM 99).

82. Sardar Rattan Singh Azad Di Garj (Amritsar, c. 1924, IOL, GIPOL 33/11, 1925).

83. Bela Singh, Gupat Hukamnama Pathsahi (Amritsar, n.d., BM 88); Bhagat Singh, Sri Guru Govind Singh Sahib ji Ki Bhavikhat Bani (Amritsar, 1930, BM 201, IOL).

84. Harnam Singh Svaich, Sant Khalsa (Ludhiana, 2nd ed., 1936, B, 174).

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85. Background in Crown Representative Papers (IOL), R/1/29/545.

86. An Alarm Signal to India Princes (Amritsar, 1931, GIPOL 117, 1932); Shahid Sardar Seva Singhji Ashram (Amritsar, c. 1936, BM 120, IOL).

87. Dukhi Parja Patiala Utte Navin Sahr Sati (Amritsar, 1936, GIPOL 37/2, 1936); Patiale Di Sikhi Da Namuna (Moga, 1936, GIPOL 37/1, 1936).

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Religious Controversy and Religious Reform

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SOURCES FOR AHMADIYAH HISTORY

Spencer Lavan

Among the Muslim responses to the religious and political situation in nineteenth-century Punjab, the Ahmadiyah movement was unique. Although the membership of this sect was never as substantial as that of many other muslim groups, its impact on the Punjab, on the subcontinent as a whole, and on Islamic missions throughout the world, has considerably exceeded that of much larger movements.

The formal origins of the Ahmadis date from 1889. In that year, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908), son of a middle-class Muslim landowning family from the village of Qadian (Gurdaspur District), first accepted bayah (allegiance) from a small group of his followers. After giving up several attempts at a secular career, Ahmad had become increasingly sensitive to personal religious experience; he claimed, during the 1870's to have received direct revelations from God. While he worked as a law clerk at Sialkot in the 1860's, he met and debated with Christian missionaries. He became familiar with Christianity while slowly realizing the impact of missionaries on the Punjab and the declining position of Islam. With the arrival of Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1877 and the founding of the Lahore Arya Samaj, Ghulam Ahmad also recognized a new militancy at work among reforming Punjabi Hindus. It was in reaction to these organizational and religious developments and also from an increasing personal sense of piety that Ahmad began after 1889 to

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write, preach, and organize his own Islamic reform movement.

The 1889 decision to accept bayah was more closely identified with the bayah made to a khalifah in Sunni Islam, as contrasted to the bayah made to a sufi pir or saint. Although Ahmad received revelations and won followers through his charismatic preaching and writing, he never claimed to be a sufi or mystic. His uniqueness came through his claim in works written in 1891, that he was the masih mawud (Promised Messiah) and mahdi, the redeemer of the Muslims who comes at the end of time. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad saw himself as more than a reformer, then, and certainly not as the usual sufi preacher. By the 1890's he referred to himself as nabi (prophet) and ibn Maryam (son of Mary--a way of identifying himself with Christ in addition to his role as successor to Muhammad). Among Sunni (orthodox) Muslims these claims were highly controversial. For those in need of a new Islamic message, for an age in which all religous groups in the Punjab were growing in self-awareness, Ahmad's claims and appeal came at the right moment. When Mirza Ghulam Ahmad died in 1908, his following had grown to several thousand and had made a substantial and polemical impact not only among Muslims but also throughout the Hindu, Sikh, and Christian communities of the Punjab.

I

What are the sources for reconstructing the history and development of the Ahmadis up to 1908? Writing a brief article

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in the second edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Wilfred Cantwell Smith has indicated how numerous the sources of data are for the movement even though he did not include more recent materials in his short listing.[1] The advent of the printing press and its availability to all religious groups and civic organizations during the 1890's gave the Ahmadiyah movement a great opportunity to circulate its views throughout the Punjab. At the same time, Ahmadiyah opponents utilized the press to attack the movement, while expounding their own views. Since the press was controlled under the Vernacular Press Act of 1867, the weekly summaries provided by the Government of India, known as Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers of the Punjab (published between 1867 and 1924), reported the essential views and editorials of every Punjab paper. These records provide a basic source of information on the Ahmadiyah development. The recent work of Barrier and Wallace[2] provides an excellent summary of how the Government viewed the various Punjab newspapers and journals, those of the Ahmadiyah included, up to 1905.

Three secondary works, entirely devoted to discussion of the Ahmadiyah movement, give distorted pictures from their differing perspectives. The earliest of these, H. A. Walter's The Ahmadiya Movement, was published posthumously in 1918.[3] Although the author had personal contacts with leading Ahmadis and even visited Qadian, he relied heavily on secondary sources of those times, using the Ahmadiyah English publication, Review of Religions (early years only) for his materials. Writing as a Christian missionary, Walter showed strong bias against Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and the movement.

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The more recent study of Humphrey J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah: a Study in Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast,[4] treats the movement in its West African missionary aspect. While this study is significant in showing how the Ahmadis have made a major impact in Islamic organizations and development in West Africa, the introductory chapter on the origins and impact of the movement in the Punjab is oversimplified. The recent book by Hasan Ali Nadvi, Qadianism,[5] is nothing more than a polemical attack by one more opponent of the controversial Ahmadis. This is so in spite of its claim to be "a critical study" in which the author "has delved deep into the writings of the founder of the movement."

Just as other religious movements which stirred the Punjab have found their way into the broader discussions of Indian or Islamic religious life, or even into encyclopedias, so Ahmadis have also been the subject of broad and inconclusive treatment by many scholars interested in the subject. The earliest of these is H. A. Walter's article "Qadiani" in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.[6] Other examples of brief treatments are: J. N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India;[7] Murray J. Titus, Islam in India and Pakistan;[8] W. C. Smith, Modern Islam in India;[9] Kenneth Cragg, Counsels in Contemporary Islam;[10] Stephen Fuchs, Rebellious Prophets;[11] and Freeland Abbott's Islam and Pakistan.[12]

The Ahmadis, who adopted missionary techniques rather than advocating the spread of Islam according to the traditional doctrine of jihad, fascinated the Christian missionaries. Accordingly the

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Muslim (then Moslem) World and the Indian Evangelical Review occasionally published pieces on the Ahmadis and their founder. Articles appeared in the former as follows: H. A. Walter, 1916;[13] W. R. W. Gardner, 1920;[14] H. U. W. Stanton, 1925.[15] There are more recent articles by more objective scholars such as James T. Addison, "The Ahmadiya Movement and its Western Propaganda," in a 1929 issue of the Harvard Theological Review;[16] L. Bouvat's article in Journal Asiatique, 1928, entitled "Les Ahamdiyya de Qadian;"[17] and more recently, Stanley Brush's reflections on a visit to Rabwah (post-partition headquarters of the movement in Pakistan) appeared in the Muslim World in 1955 entitled "Ahmadiyyat in Pakistan."[18] Two earlier articles were those in the Indian Evangelical Review of 1902 and 1903. More significant was the article by H. D. Griswold of Forman Christian College, "Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Mehdi Messiah of Qadian." This article, most perceptive and sensitive while extremely critical of Ghulam Ahmad, stands as a hallmark of early Western Christian criticism of Ahmadiyah. Less sensitive as a Chrisitan criticism of Ahmadiyah was the summary of a book by the Rev. Imad-ud-Din Lahiz, a convert to Christianity who was particularly hostile to aggressive religious movements, such as Ahmadiyah in Islam and the Arya Samaj among the Hindus.[19]

II

Ghulam Ahamd's own writings in Urdu offer an inside view on the origins and development of the Ahmadiyah movement. While one would expect that Ahmad's writings would present a clear and direct

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development of his theological ideas, the numerous books and tracts he wrote are difficult to follow even for the native speaker of Urdu. Often Ahmad's texts are interspersed with revelatory passages in Arabic, Persian, and even English (written in Urdu script!). Earlier and most significant of Ghulam Ahamd's works was his four-volume Barahin-i-Ahmadiyah (Proofs of the Ahmadiyah), published 1880-1884. Here Ahmad expounded Islamic claims to the possession of truth and his own defense of those claims. Large portions of the work argued systematically against the statements of the Arya Samaj, especially as proclaimed by Dayanand in the Satyarth Prakash, and also against the Brahmo Samaj for its rejection of a doctrine of revelation. The impact of the Barahin's attack on the developing Hindu self-consciousness was convincing enough. Ghulam Ahmad was soon considered a major enemy of the Punjabi Aryas.

The initial Islamic response to the Barahin was positive. Muhammad Husain of Batala, editor of Isha'at-i-Sunnah, published by the Ahl-i-Hadith sect, devoted six issues to a detailed review of Ahmad's work. Considering its significance for the Ahmadiyah movement, whose outreach to the English-speaking world has been considerable, it is surprising that the Barahin has only been translated in a brief tract-sized edition by the Lahore branch, the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam (which formed after the split with the Qadian branch in 1914).[20] The same group published many more excerpts from Barahin in issues of its English language newspaper, Light, from May 1, 1955, through November 16, 1958. Light, founded in 1922, is still published from Lahore.[21]

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The Lahore Ahmadis also published translations of three early theological works in which Ahmad set down his claims to being the Promised Messiah and mahdi. These are: Fath-i-Islam, Tawzi-i-Maram, and Izala-i-Awham, all published in 1891. While the response to Ahmad's Barahin in 1884 brought acclaim from such ulama as Muhammad Husain, the claims of 1891 brought fatwas (judicial declarations by Muslim religious leaders) against Ahmad from many quarters.[22]

Ahmad's theories on the death of Jesus were most fully expounded in Masih Hindustan Men (1899), his theory about Guru Nanak being a Muslim in Sat Bachon (1895), his reflections on the martyrdom of two Ahmadis in Afghanistan in Tazkirat-us-Shahadatayn (1903), while his claim to being an avatar of Visnu was made in the Leckhar Sialkot (1904). His Leckhar Lahore (1896) is perhaps Ahmad's most famous translated work, known in English as The Teachings of Islam.[23] In this work, Ahmad propounded a theory of religious experience based on stages of spiritual development using sufi terminology. Reading this one work alone might lead one to the conclusion that Ghulam Ahmad was in some way related to sufis or sufi orders. His close followers have strongly emphasized that this was not the case and that his use of this language was symbolic, a way of explaining his understanding of the search for religious truth.

Tracts and books by Ahmad which describe his more volatile controversies, defend his actions, and proclaim his loyalty to the Government include: A Cry of Pain,[24] written in response to a Christian pamphlet attacking the Prophet and Islam; Kashf-ul-Ghita[25] (Tearing off the Curtain), written to stress the patriotism of Ahmad and his family; and Jehad and the British Government,[26]

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published in 1900, listing every other tract in which Ahmad had professed his loyalty and condemning jihad as a possible Muslim response to a foreign presence in India. Ahmad was forever in need of explaining himself. One of his books has been translated under the title A Misunderstanding Removed,[27] while another has been rendered A Clarification.[28] One other tract of this nature which has been recently translated is Ahmad's Istifta[29] of 1897. This work traces the history of Ahmad's unfortunate relations with Lekh Ram, a militant member of the Arya Samaj who was murdered by a Muslim (not an Ahmadi) in Lahore on March 6, 1897.[30] Because Ahmad had prophesied the doom of Lekh Ram and his death had occurred within the prescribed time, Ahmad and his followers were naturally subjected to both abuse and suspicion. Istifta is a particularly valuable document because it demonstrates how Ahmad defended his cause against the abuses of Lekh Ram, and also because it shows how he saw the development of the hostilities between himself and the militant Arya. One tract which describes Ahmad's later relations to the Aryas is Qadian ke Arya aur Ham (The Aryas of Qadian and Us).[31]

One non-Ahmadi primary source which illustrates Ahmad's polemical relations emerges in the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, a portion of which were prepared by Henry Martyn Clark of the Amritsar mission. Clark has movingly offered the perspective of the Christian mission community, particularly about the lengthy debate between Ahmad and a native Christian, Abdullah Athim, in which Ahmad called down the curses of God

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upon Athim and also prophesied his doom.[32] The weekly Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers of the Punjab[33] cover the non-Ahmadi views of Ahmad quite well, especially in the period from 1895-1900. A good example was the Lahore newspaper, Mullah Jafar Zatalli (Mullah Jaffar, the Buffoon), which dedicated itself primarily to anti-Ahmadi propaganda. Other anti-Ahmadi newspapers were those promoted by the Arya Samaj and the Nur-i-Afshan published by Christian missionaries at Ludhiana. The Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers must be used with some care since they are translations and summaries from the Urdu press prepared by British civil servants. (Most of the original newspapers, however, are no longer available.) The weekly reports offer a variety of perspectives from several newspapers about any one issue. In many cases, the reports provide a reasonably accurate survey of opinion especially on religious matters. They are most helpful for the study of the Ahmadiyah movement, both in Ahmad's lifetime and after. Summaries from such Ahmadiyah newspapers as al-Hakam, Badr, al-Fazl, and Paygham-i-Sulh (the latter two began in 1913), also provide valuable material showing certain concerns of the movement itself as viewed by British civil servants.

Of the principal works by Ahmadis which are available in English, the most significant, obviously biased in its presentation, yet very informative, is Abdur Rahman Dard's Life of Ahmad, Volume I.[34] This covers Ghulam Ahmad's life in detail up to 1901, though it is vague about the years befor 1876. (Volume II unfortunately was never written.) Also in English is Muhammad

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Ali's The Founder of the Ahmadiyah Movement.[35] The Qadian branch has issued a volume by Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, titled Sirat-ul-Mahdi (on which Nadvi bases his selected materials), and also a nine-volume Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyah in Urdu, the first three volumes of which deal in detail with the life and ministry of Miraz Ghulam Ahmad.[36]

In 1902 the Ahmadiyah movement began to direct its missionary efforts to Europe and America by publishing Review of Religions in English and in Urdu. Circulation in the early years seldom exceeded 500 copies a month. In some years, several months were compressed into one issue. While the bulk of material published was educational and apologetic, news items occasionally found their way into the Review. These items are valuable when they shed light on Ahmadi relations with other religious groups or with the Government. There were years when such articles occurred frequently; there were other years when press censorship by the Government seems to have limited the Review's articles to rather innocuous theological or historical subjects.

III

Following the death of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1908, Amhadiyah publications began to develop in new directions. Review of Religions and al-Hakam[37] continued as before, while other small newspapers, such as Badr, which had been directed against the Aryas, and Nur, which had been used to convert Sikhs, almost

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stopped functioning. Nur-ud-Din, close friend and successor to Ghulam Ahmad from 1908-1914, was referred to as the khalifah. The implication of this title was the establishment of authoritarian leadership for the movement. The liberal faction did not agree with the autocratic position of the khalifah and severed its relations when Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was chosen second khalifah on the death of Nur-ud-Din in 1914. The liberals, who took their small following to Lahore in the same year, could be described as an intellectual group which sought to bring Ahmadiyah doctrine more in line with Sunni Islam, thus seeing it as a reforming force within Islam. The conservative, or Qadian faction, insisted on the unique message of the Promised Messiah and the special sectarian calling of Ahmadiyah. Leaders of the liberal group at Lahore included Muhammad Ali (1878-1931), first editor of the Review of Religions (not the Mohamed Ali who was brother of Shaukat Ali and founder of the Khilafat movement), and Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, lawyer, early supporter of Ahmad, and the first Ahmadi missionary in England.

The conservative group remained at Qadian, led from 1914 until his death in 1965, by Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, first son of Ghulam Ahmad by his second wife, Nasir Jahan Begum. Mahmud Ahmad was in turn succeeded by this son, Nasir Ahmad, present head of the community at Rabwah, Pakistan. The split has always been a great source of controversy within the movement. The Qadiani view can best be seen in Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad's The Truth

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About the Split,[38] and A. Q. Niaz's Fazl-i-Omar.[39] Both books document the incidents in detail and spare nothing to point up the wrongs of the other side. As a rejoinder to the Urdu original by Mahmud Ahmad, Muhammad Ali in 1922 published Haqiqat-i-Ikhtilaf, translated as True Facts about the Split.[40]

The Lahore branch, despite its relatively small membership, has carried on extensive publishing from its offices on Brandreth Road, directing very little against the Qadianis. A notable exception is the book of Mumtaz Ahmad Faruqui, Truth Triumphs,[41] a sharp attack on Ahmad's claims as presented by the Qadianis, published by the Lahore group in 1965 in Urdu and English. Muhammad Ali and Khwajah Kamal-ud-Din wrote many books and tracts meant to appeal to both Muslims and non-Muslims. Most notable of these was Muhammad Ali's The Religion of Islam,[42] considered by many scholars to be a significant study of Islam. To Muhammad Ali also goes the credit for the Ahmadiyah Arabic-English edition of the Quran,[43] as well as the Urdu Tahrik-i-Ahmadiyyat,[44] which is available from the Lahore branch in tract-sized English translations by S. M. Tufail. Muhammad Ali also wrote about the Prophet, the khalifahs of early Islam, the relation of Muhammad to Christ, and in a particularly important treatise, about the Khilafat in Islam According to the Holy Qur'an and the Sayings of the Holy Prophet.[45] The purpose of this latter work was Muhammad Ali's attempt to clarify issues which arose from debates over the khilafat during 1920. In this work, Muhammad Ali sought to separate himself

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and the Lahoris clearly from the Ahmadiyah concept of a khalifah of the Ahmadiyah movement, while moving away from some of the political implications of the khilafat movement as it had developed under the leadership of Mohamed Ali (editor of Hamdard and Comrade) and his brother, Shaukat Ali.

Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (1870-1932), the other major figure of the Lahore Ahmadiyah faction, was the first Ahmadi missionary to go to England (in 1912). After the split, he returned to London, having spent the crisis period in India. He served the rest of his career as imam of the mosque at Woking near London. The notoriety which he received during the first years of his missionary work, a period in which several English men and women converted to Islam, diminished during the later phases of his career. His writings were as extensive as those of Muhammad Ali and may be described largely as apologetic.

Among his works are The Ideal Prophet (1925), The Message of Islam (1927), and The Sources of Christianity (1924).[46] Both Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and Muhammad Ali dealt with comparative religious material, as well as with Islamic material. While this practice was more common in Review of Religions during the early years when Muhammad Ali was editor, the Lahore group after the split was more positive in its interest in non-Muslim religions and interaction with them than was the Qadian group.

Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din represented the Ahmadiyah movement (before the split) at a Conference of Religions held in Calcutta in 1909

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in memory of Swami Vivekananda. In July 1913, he was the only Muslim spokesman at the Sixth International Congress of Religious Liberals held in Paris. Data about his participation at Paris have turned up in the papers of the Reverend Charles Wendte, a Unitarian minister and organizer of the Congress.[47]

IV

A picture of the Ahmadiyah movement at Qadian and its development after 1914 may be gleaned principally from news articles in Review of Religions, many of which emphasize missionary work outside of India and the growth of the movement both in and outside the country. The best single description of the structure of the movement during the twenties and thirties is a tract by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, The Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam,[48] published by the Moslem Sunrise Press at the Chicago Ahmadiyah center. The tract details the revised organizational structure of the movement after 1920 and is particularly valuable for bringing together information about internal developments. The only reliable figures available on the size and distribution of Ahmadiyah membership on the subcontinent are those published in the various Census of India reports beginning in 1901. With that report Ahmadis were listed separately from other Muslims, and while Ahmadis often disputed the figures given in the reports, they are probably accurate as to order of magnitude.

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The most striking major change of the post-World War I period in Ahmadiyah history was its increasing involvement with social and political issues of the day. While Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had expressed his loyalty to the point where orthodox Muslims accused him of being a puppet of the Government, and while the first khalifah, Maulvi Nur-ud-Din, had been too engaged with organizational problems to be concerned with political matters, Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, the second khalifah (from 1914 to 1965), was thrust into deep involvement with the issues of his day. Although Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had engaged in religious polemics and controversy which had been political in their deeper implications, the close indentification of religious communities with political issues had not yet developed during his own lifetime.

The Ahmadiyah movement first became politicized in the issues over the split. When Muhammad Ali and Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din sought to bring the Ahmadis closer to mainstream Islam, they began publication of a newspaper in Lahore, Paygham-i-Sulh, in June 1913. A few months earlier when Mahmud Ahmad, son of the Promised Messiah, had returned from hajj, he also began a new newspaper from Qadian, al-Fazl. Mahmud felt that the other Ahmadiyah newspapers lacked precision in stressing the prophecy and messiahship of his father. Al-Fazl then became the voice for conservatism within the movement, while Paygham-i-Sulh, seeking favor for the movement with such militant Muslims as Mohamed Ali (of Hamdard and Comrade) and Zafar Ali Khan (editor of the Zamindar), joined with the militants in supporting the Muslims of Kanpur following an incident there in

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which Muslims were killed while trying to rebuild a mosque torn down, in part, by civic authorities.[49] For their attack on the Government during August, 1913, the publishers of Paygham-i-Sulh were required to forfeit the security posted by all newspapers.

Al-Fazl, the principal Qadiani newspaper after 1913, took the position of the Government on both the Kanpur mosque incident and, in 1919, on the Amritsar massacre. Regretting the consequences of both affairs, Mahmud Ahmad maintained that loyalty and obedience to the Government were paramount. Through his actions and policies during the twenties and thirties, he did not always appear to uphold this principle. When Ahmadiyah interests were at stake, essentially he believed that the movement would not survive in an independent India without the protection of the British. On the issue of the khilafat, for example, Mahmud Ahmad, the Ahmadi khalifah, wrote a major article, published in Review of Religions, June 1920. This piece, entitled "The Turkish Peace and the Muslims' duty,"[50] indicated that the Qadianis had been invited to participate in the Khilafat Conference at Lucknow. Mahmud Ahmad refused the invitation and declared his opposition to a khilafatist movement because of its political implications and his own reiteration of a religious renewal for Islam.

Most significant of Mahmud Ahmad's religious writing was his Dawat-ul-Amir, which appeared in Urdu (1926), in Persian (1927), and in English (1961).[51] This work is the most comprehensive statement of Ahmadi theology available. Its purpose was to clarify,

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by a series of twelve "arguments," the program and ideology of Ahmadiyah. Originally aimed at other Muslims, the English edition has been a most suitable missionary text for the non-Muslim world. The second khalifah was the author of numerous other tracts, such as a brief Life of Muhammad,[52] Islam and Slavery,[53] and The New World Order of Islam.[54] As his father had done before him, Mahmud Ahmad published several public invitations to the rulers of England, urging them to join the faith of Islam. Two such tracts were: A Present to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales[55] and A Present to Kings (Tuhfat-ul-Muluk).[56]

Two little known writings of Mahmud Ahmad, which throw great light on his views of political issues of the twenties and thirties, were his The Hindu-Mulim Problem and Its Solution[57] and Some Suggestions for the Solution of the Indian Problem.[58] Prior to the publication of these books the Qadiani Ahmadis had made clear their opposition to Gandhi's program of swaraj. Ahmadis had kept their shops open during hartals and had suffered because of their unpopular stands. At the same time, however, the pro-British Ahmadiyah position was not consistent, Ahmadis responded communally as their old enemies, the Arya Samaj, began a new series of attacks on the Prophet and Islam through the publicatons Rangila Rasul and Risala Vartmann.[59] The effect of these publications and the court cases resulting from them was to heighten communal tensions, already rather serious throughout the Punjab in the late 1920's. In this fray, the Ahmadis plastered anti-Arya posters throughout Lahore and Amritsar calling for Government intervention. In the

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two books by Mahmud Ahmad, however, the khalifah took a more moderate and rational position.

In his 1927 book, he discussed the problem of communalism, asserting the basic differences between Hindus and Muslims. He also rejected the contention of the Nehru Report[60] that separate electorates for the two communities were not necessary or desirable. Here Mahmud Ahmad took a middle position with respect to British rule. It was still a necessity, as long as the position of minorities in India was insecure, and until such time as the British had properly educated their subjects to "discharge their responsibilities with fairness and equity."[61] Some Suggestions for the Solution of the Indian Problem was written in response to the Simon Report[62] and was directly addressed to delegates attending the first Indian Round Table Conference in London (November 1930). Among the delegates to the London meeting was Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, a Lahore attorney and life-long Qadiani Ahmadi. Zafrullah, later to become foreign minister of Pakistan and a justice on the World Court of Justice at the Hague, is without question the best known member of the Ahmadiyah community. In 1931 he also served for one year as President of the Muslim League. Details of his early career have been included in the oral history collection at Columbia University as "The Reminiscences of Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan," but very little of the oral history deals directly with the Ahmadiyah connection itself. He has recently published a length autobiography in Urdu.

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As for Some Suggestions for the Solution of the Indian Problem, its discussion was focused on the independence question. Mahmud Ahmad's answer was that independence must eventually come for India but not at that time (1930). Mahmud Ahmad also insisted that the British must not be blamed for the communalism in India. He blamed the Arya Samaj specifically and the Hindus more generally.

To reconstruct the controversy between the Ahmadiyah and the Ahrar, a similar study of Home, Department, Serial, Political, and Confidential files would be necessary. The Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam was a Muslim group which broke off from the Indian National Congress in 1929, and, on the basis of a conservative and militant interpretation of Islam, began the support of Muslims in Kashmir by sending bands of jathas (warriors) across the border. Ahmadis had been engaged in a more peaceful pursuit of Muslim rights in Kashmir. When the Ahrars realized that"heretical" Muslims were succeeding in Kashmir, they began a sustained attack against the Ahmadis which culminated in a series of direct confrontations. In October, 1934, the Ahrars attempted to hold an anti-Ahmadi conference at Qadian. Fear of a bloodbath between the two groups brought the Punjab Government into the incident. Government records make it clear that the British did not support either side, much to the dislike of the Ahmadis, who insisted that they had been far more loyal than had the Ahrars.[64]

During the decade of the 1930's, the Government began a crack-

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down on literature they believed agitated communal feelings. In this period much Ahmadi literature was proscribed as was considerable literature written by Muslims opposed to the Ahmadiyah.[65] Ahmadis have written little about this criticism of their work by the Government. Relations with the Government during the 1930's, focusing on Ahmadiyah involvement in Kashmir and the later Ahmadiyah controversy with the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, can only be described as "bitter-sweet." It is here, however, that the significance of Government of India documents for the study of Ahmadiyah must be introduced. For Ahmadiyah involvement in Kashmir (1931-1934) the Crown Representative Papers are indispensable.[66] While they focus on the struggle between the Maharajah and the Muslims in general, the involvement of the Ahmadis may be found at many points if one is willing to undertake the tedious reading of microfilms or of the files at the India Office Records.

The role of Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the Ahmadiyah history of this period is also significant. As President of the Muslim League in 1930, he articulated the concept of "Pakistan" for the first time. In 1931, he worked together with Ahmadis on the All-India Kashmir Committee, but under pressure from the Ahrars and other Sunni Muslims, he disbanded the committee and formed a new one in which Ahmadis would play no part. It was during this period (1931-1934) that he wrote against "Qadianism."[67] His writings might not appear important except that Jawaharlal Nehru chose to respond to them in an article appearing in the Modern Review of Calcutta during 1935.[68] In this article, Nehru upheld

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the role Ahmadis were playing in Indian religious life and chided Iqbal for his criticism of the movement.

V

There are few collections of Ahmadiyah works. Urdu libraries of Ahmadi literature are located at the post partition headquarters at Rabwah (near Chiniot), West Pakistan, at the Lahore Branch office of the Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam Ahmadiyyah, and in the United States at the American Fazl Mosque, in Washington, D.C. (Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, 2141 Leroy Place, N.W.) A small community under the leadership of the youngest brother of the present khalifah also remains at Qadian as caretaker staff of the shrines. Some library resources are available there, but the valuable original journals were all moved to Rabwah. The Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University has the largest single collection of Ahmadi materials, Urdu and English, anywhere in North America. The most nearly complete collection of Review of Religions is located at Columbia University, while small collections of earlier volumes are housed at Brown University, Bowdoin College, and at the University of California, Berkeley. The two volumes of collected Ahmadi materials prepared by Ali Muhammad Alhaj, Islam and Its Comparison with Other Religions[69] and The Way to Peace and Happiness,[70] published by an Ahmadi branch in Secunderabad in 1916 and 1931, respectively, provide a source of Review

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articles which particularly pertain to the teachings of the Promised Messiah.

For the post-partition period, issues of the Light from Lahore or the Review of Religions from Rabwah provide internal sources about weekly or monthly events in the Ahmadiyah movement. Both continue to the present. A flood of missionary pamphlets and new translations of works of Ghulam Ahmad (generally abbreviated) have been issued. Most valuable of all post-partition documents on Ahmadiyah is the Report of the Court of Enquiry, more familiarly known as the "Munir Report," published by the Government of the Punjab in 1954.[71] This document records the attempts of the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam and other Muslim groups to have the Ahmadiyah declared a non-Muslim minority in Pakistan. During the hearings the justices attempted to get a number of Muslim mullahs to agree on one definition of the term "Muslim." The variety of definitions led to the decision that if the Ahmadis wished themselves to be considered Muslims they had every right to do so. What remains to be uncovered in future research is information on the reasoning used by the justices in the case, as well as resources in Pakistan Government archives on the Ahmadiyah movement since partition. A number of tracts by such opponents to the Ahmadis as Abulala Mawdudi (The Qadiani Problem and The Trial of Mawdudi[72]) point up the anti-Ahmadi position on Pakistan as clearly as any tracts might.

The significance of the Ahmadiyah movement for the renewal

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of Islam in the Punjab and for the study of religious conflict and cooperation cannot be gleaned from any of the sources we have described here. The picture of the Ahmadi movement can emerge only from a juxtaposition of many pieces in the historical puzzle now being structured by Punjab historians. It is in the spirit of this quest for new understanding about religious movements of the Punjab that this essay is contributed to this symposium on the sources of Punjab history.

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NOTES

I have given a location for every item cited, except those which are extremely common and easily available. The symbols used are listed at the end of the Notes.

1. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "Ahmadiyya," Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., II, pp. 301-303. Smith taught at Forman Christian College in Lahore in the 1940's. See also note 9.

2. Norman Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace, The Punjab Press, 1880-1905 (East Lansing, 1970). (Michigan. State University. East Lansing, Asian Studies Center. Occasional Paper. South Asia series, 14.)

3. Howard Arnold Walter, The Ahmadiyya Movement (Calcutta: Association Press, 1918). Religious Life of India series. 185 pp. MH. Walter (1883-1918) was educated at Princeton and Hartford theological seminaries, and served in Lahore with the Y.M.C.A. as Literary Secretary of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Association of India and Ceylon. He was also the author of the hymn "I Would Be True." See also notes 6 and 13.

4. Humphrey J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah: a Study in Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

5. Abulhasan Ali Nadvi, Qadianism: a Critical Study, trans. from the Urdu by Zafar Ishaq Ansari (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad

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Ashraf, 1967). 139 pp. CaQMIIS. The term "Qadianism" is taken as derogatory by Ahamdis. Urdu edition: Qadianiat: Mutala-i-Jaizah (Lucknow: Maktaba Dar-ul-Ulum Nadawat-ul-Ulema, 1966). Gu. CaQMIIS has as well 57 articles, tracts, and books by Nadvi in Urdu and Arabic on education, language, Islam, Arabic literature, etc. DLC has his Arabic work, Al-Qadiyani wa-al-Qadiayaniah (Lucknow, 1962).

6. H. A. Walter, "Qadiani," Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, X, pp. 530-531.

7. John Nicol Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India (New York: Macmillan, 1915). Reprint: (Delhi: Mushiram Manoharlal, 1967). xv, 471 pp.

8. Murray T. Titus, Indian Islam: a Religious History of Islam in India (London: Oxford University Press, 1930). 290 pp. DLC. Revised as: Islam in India and Pakistan (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1959). 328 pp. ICU.

9. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Modern Islam in India: a Social Analysis (Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, 1943). 399 pp. DLC. Revised edition: (London: Gollancz, 1946). 344 pp. DLC. 2d ed.: (Lahore: Ripon Printing Press, 1957). 475 pp. NNC. Further edition: (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1963). 396 pp. CLU.

10. Kenneth Cragg, Counsels in Contemporary Islam (Edinburgh: University Press, 1965) 255 pp.

11. Stephen Fuchs, Rebellious Prophets (London: Asia Publishing House, 1965). 304 pp.

12. Freeland Abbott, Islam and Pakistan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968). 242 pp.

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13. H. A. Walter, "The Ahmadiya Movement Today," Moslem World 6: 66-78 (January 1916). Complete sets of Moslem World are at CaQMIIS and CtHC.

14. W. R. W. Gardner, "The Ahmadiya Movement," Moslem World 10: 59-64 (January 1920). The article is a review of Walter's book.

15. Herbert Udny Weitbrecht Stanton, "The Ahmadiya Movement," Moslem World 15: 10-20 (January 1925).

16. James T. Addison, "The Ahmadiya Movement and its Western Propaganda," Harvard Theological Review 22: 1-32 (January 1929). Addison (1887-1953) was for 25 years Professor of Religion and Missions at Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass. I can find no evidence that he ever lived in Punjab (See his obituary, New York Times, 14 February 1953, 17:6). He had a lasting interest in the Muslims, as is evidenced by his book The Christian Approach to the Moslem: a Historical Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

17. Lucien Bouvat, "Les Ahmadiyya de Qadian," Journal Asiatique 213: 159-181 (Juillet-Septembre 1928). In his article, Bouvat lists several early contributions to the study of the Ahmadis. There is an article by the great Islamicist, Thomas Walker Arnold, "Poche Parole sul Movimento Religioso del Giorno tra i Musulmani del Nord dell'India," International Congress of Orientalists, Proceedings, 12th Vol. II, no. 1: 135-142 (1899); the last few pages concern the Ahmadis. (CLU.)

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Bouvat also lists two works by the great Dutch Islamicist and co-editor of the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Martinus Theodorus Houtsma: "Le Mouvement Religieux des Ahmadiyya aux Indes Anglaises," Revue du Monde Musulman 1: 533-576 (1907), available at CU, and a very sketchy article on "Ahmediya" in the first Encyclopaedia of Islam, I:206. The longer article includes an English "Short Sketch of the Ahmadiya Movement," by an Ahmadi not identified.

18. Stanley Brush, "Ahmadiyyat in Pakistan," Muslim World 45: 145-171 (April 1955).

19. Hervey DeWitt Griswold, "Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Mehdi Messiah of Qadian," Indian Evangelical Review 29: 322-354 (January 1903). (This volume seems to be available only at ICU. This was a reprint of his pamphlet of the same title: (Lodiana: American Tract Society, 1902). 32 pp. BM. Imad-ud-Din Lahiz's Urdu work Tauzin-ul-Aqwal (Amritsar: National Press, 1893) was summarized by Rev. Elwood Morris Wherry in Indian Evangelical Review 28: 186-192 (October 1902). The summary is reprinted in his The Muslim Controversy: being a Review of Christian Literature Written in the Urdu Language for the Propagation of the Christian Religion and the Refutation of Islam (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1905), pp. 57-66. NjPT.

20. Ghulam Ahmad, Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya, translated by Masum Beg (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat-i-Islam, 1955). 155 pp.

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La, and available from Ahmadiyah centers. Published serially in the Light (Lahore), December 1955-November 1958. The Urdu original was published in four parts in Amritsar, 1880-1884. There was a later Sialkot edition of 1890, also in four parts. Gu has a copy of the Sialkot edition; the American Fazl Mosque also has an Urdu edition, but I am not sure which. Both editions are in the British Museum, which has the best collection of the vernacular works of Ghulam Ahmad in the West. For a listing, see: British Museum. Dept. of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts. A Supplementary Catalogue of Hindustani Books...1889-1909, by J. F. Blumhardt (London: British Museum, 1909), cols. 124-190. The listing there also includes references to a broad selection of controversial literature directed at Ghulam Ahmad. I have not surveyed this literature here because the Blumhardt catalogue is most detailed, and makes clear the interrelationships of the various parts of the controversial literature. India Office Library holdings are more difficult to discover, since its Hindustani catalogue runs up only to 1900. See: Great Britain. India Office. Library. Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part II: (Hindustani Books, by J. F. Blumhardt (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900), which contains only four works by Ghulam Ahmad. Also helpful on the vernacular controversial literature is Norman Gerald Barrier, The Punjab in Nineteenth-Century Tracts: an Introduction to

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the Pamphlet Collections in the British Museum and India Office (East Lansing, 1969). (Michigan. State University. East Lansing. Asian Studies Center. Occasional Paper. South Asia Series, 10.) To avoid confusion, it is worth noting that the British Museum and the India Office alphabetize Ghulam Ahmad under "G," while American libraries, following Library of Congress practice, usually alphabetize him under "A."

21. NN seems to have the only long run of Light.

22. For the text of these fatwas, see Abdur Rahman Dard's important biography of Ghulam Ahmad, Life of Ahmad, Vol. I (Lahore: Muhtarum Nash-o-Ishaat Sadar Anjuman Ahmadiyya, 1949). 622 pp. CaQMIIS, NNMR. Only the first volume was written.

23. Ghulam Ahmad, The Teachings of Islam: a Solution of Five Fundamental Religious Problems from the Muslim Point of View (London: Luzac, 1910). xii, 195 pp. MH-A. There are several later editions, some under the title of The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam.

24. Ghulam Ahmad, The Message; or, a Cry of Pain, an Extract from Al-Balagh (Lahore: Victoria Press, 1898). 26 pp. BM. I have been unable to trace the Urdu original.

25. Ghulam Ahmad, The Kashf-ul-Ghita, trans. from the Hindustani (Lahore: Victoria Press, 1898). 43 pp. BM. The British Museum also has the Urdu original, published in Qadian in 1898, 32 pp., with a second edition in 1903, 36 pp.

26. Ghulam Ahmad, Jehad and the British Government (Lahore: Caxton Printing Works, 1900). 33 pp. BM. English translation

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of Gavarnmant-i-Angrezi aur Jahad (Qadian, 1900). 34 pp. BM.

27. Ghulam Ahmad, A Misunderstanding Removed (Rabwah: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions Office, n.d.). 23 pp. La. The Urdu original--whose title I do not know--was published at Qadian in 1901.

28. Ghulam Ahmad, Tauzih-i-Maram (A Clarification), translated by Iqbal Ahmad (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam, 1966). 64 pp. La. The Urdu original was the second part of Ghulam Ahmad's Fath-i-Islam (Amritsar, 1891). BM.

29. Ghulam Ahmad, Istifta (Qadian, 1897). 34 pp. BM. CaQMIIS. An unpublished English translation has been prepared by Abi-dallah Ghazi and myself. It appears as an appendix to my Ph. D. Dissertation, "The Ahmadiyah Movement: its Nature and its Role in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century India" (Montreal: McGill University, 1970), which was published as a book by the Manohar Book Service in Delhi, under the title The Ahmadiyah Movement: a History and Perspective, 1974, pp. 220.

30. While I have been able to find no record of a prosecution, five newspapers, Paisa Akhbar, Punjab Samachar Koh-i-Nur, Chaudhwin Sadi, and Taj-ul-Akhbar all reported the capture of a Muslim suspect during ltate November 1897.

31. Ghulam Ahmad, Qadian ke Arya aur Hamian, 1905). CaQMIIS. An English translation under the title of The Aryas of Qadian and Us prepared for Kenneth Jones by H. S. Saxena is available from the present writer.

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32. For example, Church Missionary Society, Proceedings (London, 1894) pp. 119-122.

33. Selections from the Vernacular Press of the Punjab provided weekly summaries from vernacular newspapers. See Barrier and Wallace, mentioned note 2, for the Government's evaluation of the various newspapers.

34. Abdur Rahman Dard, Life of Ahmad. See note 21.

35. Actually, two versions by Muhammad Ali appear in English. The first, undated, is entitled The Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement: a Short Study (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha' at-i-Islam, n.d.). 121 pp. Gu, La. A shorter tract version is entitled Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian: his Life and Mission (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, 1951). 31 pp. La.

36. Bashir Ahmad, Sirat-ul-Mahdi (Qadian, n.d.), a work in four volumes of which three are at the American Fazl Mosque; the author was not Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, but Ghulam Ahmad's second son. Dost Muhammad Shahid, Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyah, 9 vols. (Rabwah, n.d.). La and American Fazl Mosque, Washington.

37. Al-Hakam was an Urdu weekly newspaper, the first published by the Ahmadiyah movement, beginning in 1897, possibly as a result of the Lekh Ram incident. Ahmadiyah was later than many religious groups in Punjab in beginning its regular publication of newspapers. For information on other Ahmadiyah newspapers see Barrier and Wallace, cited in note 2, items 61, 320, 321.

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38. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, The Truth about the Split (Qadian: Tahrik-i-Jahid, 1939). 375 pp. CaQMIIS, La (microfilm). The first English edition was published in 1924, translated from the Urdu original, Aina-i-Sidaqat (Qadian, 1914).

39. Abdul Qadir Niaz, Fazl-i-Omar (Qadian: the Author, 1938). 324 pp. CaQMIIS and BM, which spells his names "Abdal-Kadir Niyaz."

40. Muhammad Ali, True Facts about the Split, trans. by Mirza Masum Beg (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, 1966). 116 pp. La. First published in Urdu as Haqiqat-i-Ikhtilaf in 1922.

41. Mumtaz Ahmad Faruqui, Truth Triumphs (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, 1965). 56 pp. La.

42. Muhammad Ali, The Religion of Islam: a Comprehensive Discussion of the Sources, Principles and Practices of Islam (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam, 1936). xxvii, 784 pp. DLC, MH, CaQMIIS.

43. The Holy Qur-an, Containing the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary by Maulvi Muhammad Ali (Woking: The Islamic Review, 1917). cxv, 1275 pp. BM, CaQMIIS. DLC has a copy of a later edition, listed: Koran. English. Translation of the Holy Quran (without Arabic Text). With Short Notes and an Introduction by Muhammad Ali (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, 1934). cxvi, 631 pp.

44. Muhammad Ali, True Conception of Ahmadiyyat, trans. from Tahrik-i-Ahmadiyyat by S. M. Tufail (Lahore: Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, n.d.). 69 pp. La.

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45. Muhammad Ali, Muhammad the Prophet, trans. from Urdu (Lahore, Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, 1924),. 285 pp. DLC; Early Caliphate, trans. from the second Urdu edition by Muhammad Yaqub Khan (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, 1932). xi, 327 pp. DLC, CtY-D Muhammad and Christ (Lahore: Ahmadiah Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islem, 1921). 159 pp. CtY; The Khilafat in Islam according to the Holy Qur'an and the Sayings of the Holy Prophet (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, 1920). 38 pp. MiU. For biographical information on Muhammad Ali, see: Mumtaz Ahmad Faruqui and Muhammad Ahmad, Mujahid-i-Kabir: yani Suanah-i-Umri Hazrat Maulana Muhammad Ali (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, 1962). 424 pp. DLC. It has bibliography on pp. 414-421. There is an abbreviated English translation entitled Muhammad Ali: the Great Missionary of Islam (Lahore, 1966). 105 pp. La.

46. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, The Ideal Prophet (Woking: Bashir Muslim Library, 1925). xxv, 274 pp. DLC; The Message of Islam (Woking: Trust for the Encouragement and Circulation of Muslim Religious Literature, 1927). 42, 23, vii pp. DLC; Sources of Christianity (Woking: Bashir Muslim Library, 1924). 183 pp. DLC. For Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din's views on the Indian political situation in the early 1920's, see his India in the Balance: British Rule and the Caliphate (Woking: The Islamic Review, 1922). 175 pp. DLC.

47. Most of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din's English works were published

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by the Mosque at Woking. Charles Wendte's papers relating to work he did while at the American Unitarian Assocation are located in the Unitarian Historical Archives, Harvard Divinity School. See also Wendte's two-volume work, The Wider Fellowship (Boston: Beacon Press, 1927). There is extensive literature both by Ahmadis and by Western scholars which deals with Ahmadiyah missions, particularly in their African context. Two principal accounts by Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, the grandson of Ghulam Ahmad, are: (1) Our Foreign Missions, 4th rev. ed. (Rabwah: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions, 1965). xii, 105 pp. MH. (2) Ahmadiyyat in the Far East, trans. from Urdu by Soofi A. Q. Niaz (Rabwah: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions, 1964). 81 pp. DLC. On activities in Africa, see the work by Fisher cited in note 4, and the following works of J. Spencer Trimmingham: The Influence of Islam on Africa (New York: Praeger, 1968), 159 pp.; Islam in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 198 pp. There was also missionary activity in Western countries. We have mentioned Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din; he edited the Islamic Review from Woking, starting in 1913. (CU and Ct-HC seem to have the most nearly complete runs of it.) Fazal Karim Khan Durrani was active in Germany, and wrote a lengthy article for the Moslemische Revue in Berlin, available as The Ahmadiyya Movement (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, 1927). 82 pp. DLC, MH. The Moslem Sunrise (later

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Muslim Sunrise) was the only regular Ahmadi publication in America, published first from Chicago and later from Washington.

48. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, The Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam (Chicago: Moslem Sunrise Press, 1944?). 24 pp. MBU-T.

49. For detailed discussion of the Kanpur Mosque incident and its implications, see the forthcoming article by the present author, "The Kanpur Mosque Incident of 1913: the North Indian Muslim Press as a Factor in Communalism," to be published in the Journal of the American Academy of Religion, July, 1974, Vol. XLIII, No. 2. and in Panjab: Past and Present.

50. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, "The Turkish Peace and the Muslims' Duty," Review of Religions 29: 161-182 (June 1920).

51. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Invitation to Ahmadiyyat (Washington, D.C.: American Fazl Mosque, 1961). 345 pp. MH. Urdu original: Dawat-ul-Amir (Qadian, 1926). Another general apologetic work is his Ahmadiyyat: or, the True Islam, trans. from Urdu by Chaudhuri Zafrullah Khan (Qadian: Manager, Book Depot, 1924). 429 pp. DLC, MH. 2d ed., 1937. DLC. 3d ed., 1951, DLC.

52. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Life of Muhammad (Rabwah: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions Office, 195?). 221 pp. CtY-D.

53. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Islam and Slavery (Qadian:

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Talif-o-Isha'at, 1935). Second ed.: (Rabwah: Ahmadiyya Foreign Muslim Missions Office, pref. 1956). 66 pp. NNC.

54. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, The New World Order of Islam (Qadian: Tahrik-i-Jadid, 1945). 102 pp. NcD.

55. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, A Present to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales from the Ahmadiyya Community (Qadian: Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya, 1922). 105 pp. DLC.

56. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, A Present to Kings, trans. by Abul Hasham Khan Chaudhrey (Qadian, n.d.). 85 pp. CaQMIIS. Urdu original: Tuhfat-ul-Muluk (Lahore, 1914). 128 pp.

57. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, The Hindu-Muslim Problem and its Solution (Qadian: Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya, 1927). 40 pp. MoU, on microfilm original in National Archives of India.

58. Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Some Suggestions for the Solution of the Indian Problem (Qadian, 1930). 450 pp. MH.

59. For details on the Rangila Rasul and Risala Vartmann cases, see: Government of India, Home Department, File No. 132/27, Serial Nos. 1-39, June, 1927, and Home Department, Political File No. 3608, September 1, 1927.

60. All Parties Conference (India) 1928. Report of the Committee Appointed by the Conference to Determine the Principles of the Constitution for India (Allahabad: General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, 1928). 133 pp. DLC, MH. Known as the "Nehru Report" after the chairman of the Committee, Motilal Nehru.

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61. Mahmud Ahmad, The Hindu-Muslim Problem, op. cit., p. 13.

62. G. Brit. Indian Statutory Commission. Report (London: H.M.S.O., 1930). 17 vols. DLC. Known as the "Simon Report" after its chairman, Sir John Allsebrook Simon.

63. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Tahdis-i-Nimat (Dhaka: Dhaka Benevolent Association, 1971). 702 pp. DLC.

64. There is much that needs to be studied about the Ahrar movement. See the forthcoming work of this writer and Abidallah Ghazi, an English translation of and commentary on the biography of Maulana Habibur Rahman (1892-1956), founder of the Ahrar, by his son: Azizurrahman Jamai Ludhiyanvi, Rais al-Ahrar Maulana Habiburrahman Ludhiyanvi aur Hindustan ki Jang-i-Azadi (Delhi: Dist. by Talimi Samaji Markaz, 1961). 40, 372 pp. DLC. For details on the Ahrar-Ahmadiyah controversies, see Chs. 7-8 of this writer's book, The Ahmadiyah Movement: a History and Perspective, forthcoming through Manohar Book Service in Delhi. Also relevant is Janbaz Mirza's biography of Sayyid Ataullah Shah Bukhari (1891-1961), an Ahrar leader, Hayat-i-Amir-Shariat (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsarah,1969). 600 pp. DLC. See also Bukhari's Khutbat-i-Amir-Shariat (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsarah, 1967). 152 pp. DLC. This is a collection of his writings on various Islamic topics, chiefly anti-Ahmadiyah. Y. B. Mathur's Muslims and Changing India (New Delhi: Trimurti, 1972), DLC, has a short chapter on "Qadiani and Ahrar Movements," which has many valuable archival references. There is also

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much on the Ahrar movement in the Munir Report, mentioned in note 66.

65. See the work of N. Gerald Barrier in this volume for communal tracts banned by the British in Punjab during the 1930's. The most notable piece of anti-Ahmadi polemics is Phoenix (pseud.), His Holiness, with a foreword by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (Lahore: Islamic Literature Publishing House, forword 1935). xiv, 268 pp. BM, Gu. Reprint: (Lahore, Islamic Literature Publishing House, 1958). xiii, 200 pp. DLC. The dust jacket of the original edition describes it as "a fearless and frank exposition of the hollowness of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's claim to prophethood." (Prof. Khalil Nasir, former imam of the American Fazl Mosque in Washington, tells me that the author was Kanhaya Lal Gaube (1899-), the son and biographer of Lala Harkishen Lal. On conversion to Islam he changed his name to Khalid Latif Gauba.) The stream of anti-Ahmadi works continues unabated. Recent works have included the following: (1) Ehsan Elahi Zaheer, Qadiyaniat: an Analytical Survey (Lahore: Idara Tarjuman al-Sunnah, 1972) 361 pp. DLC. (2) Ehsan Elahi Zaheer, Mirzaiyyat aur Islam (Lahore: Idara Tarjuman al-Sunnah, 1972). 240 pp. DLC. (3) Abdulkarim Shorish Kashmiri, Mirzail: Qadianiat ka Siasi Mubahasah (Chiniot: Majlis Tuliba-i-Islam, 1968). 144 pp. DLC. A collection of critical articles previously published in the Urdu weekly Chatan. (4) Muhammad Manzur Numani, Kufr-o-Islam ke Hudud aur Qadiyaniat (Lucknow: Kutub Khana

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al-Farqan, 1966?). 36 pp. DLC. (5) Muhammad Manzur Numani, Qadiyaniat par Ghaur Karne ka Sidha Rastah (Lucknow: Kutub Khana al-Farqan, 1965). 44 pp. DLC. (6) There is a work by the redoubtable foe of the Ahmadis, Muhammad Ilyas Barni, Qadiyani Qual-o-Fil (Lahore: Idara Tarjuman al-Sunnah, 1969). 300 pp. DLC. This book is a survey of the controversy between the author and the Admadis, pursued through many years by Barni, a former teacher of economics at Osmania University. His major controversial work was Qadiani Mazhab, a thousand-page conpilation of statements from Ghulam Ahmad's works, and especially from al-Fazl. (Gu has the only copy I can locate. He has one other work available in the U.S., under a different transliteration of his name: Mohammad Elias Burney, Qadiani Movement: an Exposition of the So-Called Ahmadiyyat, 2nd ed. (Durban, South Africa: Makki Publications, 1955). xix, 100 pp. NH. (7) Janbaz Mirza has collected the fatwas against the Ahmadis in Mirzaiyyat Adalat ka Katahre Men: Dini-o-Diniawi Adalion ke Faisle (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsarah, 1968). 254 pp. DLC.

5. The Crown Representative Papers, located at the India Office Records in London, deal in detail with the relations of the British Government of India with the princely states from the 1890's through the mid-1930's. Prof. Barbara Ramusack made her films of the papers available to me.

6. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Islam and Ahmadism (Lahore: Anjuman-i-Khuddam-ud-Din, 1935?), 47 pp. MH, CaQMIIS, reprinted as

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"Qadianism," in Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, ed. "Shamloo" (Lahore: Al-Manar Academy, 1944?). DLC. Second enlarged edition, 1948. ViU. Islam and Ahmadism was originally published as whole number 16 of Islam: Organ of the Khuddam-ud-Din (Lahore). The copies cited above are reprints in pamphlet form. The original form is at NN.

68. Jawaharlal Nehru, "The Solidarity of Islam," Modern Review 58: 524-525 (November 1935).

69. Ali Muhammad Alhaj (ed.), Islam and its Comparison with other Religions, 6th ed. (Secunderabad: Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Islam, 1933). 290 pp. CtHC.

70. Ali Muhammad Alhaj (ed.), The Way to Peace and Happiness, 6th ed. (Secunderabad: Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Islam, 1933). 292 pp. CtHC.

71. Punjab. Court of Inquiry to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953. Report (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1954). iv, 387 pp. DLC, CaQMIIS. For a view of the inquiry from the point of view of the Jamaat-i-Islami, see An Analysis of the Munir Report; a Critical Study of the Punjab Disturbances Inquiry Report, trans. and ed. by Khurshid Ahmad (Karachi: Jamat-i-Islami Publications, 1956). 241 pp. CaQMIIS, MH-L. See also Nazir Hussain Chaudhri, Chief Justice Muhammad Munir: his Life, Writings, and Judgments (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1973). 551 pp. DLC. Stanley Brush's article mentioned in note 18 above discusses the period of the disturbances.

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Syed Abul Ala Maudoodi, The Qadiani Problem (Karachi: Markazi Sho'ba-i-Nashr-o-Ishaat Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, n.d.). See also Maudoodi's Arabic Ma Hiya al-Qadiyaniyah (Kuwait: Dar al-Qalam, 1969). 238 pp. DLC.

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Library Location Symbols

With the exception of the first three, these symbols are standard for identifying libraries used through the interlibrary loan system in the United States, and will be understood in any library.

Gu	Collection of W. Eric Gustafson, University of California, Davis
La	Collection of Spencer Lavan, Tufts University Medford, Mass.
BM	British Museum, London
CaQMIIS	Library of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada
CtHC	Library of the Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
CtY-D	Library of the Divinity School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
CLU	Library of the University of California at Los Angeles
CU	Library of the University of California, Berkeley
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
ICU	University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Illinois
MBU-T	Library of the Theological School, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
MH	Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
MH-A	Library of the Divinity School, Harvard University
MH-L	Library of the Law School, Harvard University
MoU	University of Missouri Library, Columbia, Missouri
NcD	Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina

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NjPT	Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.
NN	New York Public Library, New York City
NNC	Columbia University Library, New York City
NNMR	Missionary Research Library, New York City
ViU	Library of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville

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Sources for Arya Samaj History[1]

Kenneth W. Jones

Nineteenth-century India was dominated by the interaction of two civilizations, the Indo-Muslim and the Western as introduced by English culture. A multiplicity of social, religious, and intellectual movements arose from this interaction; among them the Arya Samaj was one of the most significant. Founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the Samaj became the dominant religious and social movement among Hindus of the Punjab and northwestern India. Historically its ramifications in the areas of social reform, education, inter-communal relations, and political mobilization are extremely widespread, but relatively untouched by the professional scholar.

An attempt to trace the history of the Arya Samaj prior to 1914 and in the region of its greatest influence, the Punjab, led to both a physical as well as an intellectual search for historical data. During two trips to India, in 1963-64 and 1968-69, as well as a summer in London in 1971, I hunted for literature produced by the Arya Samaj and related to it. This search led to a variety of depositories, both public and private, to homes, offices, temples, book stores, and bazaars. While considerable historical material has been destroyed by the acts of nature and of man much remains. This article is a report on the types and categories of sources for Arya Samaj history

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focusing on the Punjab in years prior to World War I. A full listing of Arya-related materials would run to several thousand items and is beyond the scope of this article. Ours is a more limited goal.

To those outside of the Samaj, rather little literature is readily known. The standard references have been: John Nicol Farquhar's Modern Religious Movements in India (New York, 1915); Lajpat Rai, The Arya Samaj (London, 1915); G.S. Chhabra, The Advanced History of the Punjab, Vol. II (Ludhiana, 1962); the study by Charles H. Heimsath, Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform (Princeton, 1964), and the more recent examination of religious movements throughout Indian History, Stephan Fuchs, Rebellious Prophets, A Study of Messianic Movements in Indian History (London, 1965). With the exception of Lajpat Rai, these authors see the Samaj in terms of broader topics and thus tend toward a superficial treatment of it. Similarly, a number of Englishmen commented on the Samaj in their general studies of contemporary events, see John C. Oman in his Indian Life, Religious and Social (London, 1889); Henry W. Nevinson in The New Spirit of India (London, 1908); and H.C.E. Zacharias in Renascent India, from Ram Mohan Roy to Mohandas Gandhi (London, 1933). Material of this order is also available in the census reports for the Punjab, particularly those for 1891, 1911, and 1921.

Until recently scholarly work on the Samaj by those not directly connected with the movement has been largely in the form

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of unpublished dissertations. The most outstanding of these is Reid Graham's exhaustive doctoral dissertation, "The Arya Samaj as a Reformation in Hinduism with Special Reference to Caste" (Yale University, 1942). Besides its great detail this dissertation contains a lengthy bibliography. Also valuable is Lal Chand Mehra's "The Arya Samaj as an Educational Movement," an M.A. Thesis (University of California, Berkeley, 1925). In the 1960's scholars in history, political science, and comparative religion became increasingly interested in the Samaj as a major force in the development of modern Indian culture. One doctoral dissertation dealt directly with the Samaj in the Punjab. This was by Kenneth W. Jones, "The Arya Samaj in the Punjab: A study of Social Reform and Religious Revivalism, 1877-1902" (University of California, 1966).[2]

The Aryas themselves have produced an extensive historical literature on the Samaj. Perhaps the earliest attempt to trace the growth of the Arya Samaj was by Radha Kishan Mehta in his Tarikh-i-Arya Samaj (Lahore, 1903). Lajpat Rai's study followed in 1915, and then came the two-volume history by Naradeva Shastri, Arya Samaj ka Itahas (Allahabad, 1918-19). Two later histories are Harishchandra Vidyalankar, Arya Samaj ka Itihas (Delhi, 1949) and the two volumes by Indra Vidyavachaspati, Arya Samaj ka Itihas (Delhi, 1957). Examples of local and organizational histories include: Babu Ram Gupta, Arya Samaj Ludhiyana ka Sachitra Pachas Varshiya Itihas (Lahore, 1932); Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi

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Sabha ka 27 Varshiya Itihas (Delhi, 1939); Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha ka Nirnay (1908 se 1960 tak) (Delhi, 1961); and Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha ka Sankshipta Itihas (Delhi, 1961).[3] A number of biographical sketches of Arya leaders provide quick reference to the beginning student. These include: Diwan Chand Sharma's Makers of the Arya Samaj (London, 1935); Ram Chandra Javed, Arya Samaj ke Maha Purush (Jullundur, 1964); Balidan Jayanti Smriti-Granth (Jullundur, 1962); and, Swami Svatantranand Ji Maharaj, Arya Samaj ke Mahadhan (Delhi, 1948).

Biographical and autobiographical data on both Aryas and non-Aryas provide considerable evidence of actual developments within the movement, as well as a sense of the general milieu in which the Samaj acted and grew. N.B. Sen (ed.), Punjab's Eminent Hindus (Lahore, 1944) is a good beginning point, but not nearly as valuable as Prakash Tandon's Punjabi Century 1857-1947 (London, 1961); Nagendra Nath Gupta's Reflections and Remeniscences (Bombay, 1947); or Bhagat Lachman Singh's Autobiography (Calcutta, 1965). Also relevant are the biographies of two prominent non-Arya Punjabis Lajpat Nair and Prem Nath Kirpal's Dyal Singh Majithia (A Short Biographical Sketch) (Bombay, 1947) and Khalid Latif Gauba's biography of his father, The Rebel Minister: the Story of the Rise and Fall of Lala Harkishen Lal (Lahore, 1938). For the early developments of the Samaj the biography by Sadhu Tulsi Deva of Shraddha Ram, a pioneer Sanatanist leader, The Shraddha Prakash (Lahore, 1897) is extremely important. Of similar value is the unpublished autobiography of Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni, "Self

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Revelations of an Octogenarian" (ms. in Nehru Memorial Museum). Ruchi Ram was a life-long adherent of the Brahmo Samaj and one of the most important of its leaders in Lahore. Later biographies and autobiographies by prominent Aryas include: Bhai Paramanand's Story of My Life (Lahore, 1934); Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya's Meri Atmakatha (Ajmer, 1944); Har Bilas Sarda's Recollections and Reminiscences (Ajmer, 1951); Lala Sant Ram, Mere Jivan ke Anabhav (Varanasi, 1963); Mehr Chand Mahajan's Looking Back: an Autobiography (Bombay, 1963); Satya Deva Vidyalankar's Jivan Sangharsh (Delhi, 1964), a biography of Mahashay Krishna; and Indra Vidyavachaspati's Jivan ki Jhankiyan (Delhi, n.d.).

The greatest mass of historical literature was produced directly by the Samaj, its allied organizations, and its opponents. Books, pamphlets, journals, and reports are the raw material of Arya history, as they are of any social, political or religious movement. Cheap printing and a small literate audience meant the production of thousands of tracts and of numerous periodicals--monthlies, weeklies, and even dailies. It meant also the publication of various minutes and proceedings. Unfortunately these were issued in limited editions, often only a few hundred copies which disappeared almost as quickly as they were printed. The transitory nature of this literature has been exacerbated by the lack of interest among established libraries which saw no historical value in it and made no effort to collect and preserve it. Yet it is in these transitory items that some

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of the best historical data can be found. Anyone with an opinion published it, producing written documents on every contemporary issue, every point of controversy, and every movement for change or for the protection of traditional life. This literature can tell us what 19th century Punjabis thought, what they believed, and what causes motivated them to public action.

The Samaj and data directly produced by it began with Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Dayanand, a Gujarati sanyasi, founded the Arya Samaj in 1875 at Rajkot, but only achieved sustained success after he reached Lahore in 1877. Here his message found wide and enthusiastic acceptance. The literature of Dayanand, pro and con, his writings and later biographies form one of the largest sections of Arya literature.[4] Yet information about Dayanand is severely limited. He did not discuss his life prior to taking sanyas in accordance with the traditional rules of his order except once, in Poona when, in a series of lectures, he attempted to answer critics who claimed he was neither a Brahman nor a true sanyasi. These lectures appeared first in the Theosophist, 1879. They were translated into Urdu by Lala Munshi Ram and published as Updesh Makhbri (Jullundur, 1898). The English version has been brought out as Autobiography of Pandit Dayanand Saraswati (Adyar, Madras, 1952). Several Hindi versions have since been published, such as Updesh Manjari, arthat Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati ke 15 vyakhyan jo Puna Nagar men diye the (Delhi, 1930). The scarcity of data on Dayanand has not discouraged

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biographies; there are many. One of the earliest and one of the best was written by Pandit Lekh Ram and Lala Atma Ram, Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati ji Maharaj ka Jiwan Charit ya'ni Sawanih u'mri (Lahore, 1897). Amongst the more substantial biographies are: Lala Lajpat Rai, Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati Aur Un ka Kam (Lahore, 1898); Bawa Chhajju Singh, The Life and Teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati (Lahore, 1903); second edition (New Delhi, 1971); Devendranath Mukhopadhyaya, Dayanand Charit, translated into Hindi from the Bengali by Pandit Ghasiram (Calcutta, 1922). Mukhopadhyaya conducted considerable research on Dayanand, traveling widely through north and western India. The Bengali version was published in 1894 and with the other two volumes by Lekh Ram and Lajpat Rai provide most of the material from which literally hundreds of books and pamphlets have been written. Har Bilas Sarda, Life of Dayanand Saraswati World Teacher (Ajmer, 1946) and the two-volume study by Pandit Ghasiram, Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati ka Jivan Charit (Ajmer, 1958) are both substantial and reliable. Ghasiram's study originally published in 1933 draws heavily on the earlier works of Pandit Lekh Ram, Devendranath Mukhopadhyaya and Swami Satyanand. Dayanand's guru, Swami Virajanand, has received some attention, although the information about him is extremely scant.[5]

The writings of Swami Dayanand provided the basis for Arya Samaj ideology and have been published in a variety of languages and editions. Any study of this literature should begin with

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Yudhishtar Mimansak's Rishi Dayanand ke Granthon ka Itihas (Ajmer, 1949), although considerable discussion of Dayanand's works appears in the major biographies.[6] While Dayanand's writings were extensive, only a few were widely read by Samajists. Undoubtedly, the most impressive and crucial of his works is the Satyarth Prakash, first published in 1875, then revised and reprinted in 1877. Numerous editions of the Satyarth Prakash have appeared in a wide variety of languages. The Hindi edition published by the Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer, is currently available. Dr. Chiaranjiva Bhardwaja produced an early English translation, The Light of Truth (Lahore, 1906) which was followed by Durga Prasad's An English Translation of the Satyarth Prakash (Lahore, 1908). Among the most popular translations is by Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya, The Light of Truth, reprinted in Allahabad in 1956.[7] Dayanand's Introduction to the Commentary on the Vedas, translated from the Sanskrit by Pandit Ghasi Ram (Meerut, 1925) and his Sanskar Vidhi, compiled in 1877 and later reissued in 1884, are next to the Satyarth Prakash Dayanand's most influential works. Other major writings include: his Rigvedadi bhashya bhumika (Ajmer, 1965); the English Translation of the Aryabhivinaya, the Sandhya and Havan, translated by Swami Bhumananda Saraswati (Dehra Dun, 1942); Sandhopasana vidhi (Amritsar, 1952); the Aryoddeshya-ratnamala (Amritsar, 1953); and his famous statement on cow-protection, Gokarunanidhi written in 1881. Durga Prasad translated this as

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The Ocean of Mercy (Lahore, 1889). This tract has been reprinted numerous times.[8]

Fortunately for the historian Dayanand's letters have been collected and published. Bhagat Raimal Das translated into Hindi Dayanand's Sanskrit correspondence under the title, Dayanand Lekhawali Sankhya I., Dayanand Sanskrit Patra (Lahore, 1903). Also Pandit Bhagwaddatta edited Rishi Dayanand Saraswati ke Patra aur Vigyapan (Amritsar, 1955) and Pandit Yudhishtar Mimansak compiled Rishi Dayanand Saraswati ke Patra aur Vigyapanon ke Parishisht (Amritsar, 1958), both published by the Ram Lal Kapur Trust.[9] The religious debates between Dayanand and both Hindu pandits as well as exponents of other religions have been published in a variety of forms. Perhaps the most famous of these debates took place in Benares between Dayanand and leaders of Hindu orthodoxy on November 16, 1869. It is available in Kashi Shastrarth (Ajmer, 1956). The custom of printing religious debates was continued by Aryas and their opponents, resulting in a body of literature for scholars interested in the interaction of religious organizations.[10]

Following Dayanand's successful tour of the Punjab, 1877-1878, a network of Arya Samaj branches grew throughout the Punjab and western Utter Pradesh. Dayanand's ideas were elaborated, attacked, defended and in the process became an ideology with significant support among the new Hindu elite of these areas. The first thinker to contribute significantly to this new ideology

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was Pandit Guru Datta, a student and later a professor at the Government College, Lahore. Guru Datta's writings appeared in various papers which he edited, such as, The Regenerator of Aryavarta and the Vedic Magazine. After his death in 1890 various collections of his writings appeared. Lala Jivan Das edited Works of the Late Pandit Guru Datta, Vidyarthy (Lahore, 1897). A second edition was published in Lahore, 1902. Another collection, Wisdom of the Rishis or Works of Pandit Gurudatta Vidyarthi, M.A., was published in Delhi during the 1940's and included a biographical sketch by Pandit Chamupati. This last collection contains several short pieces by Guru Datta not included by Lala Jivan Das in his compilation. Evidences of the Human Spirit and The Terminology of the Vedas, both collections, were published in Lahore in 1893. Lala Lajpat Rai wrote a substantial biography of Guru Datta, The Life of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A. (Lahore, 1891); an Urdu edition appeared in the following year. Also see the biography by Nihal Chand Bhandari, Uniswin Sadi ka Sachcha Shahid (Ferozepur, 1891).

One of Guru Datta's contemporaries and a class-mate at the Government College, Lala Hans Raj, became a crucial figure in the first great Samaj project, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. The two are inseparable. Sri Ram Sharma's biography, Mahatma Hansraj, Maker of the Modern Punjab (Lahore, 1941) and the shorter study by Khushalchand Anand, Mahatma Hansraj, Jivan

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tatha Janseva ki kahani (Lahore, n.d.) exemplify what writing exists today on Hans Raj. The Hans Raj number of the D.A.-V. College Union Magazine for 1939 has some additional information on him, but mostly it is a matter of eulogies to the departed leader.

While the information on Lala Hansraj is scarce, that on the D.A.-V. College movement is plentiful and of great historical significance. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Society was the legal governing body and met annually, while the Managing Committee and its sub-committees carried out the day-to-day business of administration, as well as deciding many crucial issues of policy. The Society published annual reports beginning with the First Annual Report of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College for the year 1886-87 (Lahore, 1887). In addition to annual reports, proceedings of the Managing Committee, the School and College Sub-Committees, and the Investment Sub-Committee were also published. During the 20th century the monthly proceedings of the Managing Committee were issued regularly. Much of this material was lost during Partition; however, a significant amount was saved, including hand-written proceedings from 1885 through 1900; printed proceedings and reports up to 1938. These records are now in the hands of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Trust and Management Society located in New Delhi.[11] In addition to actual records there are a few printed sources for the D.A.-V. College movement, such as Ram Chandra Sharma (ed.), Jullundur

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D.A.V. College Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume (Jullundur, 1944) and the Golden Jubilee Commemoration Volume (Jullundur City, 1949) which celebrates the founding of the Sain Das Arya Samaj High School of Jullundur. For any scholar intending to examine the wide-world of Arya Samaj education, two volumes are extremely useful: the Directory of Arya Samaj Educational Institutions in India and Abroad (Ajmer, 1962) and the Arya Directory, in Hindi (Delhi, 1941). Also of immense value for the study of Arya educational developments is the Lahore Tribune. The Tribune, founded in 1881, became the one major English-language paper in 19th century Punjab owned solely by Indians. It is not only an important source for the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College movement, but also for all events within the Punjab.

The most immediate task facing any new movement is the creation of an ideology relevant to the needs of its members, plus the defense and dissemination of that ideology. While Guru Datta aided greatly in this process, he was neither the first nor sole contributor. Two of the earliest statements of Aryan ideology were by Bawa Narain Singh, Vedon ton Budhan da Dharm Sambandh (Amritsar, 1878) and Dharm Vichar (Lahore, 1882). The 1880's saw rapid rise in the number of such tracts, including: Bura Ram, Risala-i-Sat Bachan (Ferozepore, 1885); Lala Ganesh Lal, The Aryan Catechism, or Indian Youth's Moral Companion (Meerut, 1886); P. Karak Singh, Usul-o-Ta'lim Arya Samaj Likchar No. 2 (Amritsar, 1886); Jivan Updeshya, published by the Arya Tract Society (Lahore,

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1888); and, Lala Ganesh Lal, The Arya Samaj or "The New Light of Asia" (Lahore, 1889). With the passage of time the volume of this literature expanded rapidly. Some of the more important tracts and pamphlets explaining Aryan doctrine are: Lakshman Singh, Principles and Teachings of the Arya Samaj (Lahore, 1890); Bahai Chhajju Singh, What is the Arya Samaj? (Lahore, 1890), and his Teachings of the Arya Samaj (Lahore, 1891); Lala Mul Raj, The Future of the Arya Samaj (Lahore, 1893); Pandit Kripa Ram, Arya Siddhant Muktavali (Delhi, 1898); and Pandit V.L. Sharma, Handbook of the Arya Samaj (Allahabad, 1912).

Aryas placed particular emphasis on the revealed and infallible nature of the Vedas, along with an acceptance of the doctrine of transmigration of souls. Lala Jiwan Das in his Masila-i-Ilham (Lahore, 1887), and Pandit Kripa Ram's Vedon ki A'zmat (Delhi, 1897) argued for the superiority of Vedic authority. The immortality of the soul, a question that sharply divided Aryas from the more radical Brahmos, was supported by Lala Radh Kishan Mehta in Subut-i-tanasukh (Lahore, 1888); Lala Durga Prasad in The Doctrine of Re-incarnation (Lahore, 1891), and Pandit Lekh Ram in his Subut-i-Tanasukh (Lahore, 1896). The Brahmos countered with Lala Kashi Ram's The Doctrine of Trans-migration Refuted (Lahore, 1891), and an anonymous pamphlet, Sadharmi Log Vedon ko kaisa Mante hain? (Lahore, 1885). From the superiority of Vedic authority, Pandit Kishan Narayan claimed infallibility for Dayanand in Swami Dayanand Saraswati Nir Bhrant the (Lahore, 1901).

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The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj competed for support among young educated Punjabi Hindus with the gradual victory of the Aryas, a process which has been examined by Kenneth W. Jones in "The Bengali Elite in Post-Annexation Punjab: an Example of Inter-Regional Influence in 19th Century India," Indian Economic and Social History Review (December 1966). Aryan attacks on Brahmo ideology were led by Guru Datta and Radha Kishen Mehta. Asrar-i-Brahm panth (Lahore, 1886) and Arya Samaj aur Brahm Samaj ki ta'lim (Lahore, 1888) by Radh Kishen aimed at discrediting the rationalist Brahmo doctrines. Brahmo replies were largely in the hands of a young Brahmo engineer, Shiv Narain Agnihotri, with a few additional tracts by such leading Punjabi Brahmos as Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni.

Aryan possession of a new truth meant to them that orthodox Hinduism was necessarily in error, and in a series of tracts Aryan leaders spelled out their points of difference from traditional Hinduism. Aryas condemned the worship of idols repeatedly in such writings as Lekh Ram's Murti Prakash (Amritsar, 1888); Pandit Kishan Narayan, Likchar numbar ek: Murti Khandan ya'ni but prasti ke tardid (Multan, 1889); Lala Devi Dayal, Risala-i-Tardid-i-Dalail-i-But Prasti (Amritsar, 1890), and Durga Prashad's Murti Puja Khandan (Lahore, 1891). Attacking specific customs or beliefs could not hope to succeed unless the authorities upon which they were based were also discredited. This meant a sustained criticism of the Puranas in works such as Pandit Lekh Ram's Puran

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kisne banae (Lahore, 1891) and Lala Munshi Ram's Puranon ki Napak ta'lim se Bacho (Jullundur, 1899). Coupled with a rejection of orthodoxy was the explanation that all present ills of society stemmed from the existing Hindu beliefs and customs. Lala Jivan Das stated this position in his Sanskrit Zuban ka Tanazzul aur ahl-i-Hunud ki Afsosnak halat (Lahore, 1885).

Criticism by Aryas took a more direct form than dispassionate philosophical dialogues and from the very beginning of the Samaj personal animosity easily entered into these controversies. Lala Mathra Das, in Arya Darshan (Lahore, 1879), attacked both orthodoxy and Munshi Yamuna Prasad, editor of Tuhfa-i-Kashmir. The Munshi had repeatedly criticized the Samaj in his newspaper. By far the most consistent orthodox target of the Aryas was the Brahman priestly class. Considering the support given to the Samaj by Brahmans and the relatively ineffectual nature of this class in the Punjab, Arya concern over Brahman wickedness is rather surprising. Still the literature against Brahmans exists in abundance. One of the earliest such tracts was Lala Chiranji Lal's Guldasta-i-Makaid-i-popan (Ludhiana, 1888) which was followed by Pop Mukh Chapar (Lahore, 1889) and Popon ki sarkobi (Lahore, 1889). Later anti-Brahman writings include: Gobin Sahai, Pop Siyapa (Ludhiana, 1889); Lala Mul Raj, Pop Nash Mala (Ludhiana, 1890); Lala Kashi Ram, Sawal-o-Jawab Bap Beta-o-Ta'rifat-i-Popan-o-Brahmnan (Sialkot, 1890); the humorously titled Gae acchhi ya Brahman by Daulat Rai (Lahore, 1891), and his Kya Brahman Hamare

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Dost hain ya Dushman? (Lahore, 1891). From these titles we can see a certain Protestant influence, since the word "Pope" was adopted as a useful term of approbation. Other tracts criticized the Puranas, Vedantic philosophy, and reported on shastrarths, religious debates, held between the Aryas and their orthodox opponents.

Orthodox supporters struck back with a wide variety of criticisms, but aimed primarily at Dayanand's interpretations of the four Vedas. In this, orthodox Hinduism found itself allied with Christian missionaries and European scholarship which also challenged Aryan interpretations of the past. Pandit Gobind Ram in Dayanand Mat Mardan Nakis Nibandh (Lahore, 1878) and Pandit Salig Ram in his Qawaid Arya Granth Shodhak Sabha (Amritsar, 1885) set the pattern for many later anti-Arya publications. At times poetical satire was used, as in Pandit Multani Chand's Si Harafi Gap Mukh Mardan (Multan, 1892). Occasionally tracts were merely extensions of religious debates as in Sanatan Dharm Darpan by Chatar Bihari Lal (Ambala, 1893) which describes the shastrarth between Swami Keshwa Nand and the Aryas of Nahan.

Aryas did not achieve ideological success easily. From the beginning the Samaj condemned orthodox Hinduism, existing reform movements such as the Brahmo Samaj, and defended itself from the criticiams of Christian missionaries. Islam, and particularly the aggressive Ahmadiya sect, Sikhism, and Jainism became additional enemies in a society increasingly dominated by

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religious strife. One of the earliest pamphlet wars began shortly after Dayanand left the Punjab, and stemmed from his personal clash with Pandit Shiv Narayan Agnihotri. Shiv Narayan was also known as Satyananda Agnihotri and Bhagwan Dev Atma. Pandit Agnihotri, then a member of the Lahore Brahmo Samaj, later broke with Brahmoism and founded his own sect, the Dev Dharm Sabha. One of his earliest tracts, Pandit Dayanand Saraswati ke Ved Bhash par Review (Lahore, 1878) began this struggle which continued for years. Through the 1880's and early 1890's, tract after tract followed in a personal and vicious paper war. Agnihotri produced Dayanandi Kaljugi Mazhab (Lahore, 1887); Dayanandi Vedon men zina kari ki ta'lim (Lahore, 1888); Vedic Maha Pop (Lahore, 1889); Pandit Dayanand ki Vedic tafsir par Professor Max Muller ki Rae (Lahore, 1889) in which he used European criticisms to discredit the Aryan interpretation of the Vedas; Maha Popon ki Samaj (Lahore, 1890) and his most famous tract on Dayanand, Pandit Dayanand Unveiled (Lahore, 1891). The Aryas countered with their own publications, such as, Shiv Narayan ki Shokhi ka Jawab (Lahore, 1888); Pandit Murli Dhar's Sat asat Parkash ya'ni Sattya Nand Agnihotri ke risala Pandit Dayanand ka Sanyas ka Jawab (Lahore, 1890), and Durga Prasad's A Reply to Mr. Agnihotri's "Dayanand Unveiled" (Lahore, 1891).

Similar struggles developed with the Christian missionaries who proved to be just as eager and at times as vicious prota-

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gonists as any native born Punjabi. The Reverend T. Williams of Rewari wrote a series of tracts in condemnation of everything Aryan. His Exposure of Dayananda Saraswati (Delhi, 1889); Pandit Dayanand ka Jhut aur unki gunah aludah ta'lim (Lahore, 1889); and A Farce, A Religion Professedly Based on a Book, which as translated for that religion, has no existence (Rewari, 1892) how a spirit of khandan (refutation) second to none. The Aryas did not sit idly by but answered with numerous publications of their own. Durga Prasad in A Defense of Manu Against the Calumny of the Christian Priests (Lahore, 1891) attempted to answer Christian criticisms, while others struck directly at Christianity in such works as Lala Kanshi Ram's Bible Kalam Ilahi Nahin (Jullundur, 1900) or Mahan Singh's Anjil Kalam Ilahi Nahin (Jullundur, 1899).

Perhaps the most effective Arya Samaj propagandist, and one whose writings created the greatest amount of animosity, was Pandit Lekh Ram, a Brahman from the Peshawar-Rawalpindi area. He utilized a knowledge of Islamic culture and of Persian literature to condemn everything Islamic until his career was ended by assassination in 1897. While his writings covered a variety of subjects--idolatry, the need for widow remarriage, the way to salvation, refutation of Christian and Dev Dharm beliefs--his real struggle was with Islam and with his great enemy, Mirza Ghulam Ahmán, founder of the Ahmadiyas. His Takzib-i-Burahin-i-Ahmadiya (Amritsar, 1890) directed against Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was followed by Risala-i-Jihad ya'ni Din-i-Muhammadi ki Bunyad

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(Lahore, 1892). In Jihad, Lekh Ram dredged up every historical atrocity since the founding of Islam in an effort to show that it was based on war, slaughter, and greed. He continued with Lekchar Isha'at-i-Islam par (Lahore, 1893); and Hujjat-ul-Islam (Lahore, 1897).

Pandit Lekh Ram's writings angered Muslims in general and especially Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who responded in kind with Tasdiq-i-Burahin-i-Ahmadiya, Jild-i-awwal (Sialkot, 1890); Taid-i-Burahin-i-Ahmadiyah al-ma'ruf 'Ainak-i-Chashma-i-Arya (Jullundur, 1891) and Arya Dharm ya Niyog ka Novel (Sialkot, 1899). Other Muslim writers answered Lekh Ram and the Aryas in such publications as Hafiz Muhammad Abd-ul-Masjid's Sadaqa-i-Jariya bara-i-Firqa-i-Arya (Delhi, 1892); Ilahi Baksh, Mubahasa-i-Dini (Lahore, 1892); Muhammad Khalil, Adam Najat-i-Arya (Ludhiana, 1893); Muhammad Sharf-ul-Haqq's Ibtal-i-Qadamiat-i-Ved ma'ruf ba Munazira-i-Kalka (Delhi, 1893); Abu Said Muhammad Hussain's response to Lekh Ram in Treatise on Jihad (Lahore, 1893); Maulavi Abu Rahmat Hasan's Ved ki Haqiqat (Amritsar, 1895); and Maulvi Abu Rahmat Hasan, in Ved-o-Quran ka Muqabala (Amritsar, 1895). By the late 1890's, communal tensions in Punjab had increased and become institutionalized due in part to this continual publication of abuse by one community against all others. Kenneth W. Jones discusses this process in "Communalism in the Punjab, The Arya Samaj Contribution," Journal of Asian Studies 28, No. 1 (November, 1968).

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Lekh Ram in death proved a continuing factor in increasing Hindu-Muslim tensions. He was celebrated as a martyr whose crusade against the infidel should be continued. Tara Chand in his poem Pandit Lekh Ram ji ki Qatl (Lahore, 1897); Hargovind Parshad's Hae Lekh Ram Hae Lekh Ram (Delhi, 1897); Banwari Lal, in Pandit Lekh Ram, Arya Musafir, ka Dharam par sachcha Bali Dan (Jullundur, 1897); and Lala Labh Chand in Arya Samaj ka Dusra Bali Dan, Shahadat Pandit Lekh Ram ji Arya Musafir Updeshak (Lahore, 1897), all praised the fallen hero. Lala Jamna Das, in Pandit Lekh Ram ki Shahadat aur Mirza Sahib ki Chalakian, specifically attacked the founder of the Ahmadiyas who had predicted Lekh Ram's death some years before.

Several collections of Lekh Ram's writings have been published, the most complete being the Kulliyat Arya Musafir (Lahore, 1897). Premsharan Prant translated his works into Hindi and published them under the title Dharmvir Shri Pandit Lekh Ram krit Arya Pathik Granthavalih (Agra, n.d.). A recent Hindi translation has been undertaken by Shri Pandit Jagatkumar and Shri Pandit Shanti Prakash, Kulyat Arya Musafir (Jullundur, Pref., 1963), but only the first third of the Kulliyat has been published. Pandit Gokulchandra Dikhshit produced a biography, Dharma-Vir Pandit Lekhram (1916), as did Lala Munshi Ram, Dharmvir Arya Pathika Lekharam (Kangri, 1914).[12] In 1898, in order to honor Lekh Ram and to continue his mission, Munshi Ram founded the monthly journal, Arya Musafir, which was devoted almost exclusively to polemical statements in defense of Aryan ideology

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and in condemnation of all other systems of belief.

The clear confrontation existing between Aryas and Muslims was not paralleled by Arya-Sikh relations. Initially many educated Sikhs joined or sympathized with the Samaj. The Aryas opposed idol-worship, stood for monotheism, and seemed to be a latter-day reforming sect similar in many ways to Sikhism. Following an attack on the Gurus by Pandit Guru Datta at the Lahore Samaj anniversary ceremonies of 1888, most of the Sikh supporters left the Samaj. Other Aryas joined Guru Datta in condemning Sikhism led by Radh Kishen Mehta who published Nushka-i-Granthi Phobia (Lahore, 1889), one of the most scandalous tracts of its time. Anti-Arya feeling became generalized into anti-Hindu consciousness, as Sikhs began to search for their own separate identity. One of the earliest anti-Arya tracts, Kishan Singh's 'Ambar-i-irfani, radd-i-Itra-i-Ruhani (Amritsar, 1886), was followed by a burst of writing in 1889 exemplified by Jawahir Singh, Risala-i-Radd-i-Butlan-ul-ma'ruf ba Taryaq-i-Saraswati Fobia (Lahore, 1889); and Bhai Jawahar Singh, an ex-Arya, in Amal-i-Arya (Lahore, 1889).

By the turn of the century Sikhs were questioning their own identity and redefining their relationship to the Hindu community, in such works as Sardar Kahan Singh's Ham Hindu Nahin (Amritsar, 1899); its opposite by Lala Thakar Das, Sikh Hindu Hain (Hoshiarpur, 1899), and Bawa Narain Singh, Sikh Hindu Hain (Amritsar, 1899). Sikh questioning of the Hindu

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connection continued with attacks on the Samaj. Gyani Ditt Singh proved himself to be the Lekh Ram of Sikhism with a series of polemical tracts: Mera Ate Sadhu Dayanand da Sambad (Lahore, 1900); Dambh Vidaran Arthat Sadhu Dayanandji de San 1875 Isawi de Satyarth Prakash par Vichar (Lahore, 1902) and Ta'lim Satyarth Prakash ka Asli Foto (Lyallpur, 1910). For two scholarly articles which examine Arya-Sikh relations, see Ganda Singh, "The Origins of Hindu-Sikh Tension in the Punjab," Journal of Indian History 39 (April 1961) and Kenneth W. Jones, "Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya-Sikh Relations, 1877-1905," Journal of Asian Studies, 32:457-475, No. 3 (May 1973). An extremely valuable guide to historical sources for Arya-Sikh relations is N. Gerald Barrier's The Sikhs and Their Literature (A Guide to Tracts, Books and Periodicals, 1849-1919) (Delhi, 1970). By the 20th century, Sikh consciousness had found itself and became a separate historical force.

The creation of a Hindu consciousness and Arya emphasis on Vedic texts led to support for the Devanagri script and Hindi, first against the claims of Urdu, later in preference to Punjabi. The Hunter Education Commission of 1883 set off a serious linguistic struggle which produced pamphlets such as Munshi Jiwan Das' Hamari Deshi Zuban (Lahore, 1882) and Hindi versus Urdu by Lala Dwarka Das (Lahore, 1882). The question of Hindi versus Punjabi, Urdu or English reappeared repeatedly throughout the 19th and into the 20th century. The triad of religion, script, and language became the basis for communal expression in all

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three major sections of Punjabi society.

Criticism of the existing customs, particularly of Hindu orthodoxy, led to the call for a new, reordered society and produced a series of social reform campaigns not unlike those seen in other areas of nineteenth-century India. The Arya Samaj criticized as useless nearly all rituals of orthodoxy, as well as the practice of pilgrimage and its accompanying bathing in sacred rivers or tanks. Mangal Sain condemned expensive funeral ceremonies in his Sharadh Bibek (Amritsar, 1885) as did Durga Prasad in The Shraddha (Lahore, 1882), and Pandit Swatma Nand in Mritak Sharadh Khandan (Lahore, 1893). As in most other nineteenth century reform movements, the traditional status of women became a burning issue. Aryas condemned child marriage and called for brahmacharya, the education of women, and the remarriage of widows. The Arya position was elaborated in a variety of tracts, including Munshi Jiwan Das, Sada-i-Haqq (Lahore, 1882); Lala Ratan Chand, Do Hindu Bewah aurton ki bat chit (Jhelum, 1885); Bawa Chajju Singh, Brahmacharya versus Child Marriage (Lahore, 1883); and Lala Jai Chandra, Dukh ki Katha (Lahore, 1899). For Arya criticisms of the caste system, Reid Graham's dissertation provides by far the most comprehensive and authoritative statement available and includes, as well, a lengthy bibliography.

The creation of a separate sense of identity opposed to orthodox Hinduism progressed so far that even the name "Hindu" was rejected. Pandit Lekh Ram, in Hindu, Arya Aur Namaste ki

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Tahqiqat (Ferozepore, 1890), sought to establish a new terminology to replace accepted usages. Since Samajists would be new men, they should be known by the honorable term "Arya" rather than the debased title of "Hindu." This degree of radicalism created difficulties for those members of the Samaj who were unwilling to move beyond the existing sphere of Hinduism. Gradually two groups coalesced within the Samaj, one centered around the leadership of Lala Lal Chand, Lala Hans Raj, and Lala Lajpat Rai--The College Party. The other, dominated by Lala Munshi Ram, Pandit Lekh Ram, and the spirit of the departed Pandit Guru Datta, became known as the Mahatma Party. Tension between the two groups increased and finally caused a split in the years 1893-94. The College Party retained control of the D.A.-V. College System, and so received its name, creating the Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha as their organizational wing. The Mahatma Party retained power in the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, and later founded its own educational institution, the Gurukul Kangri.

A multiplicity of reasons lay behind this division, but in the literature, one issue--that of vegetarianism--became the war cry of the Mahatma group. Durga Prashad did more than anyone to create this issue and to proselytize for strict vegetarianism. He first published Spiritual Advantages of Vegetarianism and Physical Evils of Flesh-eating in Lahore in 1889, and then followed with Manu and Vegetarianism (Lahore, 1889) and Vegetarianism (Lahore, 1892). Pamphlets on the question of diet multiplied as tensions within the Samaj grew. Lala Jawala Das, in Binati (Lahore, 1893),

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called for peace between the warring factions and a compromise on the issue of vegetarianism, but others continued the debate. Lala Malk Raj defended meat eating in his Mans Prachar ka Silsila (Lahore, 1893), and Lala Narayan Das condemned it in Ham Hamare Karya aur Bakre (Amritsar, 1893). Lieutenant-Surgeon Bhola Nath's Ham Ghost Khaen ya Ghans Phuns (Amritsar, 1894) was one of the few tracts to employ a scientific approach to this issue rather than a moralistic one.

The division within the Samaj led to a multiplication of publications. Each group now produced its own literature, its own reports, tracts, and periodicals. The number of weeklies, and monthlies grew rapidly. Unfortunately, the most serious loss of data has been in the realm of periodical literature. My first few months of searching indicated that nearly all copies of Arya journals had disappeared, yet in time I found various periodicals throughout Indian and English libraries. Because of the complex nature of this subject, we will discuss only those journals still known to exist. The largest collection of periodical literature is now at the Gurukul Kangri, which has copies of the Arya Musafir, 1898-1901, the Bharat Sewak, 1892-1896, published by the Jullundur Purity Association which was allied with the Jullundur Arya Samaj; and the Sarin Journal, 1897-1899, published by the Sarin Sabha of Hoshiarpur. The Sarin Journal is not an Aryan publication, but is useful as general background material for this period. A longer run of the Arya Musafir,

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1898-1915, can be found in the Naya Bans Arya Samaj Mandir, Delhi. The two earliest Arya journals, the Regenerator of Aryavarta (Lahore), for the years 1883-1884, and The Arya, for 1882-1883 (Lahore), edited by R. C. Bary, are both in the Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur. The Arya Patrika, 1885-1888, is available at the Cambridge Brotherhood in Delhi. The Vedic Pustalakaya, Ajmer, has a complete run of the Vedic Magazine and Gurkul Samachar from 1907 onwards, while copies are also at the Gurukul itself.

Since existing copies of nineteenth century newspapers are few, the Selections from the Vernacular Press, compiled by the Government of India, provide valuable additional information directly from vernacular sources. The Selections, in the National Archives of India, begin in 1864 with a single series for northern and central India. By 1888, a separate series was initiated for the Punjab. The items selected do not necessarily represent a cross-section of Indian opinion. British officials chose articles which touched on areas they considered sensitive or potentially dangerous to governmental stability. British anxieties were not the same as India's; still the Selections contain considerable information unobtainable elsewhere.

In the years following the division of 1893-94, the Mahatma Party came increasingly under the leadership of Lala Munshi Ram.[13] His autobiography has been translated into English and edited by M. R. Jambunathan, Swami Shraddhanand (Bombay,

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1961) and is available from the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The Hindi version, Kalyan Marg ka Pathik (Kashi, 1931), is still in print, as is his son's memoir, Indra Vidyavachaspati, Mere Pita (Delhi, 1957). Two other short studies of Munshi Ram are Swami Shraddhanand Ji Maharaj (Ek Shikshadayak Jivan) (Hardwar, 1958) and Satyadev Vidyalankar, Swami Shraddhananda (Delhi, 1933). One of his closest associates, Lala Dev Raj of Jullundur, led the first efforts in Punjab to provide higher education for girls which culminated in the founding of the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya of Jullundur. The Kanya Maha Vidyalaya published annual reports beginning in 1890. There is also a condensed Quinquennial Report of the Arya Girls' School, Jullunder, 1890-1895, Containing a Brief Account of the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Movement (Lahore, 1896).[14] Also of considerable value is the biography by Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Dev Raj Ji (Jullundur City, 1937).

The area of organizational reports offers great potential, but unfortunately few still seem to exist, since most of the official records and documents were lost in 1947. The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, published its annual reports which covered all aspects of their activity. After the split this Sabha placed heavy emphasis on proselytization, reconversion to Hinduism, and purification of lower castes through shuddhi. Shuddhi alienated not only the Muslims and Christian Missionaries but also the Sikhs. In 1900, the Aryas, led by Lala Munshi Ram, purified a group of outcaste Sikhs and as part of the shuddhi

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ceremony publicly shaved them, transforming Sikhs into Hindus, see both Jones, Ham Hindu Nahin and Reid Graham's dissertation.

The public uproar created by the Rahtia purifications did not deter Aryas from continuing their efforts to uplift the lower castes through shuddhi and to win converts. Extensive shuddhi campaigns were carried out in the Sialkot District and its surrounding territory as described in The Uplift Movement at Sialkot Punjab: A Brief Report of the Working of the Arya Meghuddhar Sabha, Sialkot by Lala Ganga Ram and Lala Charu Das (Calcutta, 1915). Ramchandra Shastri's Patition ki Shuddhi Sanatan Hai (Lahore, 1909) argues that shuddhi was a part of true Hinduism and thus acceptable to orthodoxy. The drive to purify paralleled a general concern for outcastes and also for famine relief amongst the poor; see Lala Lajpat Rai, The Depressed Classes and Our Duty (Lahore, 1914), his Speech delivered by Lajpat Rai on the Uplifting of the Depressed Classes at Karachi (Lahore, 1914) and the Preliminary Report of the Peoples' Famine Relief Movement of 1908 written by Lala Lajpat Rai (Lahore, 1908). In the years after World War I, Aryas carried their shuddhi campaigns into Kashmir, Sind, Rajasthan, throughout the Gangetic Plain, and even into South India.[15]

The drive to create a Gurukul, a revival of the ancient Hindu university, was led by Lala Munshi Ram and members of the Mahatma Party. They sought to win support for their institution through speeches, tracts, and newspaper articles, such as Rama Deva's Ideals of Education, Ancient and Modern--A Lecture (Hardwar,

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1907). A short history of this movement can be found in M. A. Chamupati, Genesis of the Gurukul (Hardwar, n.d.) and in Gurukul Kangri ke 60 Varsh (Gurukul, Kangri, ca. 1962). The Gurukul annual reports provide excellent data on the development of this institution, and for quick reference there is Mahatma Munshi Ram's The Quinquennial Report of the Gurukul Academy, Kangri (Hardwar, 1911). In addition to the Gurukul Arya institutions of a wide variety--orphanages, schools, special committees famine relief organizations, and provincial associations--issued reports and annual statements. Only a small segment of this literature has been located, but undoubtedly much more exists if scholars will only find it.[16]

Relations between the Arya Samaj and the world of politics were extremely complex. From the earliest days of Dayanand, the British-Indian government was suspicious of Aryas as potential opponents of their regime. Officially Aryas maintained that the Samaj was in no way concerned with politics. It was solely a religious and social organization, but as individuals many Aryas were active in politics. Lala Lajpat Rai describes clearly his own involvement both in the Samaj and the Indian National Congress in his Autobiographical Writings (Delhi, 1965), edited by Vijaya Chandra Joshi. Also see the two volumes of Writings and Speeches (Delhi, 1966) prepared by the same editor. Additional information on Aryas, politics and Lajpat Rai can be found in the Tribune and especially in the Panjabee. Aryas became

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fully tied to political agitation, at least, in the eyes of many government officials as a result of the upheavals of 1907. This is examined by Norman G. Barrier in his doctoral dissertation, "Punjab Politics and the Disturbances of 1907" (Duke University, 1966) and in a series of articles by him: "The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894-1908," Journal of Asian Studies 26 (May 1967); "The Punjab Disturbances of 1907," Modern Asian Studies I (December 1967), and "The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908," Journal of Asian Studies 27 (May 1968).

In the aftermath of the 1907 disturbances and its associated governmental hostility toward Aryas in particular and urban Punjabi Hindus in general, Lala Lal Chand wrote a series of articles which appeared in the Panjabee during 1908-1909. He called for the creation of an openly Hindu political organization and in doing so delineated the dangers he saw facing the Hindu community. These articles were reprinted under the title Self-Abnegation in Politics (Lahore, 1938) and led to the calling of the first overtly Hindu political gathering in Punjab, the Punjab Hindu Conference of 1909: see the accounts of this conference in the Panjabee for October 1909, and the Report of the First Punjab Hindu Conference held at Lahore on the 21st and 22nd of October, 1909 (Lahore, 1910). These conferences became annual affairs and led directly to the founding of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, as described in Indra Prakash, A Review of the

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History and Work of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Sanghatan Movement (New Delhi, 1938). Also relevant to this development of Hindu politics is the study by B. R. Purohit, Hindu Revivalism and Indian Nationalism (Sagar, Pref. 1965). A fascinating account of one Arya's relations with the Indian National Congress is given by Lala Munshi Ram (Swami Shraddhanand) in his Inside Congress (Bombay, 1946).

British suspicions of the Samaj as politically seditious rested on their own paranoia and the very real fact of Arya participation in anti-British agitation and in the Punjab Hindu Conferences. Examples of their views are available in Valentine Chirol's Indian Unrest (London, 1910) and Sir Michael O'Dwyer's India as I knew It, 1885-1925 (London, 1925). The novel by Edmund Candler, Siri Ram, Revolutionist (London, 1912) presents a somewhat humorous but always critical vision of educated and thus seditious Punjabi Hindus. Leading members of he Arya Samaj attempted to allay British suspicions and claim that they were in no way seditious, in spite of Lajpat Rai, and were a purely religious movement. Munshi Ram's The Arya Samaj and Politics (Lahore, n.d.) and his work with Rama Deva, The Arya Samaj and its Detractors, A Vindication (Kangri, 1910) answered British criticisms, as did Madan Mohan Seth in The Arya Samaj, A Political Body, An Open Letter to Viscount Morely (Gurukul Kangri, n.d.).

With the subject of politics we close this survey of Arya

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source material. The tracts, periodicals, records, and books mentioned here are but a small fraction of the existing data, and with further scholarly inquiry, considerable additional material would undoubtedly be unearthed. The question then remains as to the location of such material. Arya publications and those of many similar movements are preserved in homes, temples, offices, and in both public and private libraries. Among the major Arya depositories are the Gurukul Kangri Vishvavidyalaya, Hardwar, which is perhaps the largest Arya-supported library containing extensive data in Urdu, Hindi and Sanskrit. The Vedic Pustalakaya, Ajmer, and the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Library, New Delhi, both have collections of approximately 10,000 volumes consisting largely of Arya Samaj publications. Delhi, in fact, has a number of libraries of great value to the research scholar.[17] Of the public libraries, Hardinge Library is unique in the amount of its Hindi and Urdu materials and, yet, is largely ignored by the professional researcher. Both the Marwari Public Library and the Library of the Servants of the Peoples Society, at Lajpat Bhavan, have important holdings on the Arya Samaj, on nationalism, and social change. Among the lesser known libraries the Cambridge Brotherhood in Civil Lines has an excellent collection of material dealing with Christian missions, Islam, and the Samaj.[18] A small but remarkable collection of Arya literature is located in the Naya Bans Arya Samaj Mandir in Old Delhi. This library of approximately 2,500 items

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contains tract literature from the 1880's and runs of several rare periodicals. As with many mandir libraries, it is maintained through gifts and the volunteer labor of the local Samaj.

The Indian National Archives of India, known to every scholar of South Asian studies, is essential to any study of modern history. Its vast collection of over five million files, 100,000 volumes of records and 120,000 books, provides the necessary data on the statistics of social change, on governmental policy, administration and official attitudes to indigenous, religious, social and political movements. Government suspicions of Aryan activity, particularly after 1907, provide a wealth of data on the Samaj and how the British conceptualized it. The Nehru Memorial Museum, with its library and research facilities for the study of Indian nationalism, has in a short time become an important center for scholarly research. Particularly significant for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are the Museum's holdings of Indian newspapers, as well as its expanding collection of personal papers.[19]

Beyond Delhi, throughout Haryana and Punjab, numerous libraries exist with holdings on the Samaj and its allied organizations. The Dwarka Das Library in Chandigarh, the D.A.-V. College Library in Ambala City, and Punjabi University Library, Patiala, are just a few of the institutions that need thorough exploration by historians. Perhaps the most important library in Punjab for Arya material is at the Vishveshvaranand Institute in Hoshiarpur. The Institute, a graduate center of Sanskrit education and research, has a library of 69,000 volumes. With

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approximately 700 titles directly relating to the Samaj and another 800 on Hinduism in general, plus 500 volumes of periodical literature, the Institute provides a major set of holdings on the Samaj. The core of these books came from the Lala Lal Chand Memorial Library at the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore, and were brought to India through the efforts of Pandit Vishva Bhandhu, Honorary Director of the Institute.[20]

Outside India two extensive collections of vernacular tracts and periodicals are located in the British Museum and the India Office Library. The India Office Library has roughly 49,000 vernacular tracts in Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi, out of which some 3,700 relate to the Punjab, while the British Museum has holdings of over 2,000 vernacular tracts relating to the Punjab. Both collections provide a wealth of unexplored data. The catalogues prepared by James Fuller Blumehardt provide valuable guidance to the India Office collections up to 1902 and the British Museum through 1912, with supplementary catalogues for specific categories of printed materials through the 1960's.[21] For the student new to either the British Museum or the India Office Library, an important guide to their collections is N. Gerald Barrier's The Punjab in Nineteenth Century Tracts: An Introduction to the Pamphlet Collections in the British Museum and India Office (East Lansing: Michigan State University. Asia Studies Center, Occasional Paper. South Asia Series. Research Series on the Punjab, No. 1, 1969). Also see Barrier's Printed

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British documents and Punjab History (Columbia, Missouri, 1969).

This article has examined only a small part of the existing literature of the last century that awaits the scholar who will seek new paths and new directions. For young Indian historians the opportunities are immense since they possess one major advantage, linguistic abilities, that a foreigner can achieve only after considerable time, effort, and expense. We can only hope that historical scholarship will move away from the excessive preoccupation with administration into a variety of fields, social, cultural, religious, and intellectual that still remain virtually untouched.

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Notes

1. This is a revised and extended version of "Sources of Arya Samaj History: An Exploratory Essay" which originally appeared in The Indian Archives 18: 20-36 No. 1 (January-June 1969).

2. Scholars have begun to explore the role of the Arya Samaj in twentieth-century Punjab. For examples of such research see Gerald A. Heeger, "The Growth of the Congress Movement in Punjab, 1920-1940," Journal of Asian Studies 32: No. 1 (November 1972) and his doctoral dissertation, "The Politics of Integration: Community, Party and Integration in Punjab" (University of Chicago, 1971). Also, see the earlier dissertation by Paul Wallace, "The Political Party System of Punjab State (India), A Study of Factionalism" (University of California, Berkeley, 1966).

3. For those interested in the Arya Samaj in Utter Pradesh, there is a standard history by Pandit Shiv Dayal, Arya Samaj ki Pragatiyon evam Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Uttar Pradesh ka 75 Varshiya Itihas (Lucknow, 1963).

4. Any attempt to examine completely the published material relating to Swami Dayanand would necessitate a lengthy bibliography. Here we can only indicate the various categories of this literature and mention some of the more important items.

5. See Pandit Sarb Dayal, Sawanih U'mri Shri Swami Viranand Saraswati (Lahore, 1902), Maharishi Swami Virajanand Saraswati ka Jivan Charit (Delhi, 1954) and Shri Bhim Sen Shastri, Virajanand Prakash (Delhi, 1959).

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6. The existing manuscripts by Dayanand are held by the Paropkarini Sabha, stored in the Vedic Pustalakaya, Ajmer.

7. The English versions differ from each other significantly in translating particular Hindi words, and no scholar should use such a translation without referring to the Hindi text. For example, "vigyan" may be translated as either "science" or "knowledge," depending on the translator's own background or attitude. Such differences can cumulatively distort the original meaning.

8. Today Dayanand's works are available through the Ram Lal Kapur Trust and the Sarvadeshik Pustak Bandar in Delhi and the Vedic Yantralaya in Ajmer. Har Bilas Sarda on pages 416-423 of his Life of Dayanand Saraswati (Ajmer, 1946) gives a complete listing of Dayanand's works with a short description of each.

9. Many small books and tracts in praise of Dayanand have appeared and still are being published. A few examples of this type of literature are Romain Rolland, Dayanand and Arya Samaj (Delhi, 1964), a selection from his life of Shri Ram Krishna Paramhansa written in French in 1931; Gokal Chand Narang, Luther of India (Lahore, n.d.); Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya, Social Reconstruction by Buddha and Dayananda (Allahabad, 1956); Bahadur Mal, Dayanand, A Study in Hinduism; Aurobindo Ghose, Dayanand, the Man and his Work (Lucknow, 1935) and Lala Durga Prasad's Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati (Lahore, 1902).

10. Other religious debates that have been published include Bakhtawar Singh, Satyastyaviveka (Shahjahanpur, 1879) which re-

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lates the controversy between Dayanand and the Reverend T. J. Scott. Also by the author is Satyadharmavichara (Benares, 1880), a report of a religious controversy carried on at the Chandapur fair in March, 1879. Numerous other debates between Aryas and their opponents were published and on occasion even debates which failed to materialize, see Badri Kanwar Krishan, Sanathan Dharam Prakash or Proceedings Concerning Correspondence Relating to Religious Symposium (Shastrarth) between the Arya Samaj, Nai Sarak, Delhi and the Bharat Dharam Maha Mandal, Varan Shram Dharam Varohini Sabha and Advait Amrit Barashani Sabha Delhi, 1890 (Delhi, ca. 1891).

11. These include: printed Proceedings of the Managing Committee, 1903 to 1938, handwritten Proceedings of the Managing Committee, 1885-1886, 1886-1892, in Hindi, 1894-1896, and 1896-1900; Proceedings of the Investment Sub-Committee, 1888-1900 and 1900-1914; Proceedings of the School and College Sub-Committee, 1886-1900; and, annual reports for the years 1886-87, 1889-90, 1890-91, 1900-01, 1901-02, 1902-03, 1910-1911, 1912 through 1915, 1921-22 through 1934-35, and various reports for the 1950's and 60's.

2. This has been reprinted in a special issue of Sarvadeshik for March, 1968.

13. Lala Munshi Ram became Swami Shraddhanand after taking sanyas in 1917 and remained a crucial figure within the Samaj until his assassination in 1926. He was also known as Mahatma Munshi Ram and Munshi Ram Jijyasu.

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14. The reports of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya for the years 1886-1893, 1895 through 1898, and 1905 are in the Gurukul Kangri Library.

15. Information on Arya-sponsored shuddhi campaigns can be found throughout the Indian Census reports for the years prior to World War II and in a variety of publications such as the annual reports of the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha. Their first report covered the year 1923 and was published in Agra by the Shanti Press, 1924. Also of great value is the doctoral dissertation by Gene Robert Thursby, "Aspects of Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India, A Study of Arya Samaj Activities, Government of India Policies and Communal Conflict in the Period 1923-1928" (Duke University, 1972). The long-term effects of such attempts to alter the social structure through shuddhi are examined by the anthropologist James M. Sebring in "The Formation of New Castes: A Probable Case from North India," American Anthropologist 74, N0. 3 (June 1972).

16. Two reports of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, for the years 1895-96 and 1896-97 are available in the library of the Gurukul Kangri. The remainder have not yet been located.

17. W. Robert Holmes's Research Facilities in Delhi (Delhi, 1967) is a valuable guide to public and semi-public libraries in the city.

18. The Cambridge Brotherhood is an Anglican religious order and its library is intended for use of the order's members. Scholars who wish to consult the library should contact the Librarian, Cambridge Brotherhood, 1 Court lane, Delhi.

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19. The University of Delhi Library was not surveyed for this study.

20. Scholars who wish to use the materials at the Institute should write to the Director, Vishveshvarnand Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, P. O. Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur, Punjab. A new library has just been completed with a capacity of 200,000 volumes and will enable the Institute to provide facilities for preserving and microfilming manuscripts and books.

21. Catalogues at the India Office Library and the British Museum include the following: James Fuller Blumhardt, Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part II, Hindustani Books (London, 1900); Vol. II, Part III, Hindi, Punjabi, Pushtu and Sindhi Books (London, 1902), and Blumhardt's Catalogue of Hindustani Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London, 1926). In the British Museum Blumhardt's works include his Catalogue of Hindustani Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1889); Catalogue of the Hindi, Sindhi and Pushtu Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1893); Catalogue of the Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani Manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1899); A Supplementary Catalogue of Hindustani Books in the Library of the British Museum acquired during the years 1889-1908 (London, 1909); A Supplementary Catalogue of the Hindi Books in the Library of the British Museum acquired during the years 1893-1912 (London, 1913) and A Secondary

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Catalogue of Printed Books in Hindi, Bihari and Pahari in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1957). Also see L. D. Barnett, Panjabi Printed Books in the British Museum, A Supplementary Catalogue (London, 1961).

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MISSION SOURCES OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY PUNJAB HISTORY

John C. B. Webster

The most pervasive western presence in the Punjab during the nineteenth century, apart from Government itself, was that of Christian missionaries. These missionaries left behind them an enormous amount of source material in the form of records, books, pamphlets, and correspondence. That these source materials are useful for an understanding of the history of Christianity or of the more general western presence in the Punjab goes without saying. What is more easily overlooked is that in their roles both as educators and as evangelists, Christian missionaries were either catalysts of or participants in some of the most important changes affecting nineteenth century Punjabi society as a whole. Consequently mission sources are useful both to those interested in social and cultural developments and to the student of the history of Christianity or of religious movements in the Punjab.

There were four prominent mission societies, all of them Protestant, at work in the Punjab during the nineteenth century. They were, in order of their arrival, the Lodiana (later renamed the Punjab) Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; the Punjab Mission of the Church Missionary Society (Church of England); the Sialkot Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America; and the Panjab Mission of the Church of Scotland.

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In addition to these, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts or S.P.G. (Church of England) and the Baptist Missionary Society were active only in and around Delhi while the Methodist Episcopal Church and Salvation Army had small missions in central Punjab. Roman Catholic work during this period was confined largely to Europeans and Eurasians in cantonments and railway colonies; only after 1888 when the Punjab was assigned to the Belgian Capuchins did they begin to work actively among the Indian population. In the pages that follow we shall survey the history of these missions briefly. Next we shall make some general remarks about the source materials which they have left behind. Finally, we shall indicate what these sources are and where they are to be found.

I

The Lodiana Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (commonly called the "A.P." or "American Presbyterian" Mission) began its work in the Punjab at Ludhiana in 1834. The founder of the Mission, John C. Lowrie, divided his time between running a school (the first in the Punjab to impart a western education) and travelling about to familiarize himself with the area and to assess its potential for extensive missionary work. Like many missionaries at that time, Lowrie kept a journal. This was later published under the title Travels in North India (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1842) and was then republished

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as Two Years in Upper India (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1850).[1] Illness forced Lowrie to leave India in 1836, but not before he had been replaced by several other missionaries. With the arrival of additional missionaries and with British annexations in the Punjab following the first and second Anglo-Sikh wars, the A.P. Mission spread out from Ludhiana to other important cities in the Punjab until they had a network of stations stretching from Rawalpindi in the west to Ambala, Saharanpur (U.P.) and Dehra Dun (U.P.) in the east.

The work of the members of the A.P. Mission followed a common pattern. Its missionaries usually began a school in each city or town where they established a station. For at least thirty years, theirs were the only schools both recognized and aided by the Government offering a western education in Ludhiana, Ambala, Jullundur, and Rawalpindi. In Lahore the famous Charles Forman ran a school system that compared very favorably in size and quality with that of the Government itself. He was also on virtually every educational body appointed by the Government until his death in 1894. His successor in this was J.C.R. Ewing, the Principal of Forman Christian College, and Vice Chancellor of Punjab University from 1910 to 1917. The A.P. Mission was thus a pioneer in western education in the Punjab and in several important Punjabi cities enjoyed a lengthy monopoly in this field Through their education work the members of this Mission came into contact with those people in the Punjab--both Indian and foreign--involved in the development of education was well as with those

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who used education as a means of qualifying for employment in government service or in the professions. In fact the members of this Mission had better contact with the new westernized elite which they had helped to create than with any other section of Punjabi society, with the possible exception of the rural outcastes.

The A.P. Mission also carried on direct evangelistic work. This was aimed at a variety of audiences and took a number of different forms: bazaar preaching, preaching tours through the villages, zenana visitation, and work among rural outcastes. Initially evangelism, like education, was very much an urban-centered operation. Tours were made through the villages during the winter months, but there was little systematic and long-term contact with villagers before the mid-1870's. By 1885 the A.P. Mission had been brought into touch with the mass movements, movements characterized by group decision on the part of low-caste jatis to convert en masse to Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, or Arya Samaj Hinduism. The group among which the A.P.'s had their greatest success was the Chuhra community, a sweeper jati. As a result of these mass movements, the Mission reoriented its evangelistic program away from the more urban and high-caste, who had occupied most of their attention up to the mid-1880's, towards the rural outcaste and reinforced their rural evangelistic program with a network of village schools and training centres for village preachers and teachers. Equally significant in its social consequences was "women's work," especially zenana visitation. Beginning about 1870, a number of single women came out to India

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in order both to convert and to uplift their "heathen sisters." To do this, they carried on evangelistic and educational work in both schools and zenanas as well as established hospitals primarily, if not exclusively, to meet the needs of women.

To support these evangelistic efforts the A.P. Mission devoted considerable attention to the preparation and publication of literature. The Lodiana Mission Press in Ludhiana printed Bible translations, the first Punjabi grammars and dictionaries (by John Newton), and many tracts devoted primarily to the religious controversies of the day. Their newspaper in Roman Urdu, Nur Afshan, begun in 1873, was devoted primarily to the "Muslim Controversy." This writer has been unable to find copies of this newspaper, but there are excerpts from it in the Selections from the Vernacular Press prepared by the Government.

The first convert of the A.P. Mission was Golaknath,[2] a Bengali Brahman student of Alexander Duff who had migrated to Ludhiana and was baptized in 1837. By 1864 there were 161 communicant members in the churches related to the Mission; in 1885, on the eve of the mass movements, there were 477 (virtually all of whom were from Muslim or "twice-born" Hindu backgrounds); and in 1914, there were 3457 of whom the overwhelming majority had entered the church through the mass movements. The most significant development within this Indian church, apart from its growth in size, was a movement against foreign domination parallel in nature to general Indian nationalist activity of that time. Its leader was the Rev. Kali Charan Chatterjee,

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another Bengali Brahman student of Duff, Golaknath's son-in-law, and from 1868 to 1916 the missionary in charge of the A.P. Mission station at Hoshiarpur.[3] A small handful of Indian Presbyterians, led by Chatterjee's son, Golaknath Chatterjee, and brother-in-law, Charles Golok Nath, participated actively in the broader movement through the Indian Association of Lahore and the Indian National Congress.

In 1840 a group of British military and civilian officers organized a Church Missionary Committee at Simla. This body, known as the Himalaya or Kotgarh Mission, soon began its work among the hill people first at Kotgarh and then at Simla. In like manner, the Punjab Mission of the Church Missionary Society was begun in 1851 at the request of a large number of British officers posted in the Punjab, and with their financial support. After its formation, the Punjab Mission incorporated the Himalaya Mission and the two became one. The first missionary of the new Punjab Mission was Robert Clark, a Cambridge Wrangler, who arrived in the Punjab and began work at Amritsar in 1852. The history of the C.M.S. in the Punjab so closely parallels that of the A.P. Mission that there is little point in describing it in detail. They shared similar theological convictions, carried on similar kinds of work, and generally responded to the same external stimuli (the demand for western education, etc.) in the same way. There were, however, significant points of difference between the two and these will therefore be given prominence here.

The first of these was the location of their mission stations.

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The C.M.S. had a group of stations in the center of the Punjab located around its headquarters in Amritsar and the diocesan centre at Lahore. In addition, there was a ring of frontier stations in such places as Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Quetta, and Kashmir. One important feature of this latter group was the use of the mission hospital more than the mission school as a means of gaining access to the people residing in the frontier areas. Equally important was the emphasis upon the C.M.S. Mission to Islam which was a product as much of the location of their stations as of the presence within the Mission of such Islamic specialists as the Revs. Imad-ud-din and H. U. Weitbrecht.

The second difference was a matter of ecclesiastical organization. The Church Missionary Society was a private society organized by clergy and laymen in the evangelical wing of the Church of England. It therefore had no official status in the ecclesiastical establishment of either England or India. Originally the Punjab Mission worked within the far-flung jurisdiction of the Calcutta Diocese, but its relations with the C.M.S. Home Office were carried on direct from the Mission rather than through the diocese. The creation in 1877 of the Lahore Diocese (which covered the Punjab, adjacent princely states including Kashmir, Delhi, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan) brought about a number of changes all of which led to a stronger link between the C.M.S. and the ecclesiastical establishment. For one thing, Bishop French, the first Bishop of Lahore, was a former C.M.S. missionary and the first missionary to become a bishop in India. Second,

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the diocese established a Corresponding Committee made up not only of C.M.S. missionaries but also of the Bishop and chaplains who were paid by the Ecclesiastical Department. The secretary of this committee, however, was an ordained C.M.S. missionary--Robert Clark in the first instance. Finally, in order to keep the Indian congregations developed through the missionary work of the C.M.S. from being totally dominated by the 68 "maintained churches" of the establishment, a Native Church Council was established within the diocese to give Indians more control over their own church affairs. Their reports, initially entitled A Native Church for the Natives of India (Lahore, 1877), reveal considerable interest in self-government and a willingness to deal with the issues involved, but the judgment in 1899 was that this council idea had not really taken hold and become effective.[4]

Closely related to these links with the ecclesiastical establishment was the fact of unusually close ties between the C.M.S. and Punjab officialdom. While other missionary groups like the A.P. Mission received sympathy and some aid from government officials, the C.M.S. mission stations at Simla, Kotgarh, Kangra, Amritsar, Kashmir, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and in Sind were organized and underwritten by British civilian and military officers. In fact, it is safe to say that apart from the initiative, continuing concern and financial support of these evangelical officers, the C.M.S. would have been a very small and probably very insignificant missionary group in the Punjab. As it was, by 1882 it had 15 central stations, 13 branch stations, and 1515 converts. Twenty years later in 1902, after the impact of the

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mass movements had been felt, they had 23 central stations, 8 branch stations, and 10, 852 converts.

The other feature of the C.M.S. deserving special attention was their particular sensitivity to social class. This was clearly reflected in their establishment of special schools for the children of "the higher class of Native Christians" at Amritsar (for girls) and Batala (for boys), by their stated desire to recruit candidates for their divinity school at Lahore from among the higher classes, and by their call for more missionaries from the better families of England.[5] It has not as yet been possible to assess the significance of such deliberate elitism, but it is clear that this belief in the importance of aristocracy was shared by the Punjab Government as well.[6]

The next mission society to be described, the Sialkot Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America (or "U.P. Mission"), presents a striking contrast to the two already mentioned. This Mission, begun by the Rev. Andrew Gordon at Sialkot in 1855, concentrated its work in the Attock, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Shahpur, Jhang, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gurdaspur districts of the Punjab as well as in a small portion of Jammu. Unlike the A.P.'s or the C.M.S. with their large number of important institutions, the U.P. Mission devoted itself almost exclusively to rural evangelism. Gujranwala did have a fine school, two or three mission stations had hospitals for women, and Rawalpindi (taken over from the A.P. Mission in 1891) had a recognized college by 1895. However, some of their mission

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stations were located in villages and lacked the mission school or hospital so characteristic of other missions. This may have been due in part to instability in missionary personnel in the early years of the Mission (a result both of disease and of financial difficulties). By 1877, however, it was clearly a matter of conscious choice. The philosophy behind this preference for rural evangelism was summed up by Gordon, one of its chief proponents, in a striking metaphor. After pointing out that schools bring few converts into the church, Gordon wrote,

> Second, looking at it from a military standpoint, the educating of men is like the drilling of soldiers. If a British officer should enter Russian territory, there to drill an army of Russians, in the hope that some of them would enlist and fight loyally for the Queen of England, we would all pronounce his course unwise, and say that he had better enlist them first and drill them afterwards. So men should first be enlisted under Christ's banner, and then trained up to power and efficiency in our institutions of learning.[7]

Moreover, the U.P.'s had a special strategy of rural evangelism, called by Gordon "the philosophy of the Gospel,"[8] which was based quite literally on St. Paul's statement that

> God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence.[9]

With these words as their guidelines, the U.P.'s deliberately and almost single-mindedly directed their attention to the outcastes. They were able to baptize members of two outcaste jatis in large numbers: the Meghs, a weaver sub-caste, and especially the

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Chuhras. The beginnings of the movements towards Christianity among these groups are described in full and graphic detail by Gordon in his Our India Mission. Once members of these groups were converted to Christianity, they were expected to support themselves and their churches in the villages where they lived. If one looks at the educational statistics of the U.P. Mission, it is quite clear that most of their schools (164 primary schools out of a total of 178 schools in 1908) were established for these converts. The U.P. Mission was thus the mass-movement mission par excellence in the Punjab. By 1908 they had 14,202 members in their churches.

Relations between the Punjab Government and the members of the U.P. Mission were, comparatively speaking, almost non-existent. Few officials belonged to their churches and none were given, or took, responsibility for any aspect of the Missions' work. Moreover, the rural and evangelistic rather than urban and institutional orientation of the U.P. Mission's activities meant that they had comparatively few official dealings with the Government. In this respect, as in its inverted sense of social class, the U.P. Mission stood at the opposite end of the spectrum from the C.M.S. with the A.P. and Church of Scotland Missions in the middle.

The Panjab Mission of the Church of Scotland began, as did most of the Missions in the Punjab, as a mission to the Sikhs. One Captain Murray, who had lived among the Sikhs for some time, gave a bequest in 1855 to the Church of Scotland for

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beginning such a mission in the Punjab. But the Mission's first years were almost disastrous. Their first missionaries, The Rev. and Mrs. Thomas Hunter, were transferred to Sialkot from Bombay in early 1857 only to be killed during the brief mutiny there on July 9, 1857. Their replacements were three years in arriving and so continuous work by the Mission began only in 1860. By 1905 there were 5277 converts in their churches.

The Church of Scotland's pattern of work was very similar to that of the A.P. Mission. In fact, when the Presbyterian Church in India was formed in 1904, the churches established by both Missions became part of one Church.[10] Like the A.P. Mission (and like their own great pioneer missionary in Calcutta, Alexander Duff, who had so greatly influenced the A.P. missionaries), the Church of Scotland Mission established a number of schools which sought to provide a western education in the English language to the people of the Punjab. Also, like the A.P. Mission, they appealed to official educational policy as set forth in the Wood Despatch and the Grant-in-Aid Regulations to persuade the Punjab Governement to transfer some of its schools to their Mission. They met with some success in this; the government schools at Sialkot and Wazirabad were made over to them during the 1860's. Then in 1889 their school at Sialkot was developed into a college, the Church of Scotland Mission College (later renamed Murray College).

The evangelistic work of this Mission was originally carried out on the "catechist system" which consisted of placing a mis-

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sionary in a central location and having Indian catechists carry on evangelistic and pastoral work under his supervision from a number of village centers around the central mission station. Then in 1885 at a place called Amoutrah, about fourteen miles from Sialkot, a mass movement began among some outcastes whose economic circumstances were, comparatively speaking, quite good. The first mass movement converts included a weaver, a banker, and five dealers in hides. From Amoutrah the movement spread eastwards into Jammu and westwards into Wazirabad "till within a few years there were in more than 170 villages scattered over these districts little companies of Christian believers. Across the river, in Gujrat, the 'sweepers' had almost entirely been absorbed in Muhammadanism, and no such open door was found for the Gospel as in other parts of our Mission field."[11] In 1886 a Training School for evangelistic workers and Boarding School for Outcaste Boys was established at Daska which, among other things, had the distinction of winning the Sialkot District cricket tournament five years in a row!

One final development deserving special mention was the establishment of a mission station and school in the native state of Jammu. Most missionary activity in the Punjab was carried on within British territory; the A.P. Mission had a station at Kapurthala for five years before being asked to leave by the Rajah and they also carried on evangelistic work in Faridkot State as well, while the C.M.S. was active in Kashmir and in the hill states of what is now Himachal Pradesh. The

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significance of Jammu, however, lay in the fact that it was a bastion of Hindu orthodoxy (where even today the punishment for cow slaughter is seven years' imprisonment). Andrew Gordon, in his history of the U.P. Mission, relates how Jammu was a sanctuary for those who abducted potential converts to Christianity. Evangelists from the Church of Scotland Mission had traveled through Jammu as early as 1862, but it was only after an interview with Maharaja Partap Singh in 1890 that formal permission to preach was granted. In 1892 the Maharaja gave the Mission permission to open a school in Jammu city. In time this school received grants from the State Treasury.

This, in summary form, is the history of the four major Missions in the Punjab during the nineteenth century. Their geographic distribution was as follows. After leaving Rawalpindi to the U.P.'s in 1891, the A.P. Mission was concentrated in what is now Indian Punjab with only its major center at Lahore and the mass movement station at Kasur in what is now Pakistan. The C.M.S., which concentrated in the central Punjab as well as on the frontiers and in the hill areas, was split fairly evenly by partition, while the U.P. and Church of Scotland Missions had their centers of gravity more to the west with stations only in Gurdaspur, Dalhousie, and Jammu in what is now India. The locations of their major mission stations and the kind of work carried on at each one is given in the Appendix.

The Baptist Missionary Society first came to Delhi in 1814 and up to 1857 had only one missionary there at a time. In the second

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half of the century it expanded its work into eastern Punjab with important mission stations in Bhiwani and Kharar. In Delhi itself the Baptists were completely overshadowed by the larger S.P.G. Mission whose first missionaries arrived there in 1854. Both the Baptist and S.P.G. missionaries were killed in the 1857 uprising, but when new S.P.G. replacements arrived after the British had recaptured the city, they discovered that one of their converts, Professor Ram Chandra of Delhi College, had already begun their work again for them. The S.P.G. established a large number of institutions in Delhi including a Refuge for Fallen Women, St. Stephen's Hospital, St. Mary's Home for convalescing patients, St. Mary's School, and St. Stephen's College. A number of the staff of the college, including the famous C.F. Andrews, were members of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, founded in 1877 as a special mission to the educated elite of the city and based on the community or brotherhood principle. The Methodist Episcopal Church began work among the English-speaking residents of Lahore and Multan in 1880 and 1881 respectively and by the end of the century were in Delhi and Patiala as well, working largely among the low caste people of these two areas. Both the Salvation Army and the National Missionary Society, which opened its first mission field in Montgomery district in 1907, concentrated their attention exclusively upon the rural outcastes. So also did the Roman Catholics, once they began to work among the Indian population in Sialkot district. Of these six groups, however, only the S.P.G. had a formidable impact upon nineteenth century Punjab, and that only in Delhi.

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II

Mission source materials may conveniently be classified into four categories: 1) official records; 2) correspondence to home churches; 3) general works by missionaries, Indian co-workers, and converts; and 4) evangelistic writings. A word on each of these types of sources as well as about their general subject matter and "missionary bias" may help the researcher to assess their usefulness for the particular project he has in mind.

The official records of these missions are of two kinds. The first consists of the minutes of the annual mission meetings. Since little or no background information is provided on the issues discussed or the decisions taken, minutes are of very little value except to those interested in and knowledgeable about the internal workings of the missions concerned. Very different, however, are their annual reports. These give fairly full descriptions of the work carried on by a particular mission and mention is often made in them of movements and events in the area which have affected missionary work. Reports were arranged either by mission station or by the type of work being carried on (e.g., evangelistic, educational, medical, etc.).

Correspondence, the chief and most valuable mission source, is also of two kinds. The first consists of letters, journals, and short articles published or excerpted in the missionary magazines of the U.S.A. and U.K. These were written for an overseas audience and attempted to describe India, missionary life

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in India, and recent developments within the church. In the early years of these missions, when India was an unfamiliar place and missionaries were few in number, communications from them were given considerable space in church publications. However, as each denomination's missionary endeavour expanded throughout the world in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the space devoted to its mission in the Punjab dwindled. Hence the usefulness of these sources is greatest for the early years of each mission.[12] The unpublished letters from India to overseas mission boards or to family and friends remain very important sources throughout the entire period. They provide everything found in the published correspondence plus an insight into the kinds of divisions among missionaries which it was considered imprudent to publish. Quite apart from clashes between very strong personalities, there were differences over mission policy and administration.

The third category of source material consists simply of books, articles for such publications within India as The Indian Evangelical Review (1873-1903), reports of such conferences as the Punjab Missionary Conference in 1862-63 or the North India Conferences for Christian Workers held annually in Mussoorie in the 1890's and early 1900's,[13] and the like. What distinguishes these writings from those in the second or fourth categories is their intended readership. Those in the second category were for overseas consumption, those in the third for Christians primarily within India itself, and those in the fourth for non-Christian Indians. This last category of writings would include evangelistic tracts, some more scholarly works on Indian religions, and the Nur

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Afshan, a newspaper devoted primarily to the Muslim controversy.[14]

In all of these source materials, except perhaps those in the last group, "the work" received by far the most attention. The activities of missionaries, mission workers, and mission institutions were the primary subject matter of all these sources. Second in importance was the Indian church which was the fruit of and contributor to "the work." Next in importance was India in general and the Punjab in particular. Since the fundamental aim of all missionary work in the nineteenth century was evangelistic, missionaries paid special attention to the religious and social developments around them. In this connection it is worth noting that in these writings the Sikhs received far less attention than either the Punjabi Hindus or Muslims. Finally, mention was made of various activities of the Government, especially as these directly affected mission work, the life of the Christian community, or the prospects of Christianity in the area. Government educational efforts in particular were given special attention, since the missions were also actively involved in education. The only exception to this rank ordering was the emphasis laid upon India during the first few years of a mission's existence when there was no church and one of the most important aspects of "the work" was becoming familiar with one's surroundings.

The particualr standpoint from which these source materials were written, their "missionary bias," has received a good deal of notoriety--not without considerable justification. Writings

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on "the work" exhibit an impressive triumph of faith. The tremendous difficulty in converting India to Christianity was acknowledged, but the eventual success of Christian missions in this respect was affirmed either by pointing to signs of hope in the contemporary scene or by placing one's confidence in God's over-riding sovereignty and grace. In their discussions of the church, missionaries adopted the same paternal attitude towards the Indian converts and co-workers that contemporary British officials adopted towards the Indian people at large--but with an arrogance that was usually less harsh. Indian writing on the same subject reveals the influence first of Biblical equalitarian principles and later of nationalism as well.

It is, however, in their descriptions of India and of Indian religions in particular that the bias in these writings is most blatant and offensive to the modern reader. The evangelical theology which most missionaries brought with them to India taught them to view religions as either true or false; their Indian experience then supplied the necessary documentation to validate these theological convictions. Some liberal evangelicals at the end of the century adopted an evolutionary view of religion and so published far more sympathetic studies of both religious texts and contemporary Indian religion than had their conservative colleagues. This change is most strikingly illustrated in the writings of Hervey DeWitt Griswold, a student of MacDonnell (in Sanskrit) as well as of Max Weber (in Vedic religion) and for many years a teacher at Forman Christian College.[15] Those

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who lump all these writings together and label them all "missionary" are missing important distinctions.

Second, all of these writings, whether conservative or liberal, were based on the assumption that religion underlies all aspects of life; it is therefore the independent variable and all other aspects of Indian culture were dependent upon it and flowed from it. Thus India's real problem, from this point of view, was bad religion (the liberal would have said inadequate religion). If India was to progress, good religion had to replace bad religion; India's sole hope therefore lay in her acceptance of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. Once that basic commitment was made, progress would follow; without it, there could be no progress. Even though this view of the role of religion in the process of change is not generally accepted as valid today, it did lead in its time to fairly close observation of the Indian religious and social scene and to the production of a large amount of useful detailed descriptive information for the present-day historian.

III

It is not possible to provide here an exhaustive list of all the mission sources of nineteenth century Punjab History.[16] All the histories of the four missions known to this writer have been given. In addition, the major records and publications in which Punjab missionary materials are found have also been mentioned along with their locations.

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The Lodiana (Punjab) Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The first "history" of the Lodiana Mission was the journal of its founder, John C. Lowrie. After that there were historical chapters on the Lodiana Mission in his A Manual of Missions (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1854) and A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: William Rankin Jr., 1868) which was in fact the third edition of the earlier work. When the Mission celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1884, John Newton presented an historical survey of the Mission's accomplishment which was published in Historical Sketches of the India Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Allahabad: Allahabad Mission Press, 1886). It took another forty years for the next history to appear. This was Elwood Morris Wherry's Our Missions In India 1834-1924 (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1926), which, like Newton's work, was based primarily upon annual reports and the author's long memory. The Survey of the Evangelistic Work of the Punjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1929 (Lucknow: The India Council, 1929), written by Dr. H.C. Velte, provides an excellent historical survey of each station of the mission. The most recent work, currently being prepared for publication, is the present writer's attempt to Place the history of this mission within the context of North Indian social history rather than mission history: "The Christian Community and Change in North India: a History of the Punjab

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during this period were written by Robert Clark: A Brief Account of Thirty Years of Missionary Work of the Church Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh, 1852 to 1882 (Lahore: 1883) and The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh, rev. & ed. Robert Maconachie (London: Church Missionary Society, 1904). In spite of the fact that the second was a revision of the first begun by Clark but completed after his death by Maconachie, the two are quite different and serve to complement rather than merely repeat each other. In addition to these two histories there is Eugene Stock's The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work, 4 Vols. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899 & 1916) which has chapters on the Punjab and the Lahore Diocese in each of the last three volumes. Both C.F. Andrews' North India (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1908) and the recent work by Miss M.E. Gibbs, The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970 (Delhi: I.S.P.C.K., 1972) contain sections on the Punjab. In addition to these general histories of the C.M.S. there are two histories of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (C.E.Z.M.S.) which carried on women's work in the Punjab in close collaboration with the C.M.S. These are Irene H. Barnes, Behind the Purdah: the Story of C.E.Z.M.S. Work in India (London: Marshall Brothers, 1903) and Annie Dewar, Until Shadows Flee Away: the Story of C.E.Z.M.S. Work in India and Ceylon (London: Marshall Brothers, n.d.).[18] In 1897 the C.E.Z.M.S. split and out of it came the more conservative Zenana and Bible Medical Mission whose

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work in Lahore included the Kinnaird College for Women. The history of this mission is J.C. Pollock, Shadows Fall Apart: the Story of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1958). Mention should also be made here of three histories of the C.M.S. in Kashmir: Ernest F. Neve, Beyond the Pir Panjal: Life and Missionary Enterprise in Kashmir (Popular edition: London: Church Missionary Society, 1914) E.D. Tyndale Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade (London: Seeley, Service and Co. Ltd., 1922), and E.D. Tyndale-Biscoe, Fifty Years Against the Stream: the Story of a School in Kashmir, 1880-1930 (Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1930).

These histories are supplemented by biographies of prominent missionaries in the Punjab. Among them are Arthur Lewis, George Maxwell Gordon M.A., F.R.G.S., the Pilgrim Missionary of the Punjab a History of His Life and Work 1839-1880 (London: Seeley & Co., 1889); Herbert A. Birks, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, First Bishop of Lahore, 2 Vols. (London: John Murray, 1895); Eugene Stock, An Heroic Bishop: the Life of French of Lahore (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913); Henry Martyn Clark, Robert Clark of the Panjab (London: A. Melrose, 1907); Robert Maconachie, Rowland Bateman: Nineteenth Century Apostle (London: Church Missionary Society, 1917); Agnes Giberne, A Lady of England: the Life and Letters of Charlotte Maria Tucker (London: Hodders, 1896); and the autobiography of the famous convert and controversialist, Rev. Imad-ud-din, A Mohammedan Brought to Christ; Being The Autobiography of a Native Clergyman in India, 2d ed., trans. R. Clark (London: C.M.S. House, 1870). The two men who received the greatest

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attention, however, were Dr. Theodore Pennell and Sadhu Sundar Singh. Pennell wrote an account of his years on the Northwest Frontier entitled Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier: a Record of Sixteen Years Close Intercourse with the Natives of the Indian Marches (London: George Bell & Sons, 1909). The fullest biography of him was written by his widow, Alice Maud Pennell, Pennell of the Afghan Frontier: the Life of Theodore Leighton Pennell M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.S. (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1914). Both of these books have introductions by Field Marshall Earl Roberts.[19] The two best works on Sadhu Sundar Singh are Friedrich Heiler, The Gospel of Sadu Sundar Singh, abriged trans. by Olive Wyon (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1927), and A.J. Appasamy, Sundar Singh: a Biography (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958). Both of these are available in Indian editions, the former from the Lucknow Publishing House (1970) and the latter by the Christian Literature Society (1966).

The major repository of the C.M.S. is the library of their headquarters at 157 Waterloo Road, London, S.E. 1. The records relevant to the Punjab are divided into three parts: 1) Himalaya Mission (Kotgur Mission) 1844-47; 2) The North India Mission, into which the Himalaya Mission was merged and of which the early Punjab Mission was considered a part, 1848-78; 3) Punjab and Sind Mission, 1878-1914. The first includes only a Letter Book (outgoing correspondence) and a Mission Book (incoming correspondence not all of which has been copied in full), both of which are indexed; the journals, letters, and papers of the Himalaya Mission have

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been incorporated in the North India Mission records. The second has Letter Books, Mission Books, original journals, letters and papers (incoming). Materials classified under the Punjab and Sind Mission are divided into two categories; 1) Committee of Correspondence (1878-80) and 2) West Asia Committee (1880-1935). In the former there is a Letter Book, a Mission Book, letters, journals, and papers listed by missionary. All of these are catalogued. In the latter, there are ten volumes of Letter Books as well as incoming letters, journals, reports and papers. There are, in addition, six volumes of precis books which have precis of all incoming papers from 1882 to 1914 numbered according to their date of arrival at C.M.S. Headquarters. Thus, in looking for the writings of Robert Clark, I found 125 items under the North India Mission as well as 34 items under the Punjab Mission up to 1880, not all of which were fully indexed as to contents. From 1880 on, his writings are to be found summarized in the precis books, while his original papers are among the incoming papers.

The headquarters also has a set of The Church Missionary Intelligencer and its successor in 1907, The Church Missionary Review. Volumes 1 to 78 (1849-1927) have been microfilmed on 38 reels and are available from EP Microform Ltd., Bradford Road, East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorkshire WF3 2JN, England, at £230 for the set. Their succinct statement has this to say about the Intelligencer:

The journal contains general missionary information, and

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> news from all those countries in which the Society's missionaries were at work. - In the earlier volumes most of the news is supplied by extracts from missionaries' letters and journals, dealing with all aspects of their work and its results. In the later volumes reports of the Society's meetings and home strategy are given more fully. From 1907, as the Church Missionary Review, the journal contains more general articles on missionary topics, with short surveys of the missionary position overseas.

EP Microform has already microfilmed the C.M.S. Proceedings for Africa and the East (printed annual reports) and plans are afoot to microfilm the North India, Punjab, and Sind materials as well. Enquiries about this project should be sent to EP Microform Ltd.

Pamphlets by C.M.S. people in the Punjab can be found at C.M.S. headquarters and at the India Office Library. The C.M.S. Library also has a helpful printed Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay & Female); and Native Clergy, from 1804 to 1904, which contains complete histories of service and other useful information. The Diocesan headquarters in Lahore may have useful materials also; the Diocesan heaquarters in Amritsar does not. Some C.M.S. records and other materials have been put in the Gujranwala Theological Seminary library. An excellent collection of books, pamphlets and tracts by Anglicans may be found in the library of the Cambridge Brotherhood, 7 Court Lane, Delhi-6. A bibliography of their collection of church history materials which includes the Lahore Diocesan Record (1907-1910) and the Delhi Mission News (1895-1918) and other periodicals, is being prepared by Father James Stuart and should be published soon in The Indian Church History Review.

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Sialkot Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America

The U.P. Mission was far better served by its early historians than was any other in the Punjab. The first history of the U.P. Mission was Our India Mission by Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: Andrew Gordon, 1886) and the second was Robert Stewart, Life and Work in India, new ed. (Philadelphia: Pearl Publishing Co., 1899), the first edition of which was published in 1896. The two works are very different but share a common passion for detail which produced all kinds of useful tidbits that are rarely if ever found in other mission histories. Gordon's is a rather personal narrative account of the early years of the Mission with particular emphasis upon the biographies of converts as well as the interaction between Christian missions and rural Punjabi society. Stewart's is an analytical study of Christian missions with examples taken from the U.P. Mission to illustrate the points being made on everything from travel routes to India, to methods of transmitting funds to India, to the salary and status of missionaries relative to that of various kinds of Government officers, to the methods employed by villagers to prevent conversion to Christianity, and so on. For a short, more cut-and-dried chronological account of the Mission, one can read William B. Anderson and Charles R. Watson, Far North in India: a Survey of the Mission Field and Work of the United Presbyterian Church in the Punjab (Philadelphia: Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, 1909), or the later Emma Dean Anderson and Mary Jane Campbell, In the Shadow of the

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Himalayas: a Historical Narrative of the Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, as Carried Out in the Punjab, India, 1855-1940 (Philadelphia: United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1942).

The two important repositories of U.P. Mission records are the Presbyterian Historical Society (which has the A.P. Mission records also) and the Gujranwala Theological Seminary in Pakistan. The present writer has not been in a position to get exact information on the holding of the latter library, but believes it to be the more complete of the two. The Presbyterian Historical Society is still processing old United Presbyterian Mission records for India and elsewhere. However, they do have fourteen volumes of official manuscript and typescript minute books covering the period from 1856 to 1957. Those dating from 1856 to 1920 are available on two rolls of microfilm. In addition, they have annual reports for 1856-64, 1883, 1885, 1890, 1893, and 1902. More materials may yet be uncovered as processing there continues. Of the United Presbyterian magazines the Presbyterian Historical Society has complete sets of Women's Missionary Magazine (1887-1953) and Evangelical Repository (1842-91) as well as copies of The United Presbyterian (1854-1958) covering 1854-57, 1858-67 (on microfilm only), and 1879-1958. All of these contain missionary news of one type or another.

Pamphlet and other literature produced by this Mission should be available at the Gujranwala Theological Seminary and

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perhaps at the Presbyterian Historical Society as well. Baring Union Christian College has the Minutes of the Annual Meeting from 1896 onward.

The Panjab Mission of the Church of Scotland

This writer has had very limited access to Church of Scotland materials of any type and therefore cannot speak with confidence about them. There are three basic histories of this Mission: J.F.W. Youngson, Forty Years of the Panjab Mission of the Church of Scotland, 1855-1895 (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark Ltd., 1896); Herbert Francis Lechmere Taylor, In the Land of the Five Rivers: a Sketch of the Work of the Church of Scotland in the Panjab (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark Ltd., 1906); and W. Dalgetty, Our Mission in the Punjab(1925). There is also material on the Punjab in Elizabeth G.K. Hewat, Vision and Achievement 1796-1956: a History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1960), and in Robert W. Weir, A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: R.R. Clark, 1900). In addition, there is a history of the early years of Murray College in Sialkot (The History of the Murray College, Sialkot: 1889-1910) and a short pamphlet on the Jammu station by a missionary who spent fifty years there (J.A. Alexander, 60 Years in Jammu, 1951).

The main repository of this Mission, judging from correspondence received on the subject, is either at the Gujranwala Theo-

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logical Seminary or at the Diocesan Office in Sialkot (Lal Kothi, Barah Patthar, Sialkot, Pakistan). The Bishop of Sialkot, The Rt. Rev. W.G. Young, is himself an historian who, prior to becoming a bishop, taught church history at the Gujranwala Theological Seminary. He would therefore be the best person to consult on Church of Scotland materials as well as on mission sources currently available in Pakistan. The Church of Scotland records in Pakistan should include a fairly complete set of annual reports, minutes of the Mission Corresponding Board, and minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee in Scotland.

Panjab Mission records available in Scotland are located at one of three places in Edinburgh. The National Library of Scotland has the outgoing correspondence to the Panjab Mission from 1856 to 1914. It also has incoming correspondence from 1914 onwards; earlier incoming correspondence appears to have been lost. Some of the Mission's records are in the headquarters of the Overseas Council of the Church of Scotland at 121 George Street, Edinburgh EH2 4YN. They may also be in the library of New College, which also has complete sets both of the Church of Scotland's missionary magazine, Home and Foreign Missionary Record, dating from at least 1856, and of the Church's monthly magazine, Life and Work and Missionary Record, into which the Record merged in 1900. Anyone interested in using Church of Scotland materials in Scotland would be well advised to consult The Rev. Dr. Andrew C. Ross, Department of Ecclesiastical History, New College, Mound Place, Edinburgh EH1 2LX.

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Other Missions

Of the remaining missions, the S.P.G. Mission in Delhi has been the best served by its historians and biographers. C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: an Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900 (London: S.P.G., 1901) and H.P. Thompson, Into All Lands: the History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1950 (London: S.P.C.K., 1951) have sections on Delhi. The fullest accounts of the Mission in the nineteenth century, however, are The Story of the Delhi Mission. (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1908) and Lilian P. Henderson, The Cambridge Mission to Delhi: A brief History (London: S. P. G., 1951). The Church in Delhi (Nagpur: National Christian Council of India, 1961) by James Alter and Herbert Jai Singh, provides an illiminating social history of the Delhi Christian community. The biographies of two outstanding Delhi missionaries have been written with an eye to the wider social context, i.e., H.H. Montgomery, The Life and Letters of George Alfred Lefroy, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920) and Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes, Charles Freer Andrews: a Narrative (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1949). Cecil H. Martin's Allnutt of Delhi: a Memoir (London: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 1922) is more concerned with institution-building, as is Francis Fitzhugh Monk's History of

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St. Stephen's College, Delhi (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A Publishing House, 1935). C.F. Andrews' autobiographical work, What I Owe to Christ (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932), and Herbert Field Blackett's account of his stay in Delhi, Two Years in an Indian Mission (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1884), are also well worth consulting, as is Samuel Bickersteth's Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth, Bishop of South Tokyo (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1901), the life of one of the early members of the Cambridge Brotherhood. Edwin Jacob has written a memior of the famous Delhi convert referred to earlier, Memior of Professor Yesudas Ramchandra of Delhi, (Cawnpore: 1902).

The S.P.G. is now known as the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and maintains a library and archives in London. The earlier records may be used with the aid of the published Classified Digest of the Records of the Society...1701-1892, compiled by C.F. Pascoe and edited by H.W. Tucker (London: S.P.G., 1893). Two manuscripts available there are particularly helpful on Delhi: E. Jennings' "Memoir of My Father, the Rev. M.J. Jennings, M.A.," and F.J. Western's "The Early History of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi." In 1903 the Society began publishing a journal entitled The East and the West which contains a number of informative articles dealing with the Punjab written by both missionaries and Indians.

Since Methodist historians usually organized their histories around annual conferences rather than regions, the histories of -

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the Punjab and Delhi, which changed conference jurisdictions several times, are very disjointed indeed. Perhaps the best connected account is the chapter on "Lahore" in the second volume of Benton T. Badley (ed.), Visions and Victories in Hindustan: a Story of the Mission Stations of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Asia (Madras: Methodist Publishing House, 1931). John N. Hollister in his The Centenary of the Methodist Church in Southern Asia (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1956) has given some brief accounts of the Punjab. However, the historian interested in Methodism in the nineteenth century Punjab had best consult the Minutes and Reports of the North India and Northwest India Annual Conferences which can be found either at 475 River-side Drive, New York, New York 10027, or at Leonard Theological College, Jabalpur, M.P., India.

We may conclude by listing some general works dealing with the remaining missions in nineteenth century Punjab. For the Baptists, there are F.A. Cox, History of the English Baptist Missionary Society from A.D. 1792 to A.D. 1842 (Boston: Isaac Thompkins, 1844); Winfred Hervey, The story of Baptist Missions in Foreign Parts (St. Louis: Chancy R. Barnes, 1884); Ye Are My Witnesses 1792-1942: One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India(Calcutta, 1942). There is an excellent work on the beginnings of Roman Catholic activity in the Punjab by Father Leo, O.M. Cap., entitled The Capuchin Mission in the Punjab with Notes on the History, Geography , Ethnology, and Religions of the Country (Mangalore: Fr. Leo,

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1910); The Capuchin Mission Unit, Cumberland, Maryland, India and its Missions (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), also devotes some space to the Punjab. There are two useful works on the Salvation Army: Frederick Booth Tucker, Muktifauj, or, Forty Years with the Salvation Army in India and Ceylon (London: Marshall Brothers, n.d.) and F.A. Mackenzie, Booth-Tucker: Sadhu and Saint (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., 1930). The National Missionary Society published a very useful account of its early years which has considerable Punjab material in it, i.e., The First Ten Years of the N.M.S. 1905-1915 (Salem: The National Missionary Society, n.d.) A more recent work on the N.M.S. is Donald Fossett Ebright, The National Missionary Society of India, 1905-1942: an Expression of the Movement towards Indigenization within the Indian Christian Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944). An early history of the Reformed Presbyterians, XX Anniversary of the Reformed Presbyterian Mission in the United Provinces and the Punjab held in the R.P. Mission Compound, Roorkee, 13th, 14th, and 15th of January 1904 (Meerut, 1905), touches on the Punjab only briefly. A good overview of the state of Protestant missions in the mid-nineteenth century is provided in Report of the Punjab Missionary Conference held at Lahore in December and January, 1862-63 (Lodiana, 1863). Three studies of the Christian community in the Punjab in more recent times may help to place nineteenth century devlopments in perspective, i.e., E.D. Lucas and Frank Thakur Das, The Rural

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Church in the Punjab: a Study of Economic, Educational and Religious Conditions Prevailing amongst Certain Village Christian Communities in the Sialkot District (Lahore, 1938); Ernest Y. Campbell, The Church in the Punjab (Nagpur: National Christian Council of India, 1961); and Clarence O. McMullen, John C.B. Webster, and Maqbul Caleb, The Amritsar Diocese: a Preliminary Survey (Batala: Christian Institute of Sikh Studies, 1973).

These then are the most important mission sources of nineteenth-century Punjab history. Those interested in the history of the missions themselves should consult non-mission sources as well. A number of British officials who had unusually close ties with these missions have produced some useful works. Among them are Robert Needham Cust, Notes on Missionary Subjects (London: Elliot Stock, 1889);[20] Lady Emma Edwardes, Memorials of the Life and Letters of Major-General Sir Herbert B. Edwardes K.C.B., K.C.S.I., 2 Vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1886); and Edward J. Lake, Sir D. McLeod, a Record of Forty-two Years in India (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1873). Government reports and proceedings on education, reports on the Indian press and on other areas of life where government and missionary concerns overlapped are also extremely useful sources of mission history. Articles on Christianity in the Punjab have appeared in The Indian Church History Review which may be contacted through the Treasurer, Church History Association of India, Bishop's College, 224 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta-17, as well as in The Panjab Past and

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Present and the Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference, both of which are available from Punjabi University, Patiala.

It would be wrong to conclude from this essay, however, that mission sources are useful only to those interested in the history of Christianity in the Punjab. Even though the sources they have left behind deal primarily with their own history, Christians did witness, participate in, or actually help to bring about some significant changes in the life of the Punjab during the nineteenth century. In addition, they came into frequent and often quite close contact with other groups in Punjabi society. Their writings therefore have a broader usefulness than is generally supposed.

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NOTES

The author is grateful to Stanley E. Brush and W. Eric Gustafson for making useful suggestions.

Some of Lowrie's other writings may be found in John C. Lowrie, Missionary Papers (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1881).

A biography, dealing primarily with Goloknath's early life and conversion rather than with his subsequent work as a missionary in Jullundur, was written by his son, Henry. Henry Goloknath, Golak, The Hero (Bombay: The Times of India Press, 1932).

Unfortunately Chatterjee's biography is a disappointment. J.C.R. Ewing, A Prince of the Church in India, Being a Record of the Life of the Rev. Kali Charan Chatterjee, D.D., for Forty-eight Years a Missionary at Hoshyarpur, Punjab, India (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1918).

4. Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: C.M.S., 1899), III, 148. Stock still held this view fifteen years later. Eugene Stock, "The C.M.S. and Native Church Organization," The International Review of Missions, III (April 1914), pp. 266-283. For a useful discussion of the relations between the C.M.S. and the ecclesiastical establishment see M.E. Gibbs, "The Anglican

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Church in India and Independence," Bulletin of the Church History Association of India (February 1967), 43-57.

5. Robert Clark, The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh, rev. & ed. Robert Maconachie (London: C.M.S., 1904), p. 250.

6. This is neither to suggest nor to imply that the C.M.S. missionaries were concerned only with the elites as this was most emphatically not the case; what is suggested here is that they looked to an "aristocracy" of birth for leadership, whether that aristocracy was British or Indian. In 1913 the C.M.S. had yet to ordain its first Chuhra clergyman. Henry Whitehead, "The Mass Movement Towards Christianity in the Punjab," The International Review of Missions, II (July 1913), p. 449.

7. Andrew Gordon, Our India Mission (Philadelphia: Andrew Gordon, 1886), p. 470.

8. Ibid., p. 435.

9. I Corinthians 1:27-29 (King James Version).

10. The U.P. Mission churches stayed out of the union, apparently out of fear both of losing support from the U.S.A. and of placing their theological seminary in jeopardy. Kenneth Lawrence Parker, "The Development of the United Church of Northern India," Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., XVII, 3 & 4 (Sept.-Dec., 1936), p. 162.

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11. Herbert Francis Lechmere Taylor, In the Land of the Five Rivers (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1906), p.86

12. An important interdenominational publication coming just at the end of this period was The International Review of Missions. The articles on the Punjab, other than those by Stock and Whitehead already cited in footnotes 4 and 6, are Surendra Kumar Datta, "Causes of the Expansion or Retrogression of Religions in India: a Study of the Census of 1911," III (October 1914), pp. 639-658, and R. Siraj ud-Din, "The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam," II(January 1913), pp. 96-117.

13. A number of important papers on religious movements in the Punjab by H.D. Griswold appeared in the reports of the North India Conference for Christian Workers. These are: "Mirza Ghulam Ahmed--the Madhi-Messiah of Qadian" (1902), "Pandit Agnihotri and The Deva Samaj" (1903), "The Chet Rami Sect" (1904), and "The Radha Swami Sect" (1906).

14. Herbert Udney Weitbrecht Stanton has provided some useful bibliographies of these writings. See A Descriptive Catalogue of Urdu Christian Literature, with a Review of the Same and a Supplementary Catalogue of Christian Publications in the Other Languages of the Punjab (London: Religious Tract Society, 1886); A Descriptive Catalogue and Review of Urdu Christian Literature, 1886-1901 (Lahore: Punjab Religious Book Society, 1902); and A Descriptive Catalogue and Review of Urdu Christian Literature, 1902-1907

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(Lahore: Punjab Religious Book Society, 1908). Elwood Morris Wherry has provided a useful discussion and summary of Christian works on Islam in The Muslim Controversy, being a Review of Christian Literature Written in the Urdu Language for the Propagation of the Christian Religion and the Refutation of Islam (London: The Christian Literature Society, 1905). Wherry was a prolific writer on Islam and Christian missions to Muslims; many of his shorter works have beeh included (often almost verbatim) in his Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East (New York: Revell, 1907).

15. Griswold supplied most of the material on Punjab movements for the book by his friend, John Nicol Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India (New York: Macmillan, 1915). Reprint: (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967). Griswold's summary of his own studies is Hervey DeWitt Griswold, Insights into Modern Hinduism (New York: Holt, 1934). Griswold's works on the Arya Samaj, for example, differ markedly from those of his contemporaries. His one tract on the Arya Samaj was The Dayanandi Interpretation of the Word "Deva" in the Rig Veda (Lodiana, 1897); the rest of his writings on the subject were descriptive and analytical works written for Christian audiences, the fullest and best of which is "The Arya Samaj," in Report of The Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference Held in Madras, December 11th-

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18th, 1902 (London: Christian Literature Society, 1903). For a contrast see T. Williams, Exposure of Dayananda Saraswati and his Followers both as to their Deliberate Falsification of the Rigveda and their Immorality (Delhi, 1889); Martyn Clark, The Knowledge of God, 2d ed. (Lahore: The Punjab Religious Book Society, 1887); and Henry Martyn Clark, The Vedic Doctrine of Sacrifice, 2d ed. (Punjab Religious Book Society, 1888). Griswold even contributed a short article on Swami Dayanand to The Arya Patrika: "Swami Dayanand Saraswati," XXIX (November 9, 1912), pp. 42-43.

16. Another bibliography which the interested reader may wish to consult is "Christianity in the Punjab: a Bibliographical Survey" by Dr. Ganda Singh. This was first published in a special number of the Bulletin of the Church History Association of India (February 1967), pp. 28-42, and later reprinted in The Panjab Past and Present, II (October 1967), pp. 368-388.

17. Among these are the following: G.L. Thakur Dass, Adam Zarural-i-Quran (Lodiana: Punjab Religious Book Society, 1886); G.L. Thakur Dass, The "Greatest Discovery" Exploded or The Death, Resurrection and Second Coming of Christ Established Against the Aspersion and Claims of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian (Lodiana: The American Tract Society, 1903); G.L. Thakur Dass, Was Muhammad a Sinner? (American Tract

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Society, 1905); Puran Chand Uppal, The Conversion of Puran Chand Uppal: the Story Told by Himself (Lodiana, 1903); H.D. Griswold, "The Mass Movement in the Panjab," East and West (January, 1915), pp. 33-40; H.D.Griswold, A Survey of the Depressed Classes within the Bounds of the Panjab Mission (Ludhiana, 1917).

18. Two other works by the same author are Annie Dewar, Not by Might (London: C.E.Z.M.S., n.d.) and Annie Dewar, Seed Time and Harvest: a Tale of the Punjab (Christian Literature Society, 1898).

19. Two others are Ernest H. Hayes, Doctor Pennell: Afghan Pioneer (London: "Teachers and Taught," n.d.) and Alice Pennell, Pennell of Bannu (London: Church Missionary Society, 1912) which included a paper on Pegnell written by Major-General G.K., Scott-Moncrieff for Blackwood's Magazine.

20. Cust was a prolific writer on this subject, but most of his writings are topical, his examples brief, and his references drawn from all over the world. The result is that their value for the Punjab historian is greatly diminished. His autobiography is disappointingly brief, but a useful section on his contact with Christian missions in the Punjab is included. Robert Needham Cust, Memoirs of Past Years of a Septuagenarian (Hertford, 1899.)

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APPENDIX

STATIONS OF PUNJAB MISSIONS WITH TYPES OF WORK CARRIED ON AT EACH

Station	Begun	Mission	Types of Work
Ajnala and Khatrain	1885	C.M.S.	Zenana Mission and Village Mission
Ambala	1848	A.P.	School, Leper Asylum, dispensary, hospital
Amritsar	1852	C.M.S.	Schools and hospital
Bahrwal	1888	C.M.S.	Village work
Bannu	1883	C.M.S.	School and medical work
Batala	1866	C.M.S.	Schools
Bhiwani	1890	Bap.	Medical work
Chamba	1863	C. of Sc.	Schools, asylum, and dispensary
Clarkabad	1876	C.M.S.	Agricultural Settlement, orphanages, schools
Dalhousie	1869-70	R.C.	Convent Boarding School in 1898
Daska	1857*	C. of Sc.	School and zenana work
Dehra Dun	1853	A.P.	Schools
Delhi	1818	Bap.	School
Delhi	1854	S.P.G.	College, hospital, mass movements
Delhi	1891	Meth.	
Dera Ghazi Khan	1879	C.M.S.	School and hospital
Dera Ismail Khan and Tank	1862	C.M.S.	School and medical work
Ferozepore	1846	R.C.	Chapel destroyed in 1857
Ferozepore	1882	A.P.	Women's hospital and mass movements

* Dates approximate and not certain.

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Gujranwala	1863	U.P.	Schools
Gujrat	1856	C. of Sc.	Schools and women's hospital
Gurdaspur	1872	U.P.	Women's hospital
Hoshiarpur	1867	A.P.	Girls' school, orphanage, and mass movement
Jalalpur	1899*	C. of Sc.	Hospital and school
Jammu	1890	C. of Sc.	School
Jandiala	1854	C.M.S.	School and medical work
Jhang	1884	U.P.	Rural work
Jhelum	1876	U.P.	Hospital
Jullundur	1846	A.P.	School
Kapurthala	1860	A.P.	School and medical work (ended 1865)
Kashmir	1862	C.M.S.	School and medical work
Kasur	1913	A.P.	Mass movement
Khanna	1908	A.P.	Rural work
Kangra	1854	C.M.S.	School for Muslim girls, medical work
Kharar	1881	Bap.	Transferred to New Zealand Presbyterians in 1924.
Kotgarh	1840	C.M.S.	Schools
Lahore	1846	R.C.	Chaplain, School and Orphanage for Europeans, Lunatic Asylum
Lahore	1849	A.P.	Schools, college, zenana work, mass movement
Lahore	1867	C.M.S.	Divinity School
Lahore	1880	Meth.	English-language congregations and mass movements
Lahore	1908	S.P.G.	Society of St. Hilda
Ludhiana	1834	A.P.	Schools, orphanage, printing press

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Meerut	1845	A.P.	Ended in 1847
Moga	1911	A.P.	Training school and mass movement
Montgomery Distt.	1895	R.P.	
Montgomery Distt.	1907	N.M.S.	School and medical work
Multan	1856	C.M.S.	Schools
Multan	1859	R.C.	School for Europeans
Multan	1881	Meth.	English-language congregation
Muree	1881	R.C.	St. Thomas School
Narowal	1859	C.M.S.	Schools
Pasrur	1884*	U.P.	Rural Work
Pathankot	1883*	U.P.	Rural work and girls' school
Patiala	1889	Meth.	
Patiala	1890	R.P.	
Peshawar	1853	C.M.S.	School, college, guest house, medical work
Peshawar	1856	A.P.	Translation work (ended in 1864)
Quetta	1885	C.M.S.	Medical work
Rawalpindi	1856	A.P.	Schools (ended in 1891)
Rawalpindi	1906	S.P.G.	
Rawalpindi	1891	U.P.	Schools and college (Gordon College)
Rewari	?	S.P.G.	
Rohtak	?	S.P.G.	
Roorkee	1856	A.P.	(later given to Reformed Presbyterians)
Rupar	1910	A.P.	Rural work
Sabathu	1836	A.P.	Leper Asylum
Saharanpur	1836	A.P.	Orphanage, industrial school, schools, theological seminary, leper asylum
Shadiwal	?	C. of Sc.	School and zenana work

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Sialkot	1853	R.C.	Chaplain, school, rural work after 1889
Sialkot	1855	U.P.	School, hospital, theological seminary, Christian Training Institute, orphanages
Sialkot	1857	C. of Sc.	Schools, college, zenana work and women's hospital
Simla	1840	C.M.S.	School
Tarn Taran	1884	C.M.S.	Rural work
Wazirabad	1863*	C. of Sc.	School
Zafarwal	1880	U.P.	Scottgarh Christian Village

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THE SIKH RESURGENCE, 1849-1947:

AN ASSESSMENT OF PRINTED SOURCES AND THEIR LOCATION

N. Gerald Barrier

The Sikhs of the Punjab have a strong sense of history and a vital contact with past events affecting the fate of their community. Sikh literature abounds with accounts of the Gurus, martyrs, martial bravery, the exploits of the misls and their successor, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Despite this consciousness, however, Sikhs and students of their history virtually have ignored a crucial phase in the evolution of modern Sikhism: the period between annexation of the Punjab and partition. Except for scattered articles and monographs, primarily on the gurdwara reforms and the Kukas, the institutions, personalities, and issues of the century have received little attention.[1]

Yet one can understand much of the progress and concomitant tensions and dilemmas of Sikhism today only within the context of what happened during British rule. Within a hundred years the Sikhs moved from political defeat and almost total loss of distinctive identity toward a self-awareness and militancy culminating in the formation of a predominantly Sikh state. In the process many institutions evolved which are important in Sikh life--the Singh Sabhas, the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the Khalsa College, and other educational facilities. Intellectual revitalization accompanied the emergence of these institutions, a reinterpretation and adaptation of tradition now reflected in Sikh cermonies and philosophy.

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What accounts for the gap in Sikh historiography? Understandable concern with the founders of the faith has focused Sikh research on the Gurus. A similar fascination with the decades when the Punjab tended to be united politically, combined with the availability of British documents on the period 1810-1849, have contributed to a spate of writing on the kingdom of Ranjit Singh. A complaint frequently heard in discussions with Sikh historians nevertheless suggests another reason for lack of interest in the post-1849 period--source materials supposedly are few and difficult to trace. Unpublished records of Sikh organizations or private papers of Sikh leaders often have been lost, while files on Sikh politics and society in the records of the Punjab Government (West Pakistan Record Office, Lahore; India Office Records, London) and the Government of India (National Archives of India, New Delhi) are thought to represent only an imperialist viewpoint. Such an assessment is not wholly accurate because recent discoveries of papers and work in official proceedings have widened the scope of research based on unpublished documents.[2] Leaving these sources aside, printed books and newspapers constitute a major set of unused material. Despite a prevailing notion that literary Panjabi and Sikh literature in general went into decline following 1849, even a hurried survey of the annual catalogues of Punjab publications indicates that the Sikhs were writing on almost every conceivable subject. By 1910 there were over twenty Sikh newspapers and journals, supplemented by the work of scholars and publicists such as Bhai Ditt Singh, Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid, Babu Teja Singh Overseer, and

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Bhai Vir Singh. At the same time Sikh intellectuals organized the Khalsa Tract Society and the Panjabi Prachar Sabhas, which institutionalized the spread of Sikh literature in the Gurmukhi script. Not only were Sikh titles in circulation, they were preserved and are available to scholars. Bibliographical information alone is lacking. With the exception of Dr. Ganda Singh's A Bibliography of the Punjab, no bibliography treats the Sikh experience under the British raj.[3]

This note examines three aspects of Sikh printed sources from 1849 to 1947. The introduction surveys the available material and the institutions or individuals associated with its publication, followed by a description of why and how the literature has been preserved. Fiction and poetry played a role in the emergence of Sikh consciousness, but since recent works have discussed short stories, novels, and poems, they have not been included in this study.[4] The final section consists of background on collections and depositories. Hopefully the essay will contribute to interest in a neglected phase of Sikh history and serve as a guide to source material for fresh research and interpretation.

Sikh Publications in British Punjab

A substantial portion of Sikh literature in the last century has been concerned with problems of self-identification and adaptation to the new world brought by the British. As in the case of other Punjabis, Sikhs had to cope with Christian proselytism, competition within altering systems of trade, education, and employment, and the challenge of reconciling old and new values.[5]

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The resolution of these tensions and the very future of the Sikhs depended on how they answered such questions as "what is the nature of our faith, what is our past, and where and how shall we move in coming years?" The segmentation of the Sikh community into tribal, social, and religious divisions made a unanimous response impossible, and thus a variety of groups and organizations attempted to work out what constituted Sikh orthodoxy, tradition, social patterns, and ritual.

By the 1880's the resulting intellectual turmoil had begun to produce research in Sikh history, new editions of the Adi Granth, and theological treatises. One stream of activity involved the search for historical documents and the evaluation of tradition. Scholars such as Professor Gurmukh Singh (1849-1898) and Bhai Kahan Singh of Nabha (1867-1938) toured the Punjab locating and publishing old texts. They discovered a number of previously unknown traditional biographies of Guru Nanak, janam-sakhis, and these in turn generated debates on the nature and reliability of sources.[6] At least two societies were involved in historical research by the end of the century, the Gurmat Granth Pracharak Sabha of Amritsar, which prepared reports on documents, and the Gurmat Granth Subharak Committee of Lahore, which evaluated sources and attempted to prevent the printing of unauthentic janam-sakhis and inferior editions of the Adi Granth.[7] Publication of glossaries and studies of the Adi Granth further intensified concern with historical problems, as exemplified by Ernest Trumpp's much-damned translation and commentary on Sikh scripture, the controversial commentary on the Adi Granth prepared by Raja Bikram Singh of

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Faridkot and his hand-picked committee of scholars and the Panch Khalsa Diwan's edition of the Adi Granth which omitted the Rag Mala.[8] In addition to works by organizations, individual Sikh historians and theologians prepared studies. Giani Gian Singh wrote several Sikh histories, while Bhai Kahan Singh produced commentaries on Sikhism, glossaries, and a massive encyclopedia of Sikh religion and literature. None could match Bhai Ditt Singh for sheer volume. Between 1880 and 1900 he wrote approximately forty books on martyrs, history and scripture.[9] These studies are not only sources on Sikhism, they mirror the concerns and the interpretations of a generation attempting to formulate a viable statement of Sikh doctrine.

A second category of Sikh literature, tracts and polemical works, reflect the same concerns. Their titles frequently indicate the style and purpose of the tracts; "a crushing defeat," a "demolishing attack on fools," or Avtar Singh's rollicking counter of Sikh Hindu Hai, "As the face, so the slap, or a face-breaking reply." As one writer has commented, it was a time for "the drawing of bows."[10] Each of the Punjabi religious communities was experiencing intense self-examination which fostered internal dissension and challenges to other sects. Publicists were quick to reach for their pens, and in the innumerable pamphlet wars, nothing was sacred--ritual, scripture, personal affairs, or founders of religion. Not lagging behind in controversy, the Sikhs produced wave after wave of tracts criticizing the Arya Samaj, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Some defended Sikhism, others carried the battle into the camp of the opponent.[11]

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Co-religionists were not spared. On basic issues such as control of institutions, the nature of ceremony, conversion, and what constituted being "a true Sikh," lines were sharply drawn and defended. The Panjabi language has a rich vocabulary of insult and derogatory terms, and it has not been put to more devastating use than when Sikh pamphleteers wrote against fellow Sikhs.[12]

In addition to verbal confrontation, Sikh pamphlets often carried a message of benati, appeal. Tracts were a suitable vehicle for requesting support from the Panth for an institution, project, or an idea. Apparently the Sikh community responded to the appeals because they appear in increasing numbers after 1900.[13]

The production of the earliest tracts depended on the discretion and personal resources of individual Sikhs. Bhai Ditt Singh of Lahore (1853-1901) once again led the field. After moving through a series of religious crisis, Ditt Singh came under the influence of Professor Gurmukh Singh of Oriental College and soon acquired a reputation as the chief propagandist of the Lahore Singh Sabha.[14] Although Ditt Singh "exposed" and challenged non-Sikh writers, especially Arya Samajists, he increasingly became involved in attacking what he felt to be unpardonable defects within the Sikh community. Caste distinctions and "Guru-dom" received special blows. Born of low case (Ramdasi), Ditt Singh had experienced the double standard operating within nineteenth-century Sikh society, and he incessantly denounced high caste Sikhs looking down on converts or "unclean" Sikhs. Caste controversy led to collisions with pujaris and leaders of the Amritsar Singh Sabha (the Raja of Faridkot and Baba Kham

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Singh Bedi) who demanded and received respect from their followers. Ditt Singh slashed at this "pretension of Guru-dom" in a tract called Sudhan Natak ("A Dream Drama"). The ridicule of pujaris and other opponents landed Ditt Singh in court for the first of several prosecutions arising from his publications.

Two younger pamphleteers, Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid (1881-1936) and Babu Teja Singh Overseer (1867-ca. 1930), probably surpassed Ditt Singh in volume if not in fervor. Mohan Singh Vaid grew up in an atmosphere of controversy and pamphleteering. By the age of thirteen his pattern and style of life was set, with a routine of work, worship, writing, and service to the Panth. Mohan Singh's diary is filled with references to tracts and articles under preparation, generally between the hours of four and seven in the morning.[15] Teja Singh also was a hurricane of energy, a patriarchal figure who unrelentingly demanded reform and innovation. From his pen came call after call for equality of Sikh men and women (women must be educated, be baptized (Amrit), wear turbans, and carry swords), a return to "authentic Sikh rituals," and abolition of caste. Standing in the center of controversy, clad in swadeshi cloth and clutching an omnipresent sword, Teja Singh was obsessed with a version of a vital, revived Sikhism. His total commitment to this ideal is best illustrated by an incident in which he left an injured son to carry out a preaching schedule. When bystanders shouted that his son was crying in pain, Teja Singh supposedly replied that while his son was only one person, "many people are crying out for Armit."[16]

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The adventuresome, self-financed activity of such authors continued, but new societies gradually took over the bulk of religious propaganda. Founded in 1894, the Khalsa Tract Society of Amritsar led in the mass distribution of cheap sixteen to sixty page pamphlets on theological and social topics. The Society financed itself through subscriptions; by 1901 there were 369 subscribers who gave approximately one rupee a month for which they received copies of each publication and the thanks of the Panth. Statistics from 1902 report indicate that the Society had published 192 tracts in eight years and distributed 600,000 copies. Published guidelines for prospective contributors reflect some of the organization's goals. Essays must be brief and to the point, written in "pure" Panjabi for both men and women. Authors should quote extensively from scriptures and not speak against anyone or other religions.[17] The bulk of the Society's publications consisted of scriptures and prayers, short biographies or historical sketches, and didactic stories on morality, social relations, and religion. The Society also published a Panjabi dictionary, a glossary for the Adi Granth, and two Khalsa directories. The latter are especially important for the historian because they contain membership lists of Singh Sabhas and a separate list of Sikhs employed in government.[18]

Other societies soon sprang up across the Panjab. The Sikh Book Club of Peshawar, for example, published verses, broadsides, and parables. Its place was later taken by the Panch Khalsa Agency of Peshawar Cantonment which by October

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1910 had printed 125 tracts on rituals, marital relations, "Loyalty," the nature of God, and social reform.[19] Mohan Singh Vaid and associates interested in Panjabi supplemented the work of these societies by forming a series of Panjabi Prachar Sabhas and printing translations or original works in Gurmukhi.[20] A final innovation in the distribution of inexpensive literature came in 1908 with the establishment of the Khalsa Handbill Society. The Society published as many as twenty thousand copies of an item for free distribution in an effort to reach villagers untouched by urban meetings or newspapers. A predominantly agrarian community, the Sikhs pioneered in programs to link rural and urban co-religionists with publicity, tracts, and prachar (preaching) teams.[21]

Scholars and publicists also owned or edited newspapers. With the growth of a communication system, journalism offered an attractive means of disseminating ideas and news among Sikhs. At the same time the evolution of the Sikh press left a legacy of periodicals which serve as sources on Sikhism and its relationship with other Punjab communities.

The initial phase of Sikh journalism, 1880-1910, was characterized by experimentation and the rapid rise and fall of small papers. Individuals or associations usually founded a press and newspaper for a particular purpose, and unless subsidized by a raja or wealthy aristocrat, the enterprises ran on a slim budget. Accordingly, when interest in the publication waned, or when financing became difficult, the papers suspended operation, to reappear again when circumstances and funds

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permitted. Newspapers tended to be in Urdu or Panjabi and had small circulations (200-400). They were published weekly, bi-monthly or monthly with occasional bulletins or supplements. The papers had a similar format--a page or two of scripture with commentary, editorials, perhaps a special article, and the letter column where Sikh correspondents jousted with the editor and other writers over a variety of issues.[22]

The background of several Sikh newspapers reflects these patterns. Professor Gurmukh Singh and his Lahore Singh Sabha associates helped establish two early periodicals, the Vidya Pracharak and the Gurmukhi Akhbar, to popularize Sikh education and Panjabi as a literary language.[23] The former soon collapsed, but the Gurmukhi Akhbar continued for fifteen years. In 1883 Gurmukh Singh joined with Bhai Jhanda Singh and Bhai Ditt Singh to found the Khalsa Press and the Khalsa Akhbar. Under the editorship of Ditt Singh and Bhai Maya Singh, the paper became a chief spokesman for the Singh Sabha movement from 1833 to 1901. The longevity of the two newspapers can be attributed to the determination of Gurmukh Singh and Ditt Singh to publish at all cost, and sustained financial support from a sympathizer, the Maharaja of Nabha, Hira Singh.[24] Most Sikh papers had a shorter life-span, as for example, the Urdu Nanak Parkash of Kapurthala (1887-9?), Bhagat Lakshman Singh's English journal The Khalsa (1899-1901), and the Panjabi Shuddhi Pattar, an organ of the Lahore Shuddhi Sabha (1896-98).[25]

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed an upsurge of Sikh journalism as a multiplication of issues and

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organizations generated a range of new papers. Some dealt with education of women or family life (Istri Satsang, Amritsar, and Panjabi Bhain, Ferozepur). Others were addressed to soldiers, (The Sikh Sepoy, Ferozepur), reproduced scripture and theology (Nirgunyara), or spoke for a particular section of Sikhs (for instance, the Ramgarhia journals Ramgarhia Patrika, Lahore, and Viskarma, Amritsar.) Despite occasional failures, papers tended to carry on for longer periods of time, exemplified by the Khalsa Samachar (Amritsar) and the Khalsa Advocate (Lahore). The gurdwara reform efforts in the 1920's produced a new current of political papers, most notably, the Akali (Amritsar) and Kirti (Amritsar).[26]

To view Sikh developments solely in terms of literary activity would be misleading. Behind the theology, histories, tracts, and papers stood an expanding network of Sikh organiza tions. In 1879 two pioneer associations, the Lahore and Amritsar Singh Sabhas, were alone in their attempts to activate the Sikhs; after two decades they had been joined by one hundred and fifty sister sabhas concentrated in the Punjab but also located in other parts of India, Asia, and North America.[27]

The sabhas sponsored religious services, celebrated the birthdays of the Gurus, and held annual meetings or diwans. In addition, they dealt with local social and educational pro- blems, occasionally starting schools, orphanages, hospitals, and homes for widows. At first the sabhas were able to maintain informal contact with each other, but the almost geometric multiplication of associations eventually led to a call for a central agency to coordinate and in a limited sense to control the activities of smaller units. Attempts at forming central

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Khalsa Diwans failed in the nineteenth century because of factionalism and personal feuds. By 1902 the bitterness had subsided. Moreover, unnecessary duplication of programs by individual groups and large projects requiring united action (such as the financing of Khalsa College) underlined the utility of a coordinating body. New leaders, as represented by Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, consequently formed the Chief Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar in 1902. Most Singh Sabhas affiliated with the Diwan, which became a clearing house for news, administered central institutions such as the Khalsa Tract Society and the Amritsar Khalsa Orphanage, and tried to set theological and social guidelines. The first Sikh Educational Conference in 1908 marked a new experiment in concentrating the efforts of individuals and organizations on a common project. The hundreds of Sikhs attending the annual sessions voiced opinions on education and related issues and contributed funds for Sikh schools.

Fortunately for students of Sikh history these associations printed proceedings of meetings and annual working reports. From its inception in 1879 the Lahore Singh Sabha published reports and rules, a pattern repeated again and again by new sabhas.[28] The 1904-5 report of the Ferozepur Singh Sabha illustrates the type of material available in the annual reviews. The document opens with the customary salutation and appeal to the community:

> Are you serving yourselves or living for others? You are doing neither, O Sikhs. You have seen in a horse race that when all horse are running and one lags behind, he either slows down even more or stops. When the horses finish, they turn and laugh at the laggard. O brothers, are not all laughing at your efforts? For the progress of the community, I request that you shake off your sleep, rid yourself of jealousies, and move forward.[29]

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The author, probably Bhai Takht Singh, the discusses female education throughout the world and notes that Sikhs fall behind all other communities. A further appeal for funds is followed by financial accounts of Singh Sabha projects--separate Gurmukhi schools for boys and girls, boarding houses, the Bhai Ditt Singh memorial library, the annual Khalsa Diwan, and preaching tours by members of the Sabha. A supplementary report for the same year includes a survey of educational activities (important events, examination results, statistical tables), summaries of meetings, and curricula for the schools. Similar reports and financial statements are available on virtually all Sikh organizations. The proceedings of the Sikh Educational Conference, for example, contain summaries of the conference, speeches, resolutions, and attendance lists.[30] In short, the publication of reports publicizing work and encouraging donations has furnished a set of source materials on the emergence of Sikh institutions.

Political developments among Sikhs residing in and outside India have produced a final assortment of printed documents. Sikhs were noted for their allegiance to the British during the last decades of the nineteenth century. If actions of individual Sikhs threatened this loyal image, as in the case of the Kuka outbreaks in 1871 or the Dhulip Singh agitation in the 1880's, Sikh meeting passed resolutions denouncing their co-religionists and pledging support for the raj.[31] Such a response was not atypical of the times because all Punjabis were trying to win the title of "loyal" and concomitant patronage. Sikhs occasionally

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prepared memorials on issues affecting their community (civil service exams, distribution of official positions, education in Panjabi), but these were couched in respectful language and reflected the prevailing notion that the ma-bap, the government, would right wrongs and care for its subjects. A strand of this attitude continued through and even intensified during the First World War.[32] At the same time, however, Sikh political attitudes were changing. The 1909 Council reforms accelerated demands for special Sikh representation and concessions, claims based not on population percentages but on Sikh military contributions to the Empire. Moreover, increasing Sikh concern with religious symbols, rituals, and holy places led to collisions over divergent issues such as alterations to the Rakabganj Gurdwara in Delhi, the Anand Marriage Act, and the wearing of turbans in the medical corps.[33]

The dissemination of revolutionary ideas further eroded Sikh sympathy for the British. From 1908 onward, Sikhs in England and North America flooded the Punjab with revolutionary material, a movement culminating in the establishment of the Hindustan Ghadr Association in California and a series of abortive uprisings among Sikh soldiers. It is difficult to evaluate the extent of "seditious" activity among Punjab Sikhs, but C.I.D. reports and stray pamphlets suggest that at least a few Sikhs participated in bomb rings and conspiracies.[34] These new tendencies, coupled with internal controversies over tactics for gaining control of gurdwaras, divided the Sikhs. The Chief Khalsa Diwan and associated Singh Sabhas came to be

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labelled as traitors to the Panth by militants who organized jathas, the Akali Dal, and the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. By 1930 what semblance of unity Sikhs had been able to maintain was dissipated as splinter groups and factions moved in different directions--the creation of political parties to work the elections and participate in the councils, peasant organization, communism, and assassination.[35]

Each phase of politics stimulated publication of newspapers, tracts and posters. Periodicals remain one source on Sikh developments. The Ghadr (San Francisco) reflects the views and strategy of Sikh revolutionaries. With regard to developments within Punjab, the Akali (Amritsar), the Akali Te Pardesi (Amritsar), and the Babar Sher (Amritsar) illuminate the events and personalities involved in gurdwara reform, the SGPC, and the Akali Dal. Reaction against the Akalis is found in the Sanatan Sikh (Lahore) and the Updeshak (Lahore). Kirti (Amritsar) contains material on Sikh participation in the communist movement, while the Jat Gazette (Rohtak) surveys Jat and rural politics.[36] There are two varieties of tracts, the series issued by organizations (Hindustan Ghadr, the Nau Jiwan Bharat Sabha, the SGPC) and works written in response to specific incidents such as Jallianawala Bagh, Jaito, Nankana Sahib, and the execution of Bhagat Singh.[37] Posters depicting Sikh nationalism were circulating as early as 1910. For example, an updeshak (missionary) of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Jagat Singh of Lyallpur, printed a pictorial broad-sheet suggesting that since the British had initiated the Kaliyug, Sikhs should rise up and re-establish their kingdom.[38] Favorite

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subjects in later posters and sheets included scenes of the Nankana massacre, Muslim torture of the Gurus and other martyrs, Kukas being blown from guns, and hanging of Sikh revolutionaries.[39]

Preservation of Printed Sources

Both Sikh and British libraries have preserved Sikh literature. Background on how and why the material was gathered is relevant to a survey of sources because that process determined the character and scope of each holding.

The historical awareness that fostered research and writing among nineteenth-century Sikhs also led to the preservation of their publications. Sikh institutions, especially schools, kept libraries, and often their small collections are still available.[40] The largest collections, however, are due to the foresight of individual scholars. Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur (1833-1893), an author and aristocratic supporter of the Lahore Singh Sabha, collected books and manuscripts for thirty years and then gave them to the Punjab Public Library.[41] Bhai Takht Singh of Ferozepur, the founder and manager of the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyayala, was another book collector. Seeing a vital link between education and literary material, Bhai Takht Singh devoted his life to training Sikh girls and preserving representative works on the evolution of Sikhism. All funds in excess of daily expenses went into research books, which were catalogued, placed in almirahs, and protected from insects. Renamed the Bhai Ditt Singh Memorial Library, the collection had become by 1910 the chief Sikh depository for newspapers, books, and manuscripts.

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Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid and Bhai Ditt Singh contributed their substantial holdings of newspapers to the institution, while numerous scholars journeyed to Ferozepur to study in the library.[42]

The private library of Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid at Tarn Taran is probably the most diverse assortment of Sikh publications collected by a single person. Between the age of twelve and his death in 1936, Bhai Mohan Singh spent every extra penny on books and journals. A scholar and publisher, he had an unusual appreciation of the value of printed documents as records of current events. Mohan Singh realized that future students would require sources on Sikh institutions, and he therefore preserved works ranging from handbills and tracts to reports and academic productions. Mohan Singh also tried to ensure that the reports contained relevant information. For example, he wrote articles in his journal, Dukh Nivaran, criticizing the Chief Khalsa Diwan for printing an incomplete review of the Educational Conference proceedings, 1912. Noting the earlier reports had been detailed and accurate, Mohan Singh requested his colleagues to publish full proceedings for the record and for historical research.[43]

Librarians of the British Museum and India Office exhibited similar concern with preserving documents on modern India and Sikh history. The two institutions regularly collected Sikh material under provisions of the 1867 copyright and registration act, with the result that a representative set of printed sources has been preserved in London.[44] Although publications from Sikh princely states and radical Sikh literature banned by the British generally did not come through the regular copyright channels, the

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British Museum and India Office also devised means for securing those important materials.[45]

Collections of Sikh Publications

The following description of the organization and contents of Sikh collections does not include references to all existing institutions or private libraries. The six collections have been selected because of their comprehensiveness and availability to scholars. The sketches are based on the author's research supplemented by information kindly supplied by librarians.

The British Museum and India Office Library

The South Asia collections in the two libraries contain over 175,000 vernacular books and tracts. It is difficult to generalize on the size of Sikh holdings, but the following chart indicates the number of items in languages in which Sikh literature is represented:

Vernacular Works, British Museum and India Office[46]

	Regular Collections		Proscribed	
	BM	IOL	BM	IOL
Hindi	10,600	23,000	216	622
Hindi-Hindustani			320	
Panjabi	1,650	6,000	51	44
Urdu	14,000	16,000	168	196

Most of the Panjabi, a sizeable proportion of the Urdu, and a few Hindi tracts probably pertain to Sikhism. Moreover, each institution has approximately 500-600 English-language items on or by

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Sikhs. Vernacular and English publications pertain to the range of subjects discussed earlier in the note. There are, for example, works on philosophy, history, biography, and controversial subjects.[47] The proscribed sections contain particularly interesting material--Ghadr publications, Akali and revolutionary tracts, biographies, and anti-Sikh tracts by Muslims and Hindus.[48] The collections' notable gaps are in newspapers and Sikh organizational material. The problem of maintaining runs of Indian vernacular journals proved so formidable that with a few exceptions neither library has Sikh serial publications. However, the India Office Library does have runs of the Tribune, Pioneer, the Civil and Military Gazette, and Indian Public Opinion, newspapers with editorials and essays on Sikh developments. The fact that much material published by organizations was not included in the quarterly book list helps to explain the lack of annual reports and similar materials in London. The two libraries did not have the opportunity to request them.

The two institutions have similar arrangements for organizing Indian publications. The India Office vernacular items acquired prior to 1920 generally are bound in volumes according to size, language, and subject; later items are either unbound or bound separately. The British Museum also divides vernacular works by language and subject and binds them in volumes distributed through the Oriental Printed Books section. English-language tracts have been handled in the same fashion.

Scholars must rely on catalogues to identify specific works because of closed stacks in both libraries. In the India

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Office Library the fundamental guides to pre-1900 vernacular Sikh material are J.F. Blumhardt's published catalogues, arranged by subject with author and title indexes and cross-references.[49] After 1900 the reader is dependent upon an author-title card catalogue. Printed catalogues of English works run until approximately 1920, after which references can be found in acquisition lists, card catalogues, and entries pasted in the "sheaf catalogue." A final check on whether titles are in the Library consists of reading through the marked catalogue of books prepared quarterly by the Punjab government. The Library kept a duplicate copy of the catalogue, and if a title has been checked, it probably is in the collection.

The British Museum has printed catalogues for all Hindi and Panjabi books. The Hindustani and Urdu printed catalogue ends at 1908, but author and title card catalogues are available for later works.[50] English-language entries are arranged in large books ringing the main reading room.[51]

The libraries opened their proscribed material in the summer of 1968. The India Office Collection is divided by language and stored in boxes. Although not catalogued, items can be examined in a special reading room. The British Museum holding is divided into approximately two hundred bundles (in the original covers as received from India). The staff has prepared a handlist of titles, and readers can requisition tracts for use in the Student's Room.[52]

Miss J.R. Watson and Mrs. Usha Tripathi supervise the vernacular and proscribed tracts in the India Office. Information on photo-duplication can be obtained from the India Office

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Library, 187 Blackfriars Road, S.E. 1, London. Dr. G.E. Marrison, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, can provide information on tracts and photocopying at the British Museum. He also is in charge of the proscribed material (15010f.8).

Library, National Archives of India

The regular section of the Library contains English-language publications on the Sikhs, but the core of the Sikh material is a large collection of pamphlets proscribed by the British. These pamphlets currently are being "deproscribed," a time-consuming task because the province (state) which banned an item must release it. Until deproscribed, the material cannot be filmed or quoted at length. In addition to individual political items similar to those in London, the Library's collection contains bundles of newspapers (Kirti, 1929-30, Ghadr, and approximately a hundred issues from other papers).[53] A final feature of the Library is a set of the Punjab Gazette containing most of the Punjab book catalogues. These catalogues serve as useful guides or "hunting lists" for students of Punjab history. Permission to use records and the library is obtainable through the Director of the National Archives.

Punjab Public Library, Lahore

The Sikh collection in the Punjab Public Library primarily consists of the holdings contributed by Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur prior to his death in 1893 and Sikh books supplied by the Punjab government after the Library was made a depository of

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publications acquired under the 1890 Press Regulation Act. A six-volume printed catalogue provides information on English items; for Urdu, there is an up-to-date card index. Most of the Hindi and Panjabi works have not been catalogued or apparently even touched since 1947. Statistics on the Sikh holdings are unavailable, but the number probably exceeds five thousand, concentrated heavily in the nineteenth century.[54]

Khalsa College, Amritsar

Although the collection of the Khalsa College Library and Sikh History Research Department is small and recent in comparison with several other depositories, it includes over five hundred rare English and vernacular works on Sikhism. The theological section is substantial but periodicals remain the outstanding feature of the collection. Most of the items in the list below came from the personal library of Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid:

Akali Qaumi, 1927-29
Akali Te Pradeshi, 1926-28
Babar Sher, 1923-24
Desh Sewak, 1923-25
Haq Akhbar, 1918-21
Khalsa, 1923
Khalsa Samachar, 1908-10, 1915-19
Khalsa Sewak, 1904-05, 12
Kirti Lehar, 1933-39
Kuka, 1922
Fauji, 1926-35
Qaumi Babar Desh, 1925-30

Professor Parkash Singh, Sikh History Research Department, should be contacted for further information.

Bhai Takht Singh Library

The research library at the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyayala Ferozepur, was the key depository for Sikh printed documents

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prior to the death of Bhai Takht Singh in 1937. The financial and administrative problems plaguing the school after partition, coupled with disastrous floods, have led to the partial disintegration of the collection, but it remains a significant holding of theological works, tracts, organizational reports, and newspapers. A recently prepared card index contains references to the 3,000 individual items in the collection. Of particular note is a set of sixty bound volumes of miscellaneous tracts pertaining primarily to Sikh institutions and to religious debates. As this incomplete list of holdings indicates, the Sikh newspaper collection is one of the most valuable in existence:

Akali, 1922-24

Akali Te Pardesi, 1923-24

Babar Sher, 1923-24

Bir, 1910-15

Civil and Military Akhbar, 1906-10

Dukh Nivaran, 1908-12

Hak, 1919-20

Istri Satsang, 1904-08

Jat Gazette, 1917-21

Khalsa, 1899-1902

Khalsa Advocate, 1903-1930

Khalsa Akhbar, 1894-1904, 1912-1919

Khalsa Dharm Depak, 1906-09

Khalsa Gazette, 1896-1900

Khalsa Samachar, 1900-20

Khalsa Te Khalsa Advocate, 1924-33

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Lyall Gazette, 1913-18

Namdev Pattar, 1913-14

Naurattan, 1908-14

Panjab, 1905-06

Panjab Darpan, 1917-24

Panjabi Bhain, 1909-15

Panth Mitra, 1904-05

Panth Sewak, 1914-22.

Prem, 1909

Saccha Dhandora, 1909

Shuddhi Pattar, 1896-98

The manager of the Vidyala, Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, is in charge of research facilities.[55]

Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid Library

The sons of Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid transferred his library to Punjabi University in 1966. The collection has now been accessioned, rebound, and shelved in a separate room. Printed author, subject and title catalogues were published in 1972.

The collection consists of 2,645 English books and journals, and 8,624 Panjabi, 4,752 Hindi, and 2,594 Urdu works. Few newspapers are in the library, with the exception of a rare run of the Khalsa Akhbar (1886-88), because Mohan Singh's periodicals have been distributed between the Bhai Takht Singh Library and the Khalsa College. The heart of the collection lies rather in tract and organizational material. Among the former are the not inconsiderable literary products of Mohan Singh Vaid himself, numerous Khalsa Tract Society issues, Tat Khalsa pamphlets, and

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a range of religious publications. The organizational works include sets of Sikh Educational Conference and Chief Khalsa Diwan proceedings, and reports from a host of Sikh Schools, hospitals, Singh Sabhas, and other institutions. Scholars should contact Sardar Hakam Singh, Librarian, Punjabi University for further information and permission to work in the collection.

In summary, the Bhai Takht Singh Library and the Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid Library complement each other. This is as it should be because the two Sikh leaders were the closest of friends. The newspapers at Ferozepur and the tracts and books at Patiala form an unequalled collection of research material on the Sikhs, resources which until today remai.. untapped.

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NOTES

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1. Surveys on the period in Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966) and Ganda Singh (ed.), Panjab, 1849-1960 (Patiala, Khalsa College, 1962.) Detailed bibliographical treatment is in N.G. Barrier, The Sikhs and Their Literature, 1849-1919 (Delhi, Manohar Book Service, 1970.)

2. For example, the paper of Sundar Singh Majithia are now in the Nehru Museum and Library, New Delhi. Sardar Nahar Singh currently is touring the Punjab and locating similar material. His three-volume set of documents on the Kukas (Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs. New Delhi, 1965-1967) illustrates the rich data in the proceedings.

3. Supplemented by Barrier, The Sikhs.

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4. Balbir Singh Dil, Panjabi Kahani Da Vikas (Ludhiana: 1952); Kahan Singh, Gurushabd Ratnakar Mahan Kosh, 2nd ed. (Patiala, 1960); Mohan Singh, A History of Panjabi Literature, 2nd ed. (Amritsar, 1956); I. Serebryakov, Punjabi Literature (Moscow, 1968).

5. This problem and the adaptation of one section of the Hindu community is discussed in Kenneth W. Jones, "Communalism in the Punjab," Journal of Asian Studies 28:39-54 (Nov. 1968) Also, please refer to the other essays in this volume.

6. Background in W.H. McLeod, Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion (Oxford, 1968), p. 1-33. Also, essays in Harbans Singh and Jagjit Singh, "Singh Sabha Lahir," Ganda Singh, Panjab, pp. 123-140.

7. Munsha Singh Dukhi, Jivan Bhai Sahib Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid (Amritsar, n.d.), pp. 16-18; Harbans Singh, Panjab, pp. 127-128, 139.

8. Trumpp, The Adi Granth or Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs (London, 1877); Raja Bikram Singh, Sri Guru Granth Sahibji Adi Satika 4 pts. (Faridkot, 1907). On Trumpp, see Government of India Foreign General, Feb. 1873, 58-67A (National Archives of India); on the other issues, Khalsa Diwan Bhasaur De Gurmat Parkash (Bhasaur, 1923), pp. 29-30. The Rag Mala issue revolved around the poetry's association with Islam.

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9. Giani Gian Singh, Panth Prakash (Lahore, 1880); Tavarikh Guru Khalsa 3 vols. (Sialkot, 1892). Bhai Kahan Singh, Gurmat Prabhakar (Lahore, 1898); Gurushabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh 1st ed. (Amritsar, 1930), 3nd ed., 4 vols. (Patiala, 1960). On Ditt Singh, Shamsher Singh Ashok, Prasidh Vidvan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha (Patiala, 1966), pp. 48-55; Giani Amar Singh, Singh Sabha Lahir De Ughe Sanchalak Giani Ditt Singhji (Amritsar, 1962), pp. 29-30.

10. Shamsher Singh, Prasidh, p. 8. Also, the period as described in Amar Singh and Munsha Singh.

11. The second section of Barrier, The Sikhs, discusses approximately three hundred tracts. For an especially interesting set of accusations and innuendo, see Nuskhah Khabt-i-Dayanandi (Amritsar, 1905) by Ganda Singh and Radha Kishen Mehta's Naskhah-i-Granthi Fobia (Lahore, 1889).

12. For example, Babu Teja Singh, Man Mat Prahar (Lahore, 1900).

13. Examples include Mohan Singh Vaid's two works entitled Benati (Tarn Taran, 1912; Lahore, 1903), an appeal for improvement of morals and better treatment of Sikh women, and a request to pujaris and members of Singh Sabhas to support Panjabi.

14. Information on Bhai Ditt Singh primarily based on Amar Singh's biographical study, Singh Sabha.

15. The original diary has not been located, but excerpts are reproduced in Munsha Singh Oukhi, Jivan Bhai Sahib.

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16. Aduti Jivan Britant Panth Ratan Babu Teja Singhji Sahib (Amritsar, n.d.), p. 76. It should be noted that Babu Teja Singh and Principal Teja Singh are two different individuals.

17. Khalsa Tract Society Da Report, 1920 (Amritsar, 1903), pp. 33-35. Bhai Vir Singh wrote or edited most of the tracts. On Bhai Vir Singh, see the special edition of Panjab Past and Present (VI, pt. 2, Oct. 1972) on Bhair Vir Singh.

18. Khalsa Directory (Amritsar, 1898); Khalsa Directory, 1899 (Amritsar, 1900). Both are in Panjabi.

19. Punjab Book Catalogue for the quarter ending March 1911, in Punjab Gazette, 1911 (Supplement), pp. 105-106. One example is Kapt Binash ["Death to a Falsehood](Peshawar: 1911), criticism of Hamare Guru Sahib Vedon Ke Pairon The ("Our Guru Was a Follower of the Vedas".)

20. Munsha Singh Dukhi, Jivan Bhai Sahib, pp. 186-189, 222.

21. Munsha Singh Dukhi, Jivan Bhai Sahib, pp. 132-133. See, for example, Sidaq De Bere Par (Lahore, 1910), a four-page essay on the advantages of total surrender to the will of God. The Sikh Handbill Society was begun at approximately the same time.

22. Drawn from police reports on the Punjab press (NAI, Home Public and Home Political files), and research in Sikh papers (particularly, Khalsa Akhbar, Khalsa Advocate, Shudhi Pattar, and Khalsa Gazette.)

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23. Jagjit Singh, "Singh Sabha Lahir."

24. Amar Singh, Singh Sabha Lahir, pp. 75-76, 128. A jagir also supported the Guru Nanak Parkash Press. Harbans Singh, Panjab, p. 138.

25. Information on these and other papers can be found in the press reports. Reproduced in Paul Wallace and N.G. Barrier. Also, see Bhagat Lakshman Singh, Autobiography, ed. by Ganda Singh (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 105-144.

26. Background in Wallace and Barrier, The Punjab Press; also, Barrier, The Sikhs, pp. 74-88.

27. Statistics from the Khalsa Directory, 1899, and organizational files based on data from newspapers and Punjab administrative reports.

28. For example, Dharm Ate Vidya Prachar Sri Guru Singh Sabha Lahore Di Report (Lahore, 1880); Niyam (Lahore, 1887).

29. Khalsa Fund Report, 1904-5 (Ferozepur, 1905), p. 1, Author's translation from Panjabi.

30. A list, and discussion of these materials, can be found in Barrier, The Sikhs, pp. 61-70. On Ferozepur, see Ferozepur Singh Sabha Da Report (Ferozepur, 1905).

31. Exemplified by a petition from an Amritsar Sikh deputation censuring the Kukas and denying that they represented Sikh opinion. Reprinted in the supplement to the Punjab Gazette, March 28, 1872, pp. 264-265.

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32. For example, Ajit Singh, The Guru Prescribed Duties of Sikh to the British Empire (Lahore, 1914); Sadhu Singh, Sada Te Sarkar Angrezi Da Piyar (Dharowal, 1916).

33. Petitions and discussion in the following: Government of India Judicial, Dec. 1908, 94-95B; Dec. 1908, 37B; Home-Medical, July 1908, 11-12A; March 1909, 126-127A(NAI).

34. On Sikh politics, see Khushwant Singh, Ghadar (New Delhi, 1968); Vidya Sagar Suri, A Brief Biographical Sketch of Sohan Lal Pathak (Patiala, 1968); Gadar Parti Da Itihas (Jullundur, 1961); F.C. Isemonger and J. Slattery, An Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy, 1913-1915 (Lahore, 1919).

35. Background in the following: Ruchi Ram Sahni, Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines, 2nd ed. (Amritsar, 1964); Ganda Singh (ed.), "The Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandak Committee, 1921-2," Panjab Past and Present 7, pt. 2:252-310 (Oct. 1967).

36. Background in Barrier, The Sikhs, pp. 74-88, and annual confidential reports on the Punjab press, Government of India Home Political, 1921-1925.

37. The author's research on proscription indicates that over 200 tracts were published on the Akali-gurdwara reform efforts. Sikh developments and the banning process will be examined in a forthcoming volume, Barrier, Banned: Political Control and Controversial Literature in British India, 1907-1947 (University of Missouri Press, ca. 1974).

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38. Nahar Singh, "Developments in Sikh Politics, 1900-1911," in English section, Gurduara Gazette, April 1969, pp. 40-41.

39. Based on study of proscription lists and the collection of banned material in the NAI, IOL and BM.

40. Khalsa Pracharak Vidyala Dusri Salana Report, 1907-8 (Amritsar, 1908), pp. 18-22. Unfortunately there is no survey of these institutional libraries.

41. Shamsher Singh, Prasidh, p. 33.

42. Munshra Singh Dukhi, Jivan Bhai Sahib, pp. 63, 252.

43. Dukh Nivaran, May 1913, pp. 3-4. On Monah Singh's view of history, see Munsha Singh Dukhi, Jivan Bhair Sahib, pp. 14, 54, 244-245. He also paid the expenses of a historian, Bhai Karam Singh, and assisted in his research. Bhai Takht Singh and others acted in a similar fashion.

44. Background in N.G. Barrier, "South Asia in Vernacular Publications," Journal of Asian Studies 28:803-810 (Aug. 1969).

45. The system discussed in the essay on banned literature, this volume.

46. Mr. J.H. Eisenegger and Mr. Peter Stocks supplied the totals for the British Museum; IOL totals extracted from Stanley C. Sutton, A Guide to the India Office Library (London, 1967), p. 17. Proscription totals based on personal tabulation.

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47. The following exemplify the range: Akhiri Paighambar (Sialkot, 1894); Sardar Gurmukh Singh, Guru Nanak Prakash (Lahore, 1891); Ditt Singh, Tara Singh Di Shahidi (Lahore, 1899).

48. For instance, Ghadr Parti Ki Sangrah (San Francisco, 1922); SGPC, The Jaito Affair (Amritsar, 1924). A full list will be provided in the author's forthcoming book on banned literature.

49. Full bibliographical information and background on the catalogues in Barrier, "South Asia in Vernacular Publications."

50. Ibid.

51. The British Museum general catalogue has been reprinted and is generally available.

52. A full listing of the Hindu, Urdu, Panjabi and English-language banned works, with call numbers, will be provided in Barrier, Banned. Also, see the essay on banned literature in this volume.

53. The proscribed set contains 100 Urdu, 110 English, 550 Hindi, and 30 Panjabi tracts. Many Urdu and Panjabi titles, and approximately 125 Hindi publications, deal with the Sikhs.

54. Estimate based on a rapid shelf-reading in 1968. This suggests that the collection probably is the most important on nineteenth century Punjab. No other library, for example, has depth in the pre-1890 period.

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55. The Khalsa Advocate and the Khalsa Samachar are on film with the Nehru Museum and Library, and the South Asia Microfilm Project (Center for Research Libraries, Chicago).

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PRINTED LITERATURE OF THE PUNJABI MUSLIMS, 1860-1900

Edward Churchill

There lie in the libraries both public and private of India and Pakistan and in the British Museum and the India Office Library extensive collections of vernacular printed materials pertaining to the history of the Punjabi Muslims of the 19th and 20th centuries. Only recently have scholars begun to use this literature in any systematic way. Most scholars must cope with the problems of language and accessibility. All must cope with incomplete or brief listings of what was printed during this period and then frequently embark on a fruitless search for a particular publication. For the years prior to 1867 there is no complete list of what was produced at the presses of the Punjab and for subsequent years while such a list does exist the information is all too often perfunctory. While much still needs to be known about what exactly does exist and the historical uses to which it can be put, all indications are that this is rich hunting ground for trained scholars. This essay is an overview of Muslim publications 1860-1900 and an effort to describe the diversity of this literature and to discuss its value to historians. It will focus on the Punjab but unavoidably will spill over into the activities of the Muslims in other parts of North India.

The guides to this printed material are well known to scholars in the field. While useful they do little to evaluate the publica-

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tions. For books and pamphlets the Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjab, a quarterly report started in 1867, provides a list of printed works. For newspapers and journals there are several government reports; from 1848 to 1853 the Reports on Native Presses in the North West Provinces which includes Delhi and Lahore, from 1865 to 1880 the Annual Return of Presses worked and Newspapers or Periodical works published in the Punjab and then from 1880 on the Report on the Vernacular Newspapers of the Punjab. A useful summary of publications in all provinces is the Report of Publications issued and registered in the several provinces of British India which first appeared in 1874 and provides information on the languages, editions, and literary categories of all publications. In addition it discusses literary trends and singles out works of merit according to government interests. It is best used with the catalogue of books.

Other useful guides to Muslim publications are Ganda Singh's A Bibliography of the Punjab (Patiala, 1966), a bibliography of works on the history and culture of the Punjab in Indian and foreign languages and N. Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace's The Punjab Press 1880-1905 (East Lansing, 1970) a valuable editing of newspaper reports. For publications prior to 1870 the works of Garcin De Tassy are incomparable. His interests were literary but he summarizes and assesses most Hindi and Urdu publications. His La Langue et la Litterature Hindoustanee de 1850 a 1869 (Paris, 1874) is a collection of 19 annual discourses on the nature and progress of Hindi and Urdu literature. Much of his life's work is contained in his three volume history of Hindi

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and Urdu literature, Histoire de la Litterature Hindouie et Hindoustanie (Paris, 1870, second edition) which is an alphabetical list of authors and a discussion of their works. Finally Muin ud-Din Ahmad Khan's A Bibliographical Introduction to Modern Islamic Development in India and Pakistan 1700-1955 (Dacca, 1959) is an annotated guide to many of the works of prominent Muslims involved in the religious-intellectual movements of this period.

The Totals of Muslim Publications

We must begin by examining some of the totals involved; the number and variety of publications and the language frequency and uses for the Punjab and for the Muslims in particular.

Books and Pamphlets

According to government records, while the total annual production of books and pamphlets for the Punjab increased from about 350 in the late 1860's to 1350[1] in the decade before 1914, the portion of this written by a Muslim or produced to meet the demands of the Muslim community declined from a high of 48% in 1873 to 28% in 1913 [Table I]. Despite a number of uncertainties about the preciseness of these figures the percentages and the decline do not seem unlikely. The Muslims of the Punjab were more active than other communities in the first years of printing and publishing, they owned most of the presses and edited a large number of newspapers and journals. Muslims were also the first community to wage a pamphlet war

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Table I

Muslim Books and Pamphlets as % of the Total

(excludes periodicals)

[1]Five Year Average	[2]Every Fifth Year	[3] Muslim Publications	3 as % of 2
1867-1868 ------	586 (1867-68)	258	44%
1869-1873 379.0	512 (1873)	246	48%
1874-1878 721.6	770 (1878)	352	46%
1879-1883 896.6	1422 (1883)	621	44%
1884-1888 1547.4	2058 (1888)	956	46%
1889-1893* 1423.8	1327 (1893)	560	42%
1894-1898 1034.8	1258 (1898)	535	43%
1899-1903 1217.8	1350 (1903)	505	37.4%
1904-1908 1379.8	1238 (1908)	433	35%
1909-1913 1385.2	1576 (1913)	436	28%

Compiled from the Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjab

After 1890 reprints and translations did not have to be reported which accounts for the drop in 5 year averages.

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against the missionaries and to use the press to support a popular religious movement. While the Mutiny disrupted Muslim life in the north many of the presses remained under Muslim control. Muslim predominance began to decline in the 1880's as Hindu, Sikh and official publications grew. also, as publications were produced more for popular consumption the lower literacy rate among the Muslims and their minority status in the eastern districts contributed to the decline. In round figures from 1867 to 1914, one can project that between 70 and 80 thousand books and pamphlets were printed in the Punjab of which 25 to 30 thousand were written by a Muslim or published to meet the needs of the community.[2]

Publications for any one year can be broken down further. More than half the number of publications were either reprints or translations, one of the signs of a developing literature. Between 20 - 25% of all publications were educational and were intended for use in government and traditional schools: most of these were published by the Education Department. Finally, publications in the subject categories of religion, poetry and language comprised more than half the total. The division of Muslim publications into the subject categories used in the government reports Table II is slightly misleading because the categories are drawn from the western literary tradition but it does reflect general strengths and proportions.

Punjabi Muslims used eight languages in their publications, four on a regular basis [Table III]. The number of Arabic and

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Table II

Muslim Publications by Subject

(excludes periodicals).

Subject	1867-68	1873	1878	1883	1888	1893	1898	1903	1908	1913
Art								3		5
Biography		1	1	8	8	12	15	7	16	
Drama				2	24	8	7	1	9	5
Fiction	29	16	2	7	8	20	27	47	13	13
History	12	13	13	5	10	16	23	6	3	10
Language	43	48	74	150	186	64	92	28	35	27
Law	4	5		3	6	8	14	8	14	5
Medicine	7	8	10	22	14	20	16	13	15	14
Miscellaneous	16	22	35	46	78	48	59	47	61	61
Poetry	11	11	54	211	300	156	133	143	120	156
Philosophy	3	4	2	1	2		3	1	4	
Politics									1	1
Religion	129	117	158	149	292	196	132	188	144	115
Science, Math & Mechanical	4	2	3	18	20	12	14			
Science: Natural & Other				4	6	4	1	5	7	8
Travel				2	2		2			
TOTAL	258	246	352	621	956	560	535	505	433	436

Compiled from Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjab

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Table III

Languages used by Muslims

(excludes periodicals)

For each year [a] number of publications, [b] % of publications in all languages

	1867-68 a	1867-68 b	1873 a	1873 b	1878 a	1878 b	1883 a	1883 b	1888 a	1888 b	1893 a	1893 b	1898 a	1898 b	1903 a	1903 b	1908 a	1908 b	1913 a	1913 b
ENGLISH	1	.3	1	.4					4	.4	4	.7	11	.2	1	.2	6	1.5	4	.9
ARABIC	42	16.3	37	15	57	16	89	14.3	115	12	48	8.6	45	8.4	31	6.1	19	4.4	6	1.4
URDU	114	44.2	102	41.5	161	45.7	225	36.2	359	37.6	283	50.6	276	51.6	241	47.7	210	48.2	223	51.2
PERSIAN	74	28.7	52	21.1	54	15.4	72	11.6	89	9.3	40	7.1	29	5.4	21	4.2	6	1.5	8	1.8
PUNJABI	24	9.3	51	20.7	65	18.5	139	22.4	213	22.3	88	15.7	80	14.9	121	23.9	87	20.1	99	22.7
HINDI			1	.4	4	1.1	7	1.1	8	.8							1	.2	1	.2
PUSHTO	3	1.2	2	.9	11	3.1	16	2.6	23	2.4	11	2	6	1.1	7	1.4	2	.5	13	2.9
SINDHI									18	1.9	28	5	5	1	15	3	5	1.2	12	2.8
MULTILINGUAL																				
URDU							73	11.8	93	9.7	55	9.8	75	14	50	9.9	62	14.3	46	10.6
PUNJABI									20	2.1	3	.5	3	.6	10	2	15	3.5	3	.7
MIXED									14	1.5			5	1	8	1.6	20	4.6	21	4.8
TOTAL MUSLIM	258		246		352		621		956		560		535		505		433		436	

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Persian publications remained about the same but declined as a percent of the total. This seems to have been the result of constant demand for certain kinds of works. Government records must be used carefully here as many Arabic and Persian works were translations and reprints, and not reported after 1890. For the Punjab as a whole Punjabi grew dramatically to the point where it was about equal with Urdu, but the Punjabi speaking Muslims did not contribute to this growth. Publishing activities for the Muslims were dominated by Urdu speakers, the educated urban Muslim of the eastern districts. Pushto and Sindhi spoken in the less developed, less literate parts of the Punjab were employed largely on an experimental basis while Hindi and English were hardly used at all.

Broad language patterns can also be identified. Some classical works, religious, literary and medical almost always appeared in Arabic or Persian with or without an Urdu or Punjabi translation. Urdu was the standard language of the press replacing Persian as a literary language in history, biography, poetry, and fiction including tales and fables. Urdu was also employed by the education department, for official notices and as the major language of translation from Arabic, Persian and English. Punjabi remained the language of the rural Muslim and was used for a more indigenous type of literature, i.e., secular love tales, bazaar songs, folk legends and religious works related to saint worship and shrine rituals. It was used almost exclusively in verse. Today there is considerable difference in the prestige and social uses of

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Urdu and Punjabi in Pakistan.[3] One imagines the differences were even greater in the 19th century. Pushtu and Sindhi appeared primarily in religious works and poetry.

It is more difficult to explain why an author who was proficient in many languages would use a particular language for a particular work. Siddiq Hasan Khan, one of the founders of the Ahl-i-Hadith, for example, wrote a total of 222 books and pamphlets, 74 in Arabic, 45 in Persian and 103 in Urdu.[4] He did not seem to use the languages in a systematic way but switched constantly.[5] Shibli Nu'ami on the other hand was ever conscious of the type of work, the circumstances under which he wrote it and who might read it. He composed his pamphlets refuting the writings of Abdul Haiy of Farangi Mahal in Arabic in answer to works in Arabic and he wrote similar pamphlets in Urdu for a wider audience.[6] It appears there were many factors involved in the selection of a language, the intentions of the author, the circumstances, the desired audience, the type of work and perhaps a few less tangible considerations.

Newspapers and Journals

Many of the same patterns of Muslim involvement are evident with the periodical publications of the Punjab. The number of newspapers and journals published in the Punjab in the late 19th century is somewhat staggering. Barrier and Wallace's useful guide for the years 1880-1905 lists 419 different periodicals. Few, of course, lasted more than a year or two and many did nothing more than reprint news from English and vernacular papers.

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The number of periodicals which had Muslims in all managerial positions[7] or which were clearly geared to the interests of the community for random years between 1865-1900 is illustrated below and shows that Muslims played a prominent if somewhat varied role in their publication.

MUSLIMS AND PERIODICAL LITERATURE[8]

	65-66	70-71	73-74	1880	1885	1889	1893	1900
Total Periodicals	37	26	22	31	56	78	79	129
Muslim periodicals	24	7	10	20	29	44	35	53
% Muslim	65	27	45	65	52	56	44	41

Virtually every Muslim social and religious movement at this time attempted to establish its own periodical. Success usually depended on the amount of outside financial backing as a periodical very rarely was able to pay for itself. Most presses made their profits from pamphlets and circulars and a periodical would be attempted only as a supplement to other printing activities and most likely as a financial experiment.

Periodicals became more specialized as the number increased. In the 1860's and 70's newspapers printed both news and literature. Literary journals eventually came into their own and from 1880 on, most periodicals belonged to one of three broad subject-types. (1) general news and politics, (2) religious, (3) literary. There were also a number of more specialized journals in medicine, law, and general scientific knowledge.

Urdu was the language of the vast majority of periodicals and was used by all communities. Unlike the Hindus the Muslims

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attempted few periodicals in other languages. Muslims produced only 3 out of 24 English periodicals, no Punjabi or Hindi periodicals and only 5 out of 12 bilingual periodicals: 3 English-Urdu, 1 Hindi-Urdu, 1 Urdu-Dogra. This is further indication of the fact that publications were controlled by the Urdu knowing Muslims. One must remark however on the absence of periodicals in Persian, still a language of considerable cultural and literary importance to many Muslims at this time. Persian was not the language of daily news nor of religion and was becoming less and less the language of original literary expression.

The managers of the Muslim periodicals seem to have been a small, socially diverse group switching frequently from one paper to another or starting several papers in the span of a few years. Some had little education and began their own papers after working for another paper or press. Most were members of the western educated, middle class or members of the traditional, Persianised nobility. Occasionally an energetic editor who owned his own press would write and publish in extraordinary profusion in both volume and variety. Insha-Allah Khan of Lahore, for example, edited the Vakil of Amritsar and then Vatan of Lahore, both Urdu newspapers. In addition he translated from English and Arabic into Urdu 18 major works and wrote 11 original works, including 19 works on the Ottoman Empire and Near East, 4 biographies, 5 religious books including a commentary on the Quran and several political pamphlets.[9] Mirza Hairat of Delhi and Abdul Halim Sharar of Lucknow were other prolific and diversely talented editors. A bibliographic guide to Muslim

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printed materials of the 19th and 20th centuries would shed further light on the role of individuals and be of great use to the and intellectual historians.

Now we come to the publications. What follows is a discussion of some of the publications in terms of important social and intellectual currents. A great deal can be learned about Muslim society and attitudes by a systematic examination of these works. Some of the promising areas are indicated below.

Religious Reawakening and Muslim Sects

When the printing press first spread through the Punjab in the 1850's and 1860's the Muslim community was in the process of adjusting to the failures and harmful tactics of the religious-political movements of the first half of the 19th century. The so-called Wahabis, the Tariqa-i-Muhammadia of Saiyad Ahmad Barelvi in the 1820's and 1830's the Sadiqpur family of Patna in the 1840's and 1850's, had sought political and religious-military (jihad) solutions to the problem of Muslim weakness and were effectively checked by a series of British military campaigns and the trial and deportation of their leaders. The community then turned to more promising ways of self improvement. Of several new activities religious education and the verbal defense of Islam against its enemies figured prominently. Verbal combat (manazara) gave way to use of the sword (jihad). The printing press expanded the scope of activities in both areas.

The vast majority of Muslims in the latter 19th century continued to regard Muslim weakness as essentially religious, a

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matter of faith and practice. While the goal was a stronger more viable community, the result of efforts to unite the community was, paradoxically, the continuation and even promotion of divisions within Islam. The leaders of the community, the ulama and many of the traditional, Persianized nobility, were still too immersed in old patterns of thought to be able to deal effectively with communal unity. In the Punjab the divisions included the long standing rift between the Sunnis and Shi'as and the resistance within both to Sufi practices. The Sunni community, the largest by far, was further divided into Hanafis, Wahabis, Ahl-i-Hadith and the Ahmadis. For the most part these sects rejected Western Civilization and Culture and held aloof form government programs and schemes to involve Indians in education, the civil service, and the political process.

The publications of the religious reawakening were numerous and varied. In quantity Muslim religious publications far out stripped other religions [Table IV]. This can be attributed to the many divisions within Islam and the fact that Muslims were disputing among themselves more than they were with the missionaries or such Hindu groups as the Arya Samaj. Many of the Muslim publications had no obvious sectarian bias, were routine by nature and produced almost by force of habit. This included prayers, rituals, observances, religious poetry, etc. A substantial portion however were affected by the divisions within Islam and it is to them that we shall turn.

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Table IV

Number of Religious Publications in the Punjab

Year	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh	Christian	Arya Samaj	Brahmo Samaj	Other	Total
1874	29	20	11	53		3		116
1875	51	97		52				180
1876	104	81		53				238
1877	55	48		43				146
1878	127	56		120				303
1879	66	67		14				147
1883								378
1884	165	49	16	37	3	26		296
1885	142	40	19	55	4	20		280
1886	265	65	52	103	9	36		530
1887	214	73	69	87	21	17		481
1888	299	77	70	91	34	21	2	594
1889	307	92	73	51	29	21		573
1890	227	36	20	71	16	17	1	388
1891	188	26	15	40	8	13	2	292
1892	217	24	41	62	27	17	7	395
1893	238	34	19	54	17	3	12	377
1894	132	22	16	21	12	4		207
1895								279
1896	121	34	19	8	8	4		194
1897	140	31	17	28	40	15		271
1898	158	46	28	36	42	2	6	318

Compiled from: Report of Publications issued and registered in the several Provinces of British India for the years 1874-79; 1884-94; 1896-98.

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Religious Authority

The works of highest religious authority, the Quran, Hadith, Fiqh, or textual Islam, were of course published frequently. Arabic was still the final language in religious matters but the necessity of adapting Islamic languages and custom to the exigencies of a time and place, a need strongly emphasized by Shah Wali-Allah (1703-1762), had become generally recognized by the middle of the 19th century. Most texts contained the original Arabic and a Persian or Urdu interlinear translation; Persian gradually giving away to Urdu as the popular vehicle. These texts were widely printed and were important to the spread of religious education. One would like to know more about the role of these publications in popularizing and Indianizing textual Islam.

The Quran, the one source accepted by all Muslims, was widely printed in all Muslim languages and in sections, chapters, selections on topics as well as in its entirety. Separate editions differed according to the notes or commentaries attached to them. The most popular was the translation and commentary, Muzih-ul-Duran of Abdul Qadir, third son of Shah Wali-Allah which was first printed in Calcutta in 1829 and reprinted many times in the Punjab (Delhi, 1866, 68, 76, 82, 90, 95, 98, etc.). Among other Arabic-Urdu versions were those by Nazir Ahmad (Delhi, 1896) and Mirza Hairat (Delhi, 1902) for the Sunnis, Siddiq Hasan Khan (Lahore, 1889; Delhi, 1889) and Abu'l-Wafa Sana-Allah (Amritsar, 1896) for the

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Ahl-i-Hadith, Muhammad Husain (Lucknow, 1895) for the Sh'ias, Saiyad Ahmad Khan (Aligarh, 1880; Lahore, 1903) for the rationalists, Imad-ud-Din (Amritsar, 1894) for the missionaries and a version in roman character (Ludhiana, 1876) for the non-Muslim. A comparison of these translations and commentaries and others would undoubtedly show interesting if subtle differences in the interpretation of Islamic doctrine for the 19th century Muslim community. The study of the Quran was aided by numerous concordances, indeces, dictionaries, glossaries, prayers etc., a vast literature unto itself and much of which found its way into print in the Punjab.

Interpretation of the Quran often depended on the Hadith, the accounts of the precepts and practices of Muhammad. Study of the Hadith had received new impetus with the revival of ijtihad, independent judgment, in the 18th century and with the refusal of members of the Ahl-i-Hadith to accept any authority other than the Quran and Hadith. It was still however a text for specialists and upper level students and was not published as widely as the Quran. Nor were the full standard collections of Hadith such as Bukhari's Tashil-ul-Kani (Arabic), Faiz-ul-Bari (Urdu) translated by Muhammad Abu'l Hasan, (Lahore, 1887-95) and Muslim's Sahih, translated by Wahi-uz-Zaman (Lahore, 1886-89), translated into Urdu until the late 19th century. The common form of Hadith and one that lent itself well to printing was the Arba'in or Chihal Hadith, the practice of compiling 40 traditions on a subject or problem. These were either taken from many works

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as Abdul Ali's Fazail-wa-adab-i-durud-wa-salam (Lahore, 1871) from Arabic and Persian sources concerning the giving of salutations and congratulations. Or, excerpted in their entirety from the original collections eg., Bukhari's Khair-ul-Kalam (Delhi, 1882) translation by Abdul Haiy on the traditions pertaining to the repeating of prayer after the Imam of the service, a Shi'a tract. The smaller collections of Hadith were well suited to the proselytizing efforts of the different sects. They often focused on minutia of practice but a survey might reveal many addressed to some of the more substantive social and religious problems facing the Muslims.

Beyond the Quran and Hadith were the traditional schools of law only one of which, Hanafi, established itself in India. The original texts of Abu Hanifa, Abu Yusuf and al-Shaybani while used in India seldom found their way into print except in the original Arabic. The later handbooks, the Hidaya of Marghinani (Delhi, 1889) and the Fatawa-ul-Alamgiriya (Lucknow, 1889) were often printed. So too were some of the Hanbali texts, perhaps the result of renewed interest in the earliest Islamic law by the Ahl-i-Hadith.

Among other publications of religious authority were the works of contemporary ulama whose writings while subordinate to the higher sources of Muslim law carried special weight because of the relevance of their pronouncements to immediate problems. Literally hundreds of ulama wrote works on all aspects of Islamic law; some will be mentioned below with the different sects. A few theologians held a preeminent position and served as special

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sources of authority for 19th century Muslims. The publication of their works was one index of their popularity and, perhaps more important, an indication of what the 19th century Muslim found of value in their writings. Shah Wali-Allah, an ulama who was studied by Muslims of such diverse views as Saiyad Ahmad Khan and Siddiq Hasan Khan, for example, wrote over 100 tracts and books in Persian and Arabic on the Quran, Hadith, Fiqh, Philosophy, Sufism, History, Biography, Politics, etc. According to what was printed and translated into Urdu, Muslims of the 19th century were most interested in his writings on ijtihad as put forth in such works as Iqd-ul-Jid (Delhi, 1892) an Urdu translation by Muhammad Ahsan Siddiqi of an Arabic work on the extent to which private judgment may be used and Al Insaf fi Bayan Saba-ul-Ikhtilaf (Delhi, 1891) an Urdu translation by Muhammad Ahsan Siddiqi of an Arabic work on the origin of the different schools of jurisprudence. Since the 1940's Muslims have taken an interest in all his works and particularly those on polity.

Opinions on points of religious law were also dispersed by ulama through a pronouncement known as a fatwa, plural fatawa. These were given in answer to a question which could be posed by any Muslim and usually attracted considerable attention within the community. Many fatawa although not all were printed and appeared as a single fatwa on a point of law as Muhammad Amanat Allah's Fatwa (Lucknow, 1877) on the distinction between the terms "slave" and "servant" of God or as many fatawa on a single point as Fatawa-ul-Makiyat (Madras, 1867) of decisions of ulama

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regarding the Wahabis or as a collection of fatawa by an ulama. Collectively these fatawa indicate what was bothering the Muslim community. Maulvi Abdul Haiy's three volume collection of Fatawa, for example, included answers to the questions: Can prayers be offered in a running train? Is it permitted to take allopathic medicine which contains alcoholic ingredients? Is it permissible to accept service under the English government?[10]

Education

The revival and reform of religious education was one of the most important activities of Muslims committed to a religious renewal. While separate educational institutions and religious training was promoted by the different sects, a subject on which a great deal more needs to be known, there were madrasahs like the Dar-ul-Ulum, Deoband which were supported by several sects, in this case the Hanafis and Ahl-i-Hadith. The full extent of educational activities at all levels up to 1900 is not known but clearly important beginnings were made. Publications relating to these efforts appeared in several areas; texts for the different curriculum, reports of institutions, and discussion about aspects of education.

Most effort seems to have gone into establishing and maintaining upper level madrasahs which trained ulama in religious and Arabic disciplines. There were several well known madrasahs located at Deoband, Bareilly, Khairabad, Delhi, Lucknow etc. and a score of lesser known institutions. In the Punjab alone there were at least 50 upper level madrasahs claiming to teach religious and Arabic disciplines.[11]

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The curriculum followed at most of these madrasahs was based on the reforms of Nizam-ud-Din in the 18th century and was known as the Dars-i-Nizamia.[12] The texts of the curriculum were mostly in Arabic some of which appeared in print while a few like the Muzahir-i-haq (Delhi, 1849) an Urdu translation of the Arabic Mishkat-ul-Masabih, a collection of traditions regarding Muhammad, were translated. The demand for these texts does not seem to have resulted in their wide spread publication.

A revised curriculum comprising more subjects and texts[13] was drawn up by the founders of the Dar-ul-Ulum at Deoband, founded 1867, and later of the Nadwat-ul-Ulama at Lucknow, founded 1896. These revised curricula, particularly that at Deoband, represented the efforts of certain ulama to expand the scope of studies to meet the changing needs of the community. Expressed another way, these curricula reflect how the ulama defined the needs of the community at this time. Although Deoband was located outside the Punjab the curriculum reforms did influence madrasahs in the Punjab.[14] An examination of the Punjab publications lists would help to indicate the extent of demand for these texts.

Information about the best of the madrasahs is available in such published reports as Deoband Arabic School, Report for the Year A.H. 1824 (Meerut, 1868) and for successive years and Proceedings of Nadwat-ul-Ulama (Lucknow, 1894). A separate madrasah was established for Shi'as in Delhi in 1891 and is

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described in Jalsah-i-Gulshan-i-Ta'lim (Saharanpur, 1893) which is the proceedings of the first Imamiya Educational Congress and the second annual report of the Madrasah-i-Imamiya. An interesting example of a report on a less well known madrasah is Kaifiyat-i-Salanah (Lahore, 1873) by Maulvi Abdul Ali Qari which is a report on the efforts of an individual to establish a madrasah in Amritsar, his successes and failures and a report on the school by Maulvi Karim-ud-Din, deputy inspector of schools. A good guide to the extensive secondary literature in both English and Urdu on these madrasahs is Ziaul Haque's Muslim Religious Education in Indo-Pakistan: an Annotated Bibliography (University of Chicago, 1972).

Publications relating to lower lever madrasahs which gave an elementary education in Persian and Urdu and to the maktabs which read the Quran and imparted basic religious instruction pertain to the curriculum and works giving general advice. There were so many more students in these schools than in the upper level madrasahs that the demand for certain works is clearly reflected in the publications lists and library catalogues. Texts used frequently included: for language instruction, primers, letter writers and the letters of Ghalib; for instruction in ethics, the Guldasta-i-Akhlaq, Qissa-i-Shah-i-Rum, Dharm Singh ka Qissa, and many other such ethical and romantic stories; the poems of Zauq and Ghalib, and for women Nazir Ahmad's Mirat-ul-Urus and Taubat-un-Nasuh. Guidance on aspects of education included rules for the training of children as in Abdul Karim's Tahzib-ul-Itful (Meerut, 1878) which discusses the curriculum texts and

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rules to be observed while at school, guides to good teaching as in Maulvi Karim-ud-Din's Isharat-ul-Ta'lim (Lahore, 1866) a translation of a work by C.W.W. Alexander, advice on the management of schools as in Pandit Iqbal Kishan's Miyar-ul-Ta'lim (Lahore, 1892) and rules for the education of children, Muhammad Abbas' Nek Akhtar (Delhi, 1870).

There were also numerous commentaries on the education of women a question which seemed to cut across religious groups. The Muslim elite (ashraf) were among the most conservative on this matter. The issue was not whether women should be educated but the kind of education they should receive. Muhammad Zahir-ud-Din's Fawaid-ul-Nisa (Lucknow, 1873) is typical of what was written. It discusses the benefits of educating women and, then, citing religious texts asserts that women are less capable and less intelligent than men and therefore should receive a different kind of education. He then lists and discusses the texts which should and should not be taught to women. A less conservative approach is taken in Minhaj-ul-Ta'lim (Lucknow, 1865) which was published by the Bareilly Literary Society. The obstacles to educating women as well as the ways of overcoming these obstacles are discussed followed by an appeal to the citizens of Bareilly.

Popular Tracts

The quest for the religious awakening of the community promoted numerous publications on a more popular level as

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well. The content and form of the works on religious authority were not significantly affected by the printing press, it was a traditional literature slightly altered for purposes of publication. Many of the works of this section on the other hand were new in form and function. The press was being used in new ways to serve the social and ideological goals of the different sects. Some of the more obvious functions these tracts fulfilled were: to promote social and religious reform in easy to read pamphlets, to enumerate correct doctrine in simple terms, to promote continuity with the past and justification for present actions, to dispute charges from other sources and to make counter charges, and to publicize the aims and accomplishments of organizations.

These tracts are the raw material of social and intellectual history. Some valuable work has already been done on the Muslims eg., Spencer Lavan's "The Nature and Role of the Ahmadiyah Movement in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century India" (unpublished dissertation, McGill, 1970) and K.A. Nizami, "Socio-religious Movements in Indian Islam, 1763-1898", in Islamic Culture (July, 1970). There are many areas in need of further exploration, for example: the nature and growth of antagonism between the sects and between Muslims, Christians and Hindus, the adaptation of traditional concepts and institutions to the new conditions of the 19th century, the change of religious customs, values and images, a study of the authors. In the

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following summary of the different kinds of publications associated with each sect, the focus will be on the teachings and reforms of the Muslim sects. The dispute with missionaries and Hindus is covered in a separate section.

Wahabis and Ahl-i-Hadith

The Wahabis and Ahl-i-Hadith are considered in succession because the Ahl-i-Hadith broke off from the Wahabi Movement as the latter began to loose support. The Ahl-i-Hadith emerged in the 1870's and 1880's and represented a backing away from the use of religio-political measures and a resistance by the Ahl-i-Hadith to the return to taqlid or adherence to one of the legal schools the drift was seen in the writings of Karamat Ali and others. The Wahabis had rejected taqlid with any one Imam but were still willing to select as necessary from any one of the four schools of law. The Ahl-i-Hadith went one step further and rejected all taqlid. Beyond these matters both sects focused on efforts to purify Islamic belief and practice.[15]

Publications about the Wahabi Movement continued to appear throughout the 19th century inspite of official displeasure with such publications.[16] The teachings and activities of Saiyad Ahmad Shahid and his close associates were described by several admirers. The Nawab of Tonk, Wazir-ud-daula, was an active supporter and recorded a great deal about the early movement some of which found its way into print in Wasaya-i-Waziri (Agra, 1882). Muhammad Jafar Thanesari, a leader deported to the Andamans at the Amballa Trials, returned 18 years later to write about the movement and Saiyad Ahmad Shahid in Sawanih Ahmadi

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(Delhi, 1309 AH) and about the trials and his sufferings in Tarikh Ajib or Kalapani (Lahore, 1880; Amballa, 1884). Shah Ismail Shahid and Abdul Haiy, early supporters and leaders wrote about Saiyad Ahmad Shahid in Sirat-ul-Mustaqim (Lahore, 1901) and Siddiq Hasan Khan assessed the entire movement in Tarjuman-i-Wahabiyat (Agra, 1883; Banaras, 1898). Other works include a biography of Saiyad Ahmad Shahid and Shah Ismail Shahid by a staunch Hanafi, Mirza Hairat, Hayat-i-Taiyibah (Delhi, 1895) and Khwaja Abdul Haq's Jihad-i-Millat (Lahore, n.d.) an historical and favorable assessment of the Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya.

The publication of the teachings of Saiyad Ahmad Shahid and of the writings of other Wahabi leaders, Shah Muhammad Ismail Shahid, Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Wilayat Ali, Inayat Ali, Fayyaz Ali were also frequently printed and helped keep the memory of the movement alive. Among Shah Muhammad Ismail Shahid's published works was Taqwiyat-ul-Iman (Delhi, 1853, 1875, 1876) a theological treatise urging Muslims to weed out extraneous matter. Later this was translated into English by Mir Hashmat Ali as Support of the Faith (Lahore, 1920's). In addition, nine different essays by members of the Sadiqpur family in Urdu and Persian were published as Risail-i-Tisa (Delhi, n.d.). A systematic survey of what was printed or translated from Arabic or Persian into Urdu would give an indication of what late 19th century Muslims found valuable in the Wahabi Movement.

There were earlier pamphlets associated with the Wahabi Movement. In fact the Sadiqpur family of Patna in the 1850's

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was the first to use Urdu and the printing press on behalf of a popular movement. Most of these earlier pamphlets were suppressed,[17] but one would like to know more about these publications.

The Ahl-i-Hadith, picking up where the Wahabis had left off, were a vigorous puritanical reform movement more strict on some matters of doctrine and practice than their predecessors but anxious to return to the original, "pure" form of Islam. They were also eager to overcome the reputation for violence and disloyalty earned by the mujahidin and in 1883 were finally able to win official recognition of the fact that they were not Wahabis and should not be referred to as such. Seemingly as a substitute for earlier methods, they adopted and used the printing press as a major weapon. There were scores of authors writing hundreds of pamphlets.[18] Among the most prominent authors were Muhammad Ubaid-Allah, Abu Said Muhammad Husain Batalvi, Sheikh Muhaiy-ud-Din, Abu'l Wafa Sana-Allah, Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Maulvi Din Muhammad and Saiyad Nazir Husain. A social study of both the Wahabis and Ahl-i-Hadith is badly needed. An article in a file on the Wahabis of the Punjab dated 1876 describes their support as coming from "the literate and respectable lower middle classes of pre-industrial society." They seem to have had little appeal for professional men, large landholders or those with an English education.[19]

Among the most important beliefs of the Ahl-i-Hadith was that of the unity of Allah and the denial of hidden powers of

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special status to any of his creatures. No institution, individual or text should come between man and Allah. In the matter of religious authority this meant rejecting taqlid and the writings of the four Imams and returning to the shari'a. In matters of ritual and worship it meant discarding such practices as saint worship, visiting tombs, adulation of the Imams and, even, the celebration of events in the life of Muhammad. There were many publications devoted to aspects of this belief. General expositions of Wahabi doctrine as Ashra-i-Kamela-wa-Tahqiq-i-Zarb-ul-Aqdam (Lahore, 1868) by Ubaid-Allah and Muhammad Husain, Sheikh Muhaiy-ud-Din's Balagh-ul-Mubin (Lahore, 1883) and Muhammad Mahdi Ali's Partawa-i-Anwar-i-Samadi (Rangpura, 1883; Sialkot, 1884) all describe this as a major tenet of belief. More specific practices were singled out in such works as Muhammad Din's Tohfa-i-Rasulia (Lahore, 1871) which disputes the correctness of the intercession of the Saints, Mir Muhammad Husain's Hurbai Faqir bar Ahl-i-Tazwir (Delhi, 1874) which condemns meetings to celebrate the birth of Muhammad and Ahmad Hasan's Talkhis-ul-Anzar (Delhi, 1874) which ridicules blind adherence to the teachings of the Imams.

Many other social and religious practices were singled out by the Ahl-i-Hadith as corruptions of Islam. The prohibition of widow remarriage and spending large sums of money on marriages and funerals were two practices which had been condemned by the Wahabis in the 1840's and 1850's. The campaign was continued

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in such works as Saiyad Hakim Shah and Chiragh Shah's Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Amurat-i-Mulalqa-i-Shadi-wa-Qami (Lahore, 1868) containing rules to be observed in marriage and mourning, Abdul Rahim's Randon ki Shadi (Delhi, 1874) which advocates widow remarriage and Sarmaya-i-Sohagan (n. p., 1892) condemning enforced widowhood.

The list of religious practices which were condemned as being unauthentic was extensive. The Ahl-i-Hadith played the role of a gadfly pestering the Hanafi Muslims on a number of fronts as part of an effort to gain recognition and, possibly, converts from the majority sect.[20] It is also true that only a few matters of substance separated the Ahl-i-Hadith and Hanafi sects. Theological debates as a result focused on the minutia of practice. Some of the issues covered in numerous publications were whether amen should be said in a loud voice, whether raising hands in prayer is proper, the number of genuflections a Sunni should make while reading the Quran in the month of Ramadan, whether God has a material throne in heaven, whether Qunut prayers were proper, and whether prayers should be offered for the souls of the deceased.

The Ahl-i-Hadith were particularly sensitive and vulnerable on the question of jihad. Leaders of the Ahl-i-Hadith went to great pains to spell out their position on the matter and to express their loyalty to the British Government in such works as Maulvi Muhammad Husain's Treatise on Jihad (Lahore, 1887) an English translation of Risalah-i-Jihad (Lahore, 1887, 1892)

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which stated that India was "dar-ul-Islam" as a safe place for as long as Islam was practiced. The challenges on this point did not come from the other Muslim sects but from the missionaries, the Government and the Arya Samaj in such works a W.W. Hunter's The Indian Musalmans (London, 1871) and Pandit Lekhram's Risalah-i-Jihad (Lahore, 1892, 1895). Muslims from many sects answered the charges in fatawa sent to the Government and published in the vernacular press. They also replied through such pamphlets as Karamat Ali's address to the Muhammadan Literary Society, Proceedings of the Muhammadan Literary Society, Nov. 23, 1870, (Calcutta, 1870) and Ghulam Nabi's Haqiqat-i-Asliyat-i-Jihad (Amritsar, 1893). It was the Ahl-i-Hadith, however, who had to live down the reputation earned by the Wahabis.

With the emergence of the Ahmadis and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's claims in 1890-91 to being the mahdi and masih, the Ahl-i-Hadith became embroiled with a new opponent. The Ahmadis, like the Ahl-i-Hadith, were a small, vigorous reform sect with a strong sense of mission. Not surprisingly they became each others major opponent within Islam. Moreover, Muslims from other sects expected Muhammad Husain of the Ahl-i-Hadith to take the lead in refuting Ahmad because he had once been favorably disposed to the Ahl-i-Hadith and because Husain had written a favorable review of Ahmad's first major work, Barahin-i-Ahmadiya, in the Ahl-i-Hadith journal, Isha'at-i-Sunnat in 1884. The verbal assault on Ahmad focused on his authority to make claims of being the mahdi and masih, on his loyalty to the Sultan and the

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British Government and on his stand on the question of jihad. Muhammad Husain, Nazir Husain, Ahmad-Allah, Abdul Qadir and others carried on the assault in public debates (mubahilla), letters to the press, fatawa, journals and publications. In 1899 the exchange between Husain and Ahmad degenerated to personal slander, prophecy and counter prophecy in what seemed to mark a new low in polemics.[21] Among publications sponsored by the Ahl-i-Hadith were two collections of fatawa against Ahmad, Saif-ul-Maslul (Rawalpindi, 1891) and Fatwa Ulama-i-Punjab-wa-Hindustan;[22] three tracts, Muhammad Jafar Thanesari's Taid-i-Asmani (n. p., 1892) a criticism of Ahmad's Nishan-i-Asmani, Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah's Shifa-un-Nas (Delhi, 1892) an attack on Ahmad; and Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Majid's Bayn un Nas (Delhi, 1893) correspondence between the author and Maulvi Muhammad Ahsan, a supporter of Ahmad; and, finally, several journals, the Isha'at-i-Sunnat of the Ahl-i-Hadith, Mulla Jafar Zatalli edited by Muhammad Bakhsh a Kashmiri, and the Paisa Akhbar.

Hanafi

The majority of Muslims of India and the Punjab were Hanafi or followers of the laws of Abu Hanafi. The vast majority of Hanafi Muslims in the 19th century were unorganized as a group and uninvolved or unaware of the tensions and dialogue between the Muslim groups. The cause of Hanafi Islam was taken up by a few reform minded ulama, sometimes referred to as the Khalis

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Hanafi, who were ahxious to reassert and restore pure Hanafi law and belief. They also sought to defend their sect against the views of the Ahl-i-Hadith, Ahmadis, Missionaries and various Hindu groups. Among many spokesmen for this group were Maulana Muhammad Ishaq, Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanotawi, Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, all of whom founded the theological seminary at Deoband, Muhammad Qutb-ud-Din, Shibli Nu'mani, Mirza Hairat etc.

Basic Hanafi doctrine and tradition was stated in such publications as Khiali (Delhi, 1871) in Arabic, a summary of the principles of the Hanafi sect, Alama-i-Tafta Zani's Sharab-i-Aquid-i-Nusfi (Delhi, 1870) in Arabic, a defense of Hanafi Islam, Qatb-ud-Din's Jami-ut-Tafasir (Delhi, 1876) a popular commentary on the Quran, Ghulam Dastgir's Umdat-ul-Bayan (Lahore, 1868) in support of Abu Hanifa, and Hadiyah-i-Hanafiyah (Madras, 1877) a summary of Hanafi doctrines.

Instructions about specific social and religious practices including diet, marriage duties, festivals, eating with Christians, Friday prayers, pilgrimages, dress, funerals etc., were described in numerous pamphlets and serve as a source for the concerns and customs of the community. They include such works as Qutb-ud-Din's Tuhfat-ul-Zaujain (Delhi, 1870) on rules relating to marriage and the duties of husbands and wives, Abdil Khpliq's Umdat-ul-Kalam (Lahore, 1872) a treatise on lawful and unlawful food, the Tahzib-ul-Niswan (Delhi, 1889) by the Begam of Bhopal on the duties of women according to tradition, Khan Ahmad

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Shah's Izhar-i-Haq (Lahore, 1875) arguing that it is lawful for Muslims to eat and drink with Christians, Muhammad Abdul Rabb's Masail-i-Sulsin (Delhi, 1853) on the advantages of going to Friday worship in the Jama Masjid, Muhammad Shah's Mukhtasar Ahkam-i-Hajj (Amritsar, 1875) instructions for pilgrims going to Mecca and Medina, Fakhr-ud-Din Ahmad's Risalah-i-Satr-i-Aurat, (Lahore, 1891) regarding rules on the privacy and dress of women, and Muhammad Imran's Risalah-i-Tajhiz-wa-Takfin (Delhi, 1876) a treatise on funeral ceremonies.

These works explaining and promoting Hanafi beliefs were surpassed in number by pamphlets written to attack and defend against other Muslim groups, missionaries and Hindu groups. Judging by the volume and tone of these disputatious works, the Hanafi Muslims were most antagonistic towards the missionaries. Hanafi response to the Shi'as, Ahl-i-Hadith, Ahmadis and Hindu groups centered on key issues and seemed to be less impassioned. The dialogue with the Shi'as was restricted to those doctrines, rituals and historical events which had been the source of discord between the Sunnis and Shi'as for centuries. The Hanafi Muslims seem to have been the only Sunni Muslims to continue this antagonism. A sampling of Hanafite works includes: refutations of Shi'a doctrine or answers to Shi'a tracts such as Saiyad Muhammad Abbas' Khilal-i-Fasil (Ludhiana, 1869) a reply to a Shi'a tract Damgul Batil, and Ghulam Dastgir's Tuhfa-i-Dastgiriya Jawab Itna Ashuriya (Lahore, 1868) in Persian, a

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reply to the beliefs of the Ithna Ashriya; debates on such historical points as whether Muhammad intended to appoint Ali as his successor as in Abu Abd-Allah's Tazkirat-ul-Haq (n. p., 1878); and Sunni objections to the celebration of Muharram in such works as Basharat Ali's Tasrih-ul-bayan (Ludhiana, 1875) and Muhammad Raza's Tuhfah-i-Ahl-ul-Ghura (Delhi, 1879).

Hanafi writings directed towards the Wahabis and Ahl-i-Hadith focused largely on defending the practice of taqlid or adhering to the teachings of one of the Imams as in such works as Maulvi Muhammad's Intishar-ul-Islam (n. p., 1878), Maulvi Saiyad-ud-Din's Tanqid-fi-Bayan-i-Taqlid (Delhi, 1869) and Sheikh Muhammad Ali's Shams-ul-Tahqiq-fi-Ibtal-it-Talfiq (Lahore, 1868) in Arabic and Urdu, an objection to the practice of following many Imams.

Hanafi response to the many charges of unauthentic practice and belief by the Ahl-i-Hadith did not match the tone, wealth of detail and volume of the accuser. Such works as Abdul Majid's Ilan-i-Dafi-i-Hazayan (Delhi, 1877) and Muhammad Shah's Balagh-ul-Mubin (Delhi, 1877), all answers to the charges of the Ahl-i-Hadith, were infrequent. Perhaps few could take the many charges of the Ahl-i-Hadith seriously or they thought that to answer in kind would only serve to publicize the issues

Other Hanafi works as Abul Mansur's Tanqih-ul-Bayan (Delhi, 1882) and Imdad al Ali's Imdad-ul-Afaq (Cawnpore, 1873) criticized the writings of Saiyad Ahmad Khan. A number of newspapers were also devoted to Hanafi interests as Akhbar-ul-Akhyar (Delhi,

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1887-89) which attacked other Muslim sects, the Curzon Gazette (Delhi, 1899-1905) edited by Mirza Hairat and strongly anti-Shi'a, and Nusrat-ul-Akhbar (Delhi, 1872-1905) edited by Nusrat Ali and devoted largely to attacking the Missionaries.

Shi'as

The Shi'as comprised a small portion of the Punjabi Muslim population. The 1911 census places them at 2 - 3% of the population although many believe this is too low.[23] Most Punjabi Shi'as lived in the Western districts[24] and were Ithna Ashriyas or Twelvers. The Punjab also contained scattered groups of Khojahs and Bohras, subdivisions of the Ismailis.[25] Publications were dominated by the Ithna Ashriyas and while Lucknow remained the major cultural and publication center for North India through the 19th century, Delhi, Lahore, and Ludhiana in the Punjab contained small productive communities. The Shi'a community does not seem to have been as involved in new programs of religious and social reform as the other Muslim sects. Shi'a concerns as reflected in their publications were long standing and traditional a contention which is supported by their frequent use of Arabic and Persian and of special literary forms and themes.

Shi'a doctrine and belief came to differ substantially from the Sunni and, consequently, developed a separate literary or textual tradition which included collections of hadith, commentaries on the Quran, general expositions of doctrine and special pamphlets on important articles of belief. The standard collections

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of Hadith for the Shi'as by Al Tusi, Al Sadiq, Muhammad ibn Yaqub-al-Kubaini do not seem to have been published in the Punjab prior to 1900. Commentaries on the Quran included Saiyad Ammar Ali's Umdat-ul-Bayan (Delhi, 1876, 1885) and general accounts of Shi'a doctrine included Haji Hasan Ali's Tohfat-ul-Awan (Ludhiana, 1867), Saiyad Abul Qasim's Haidayat-ul-Atfal dar usul-i-Am (Lahore, 1872) in Persian and Saiyad Muhammad Abbasi's Bunyad-i-Itiqad (Ludhiana, 1872) in verse. Among items of Shi'a law which often required separate comment were the controversial practices of muta' or temporary marriage, as discussed in Abul Qasim's Burhah-ul-Muta' (Lahore, 1878) and of taqiya or the practice of disclaiming ones religion in time of danger as in Saiyad Naqi's Adilla-i-Naqiya dar Sabat-i-Taqyia (Ludhiana, 1868). Other pamphlets included instructions on absolutions, Umrao Ali's Amaliyah-i-Aliyah (Lucknow, 1877) and a discourse on clean and unclean animals and birds in Tuhfat-ul-Saidin (Saharanpur, 1870) no author.

The most important event in the Shi'a calendar was Muharram or the commemoration of the deaths of Hasan and Husain, grandsons of the Prophet and sons of Ali. The event was observed by widespread mourning and by the procession of a tazia, a facsimile of the shrines of Hasan and Husain, through the streets of the city. Publications about the historical event and about the Muharram observance made up a large part of Shi'a literature. There were literally hundreds of accounts and elegies of the martyrdoms of Hasan and Husain, the so-called marathia literature.

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Sometimes these were accompanied by biographies of Muhammad and Ali. Some were original in inspiration, most were compiled and translated by different authors from Arabic and Persian texts. They represented an act of faith and mourning and were often read at public gatherings. An example is Ain-ul-Buka (Delhi, 1872) translated by Ata Allah Khan from the Persian Dah Majlis which is an account of the martyrs of Kerbala followed by a collection of hadith known as Shat-ul-aza which pertains to the lamentations over the death of Husain.[26] Other works gave guidance to various aspects of Muharram as Imdad Ali's Taziyah-i-Alam (Lucknow, 1877) which gave instructions on how to compile lamentations. Support for Muharram was also found in special collections of hadith as Muhammad Ali's Akhbar-i-Matam (Rampur, 1874) and Saiyad Raushan Ali Khan's Nakhl-i-Hadikah-i-Matam (Ludhiana, 1873). The many biographies of Ali who the Shi'as believed to be the rightful successor to Muhammad, as Saiyad Ali Husain's Wiqae-i-Khilafat-i-Hazrat Ali (Delhi, 1892) and Saiyad Mazhar Hasan's Tahzib-ul-Matin (Delhi 1894) were also common forms of religious expression.

Shi'a disputatious literature dealt largely with those issues which separated Sunnis and Shi'as. Most were reassertions of Shi'a doctrine in answer to Sunni tracts as Muhammad Quli Khan's Tashyid-ul-Matain (Ludhiana, 1870, 1872) in Persian a reply to Abdul Aziz's Tuhfa Ithna Ashariya, Saiyad Hafiz Ali's Jawab-i-Shafi Bayn-i-Kafi (Ludhiana, 1871) a reply to Sunni objections, Saiyad Abul Qasim's Jawab-i-la-Jawab (Lahore, 1872)

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a reply to Sunni's regarding the making of the tazia and Maulvi Saiyad-ud-Din's Jajliat-ul-ain (Ludhiana, 1868) a reply to a pamphlet by the Ahl-i-Hadith on mourning during Muharram.

Tension between the Shi'as and Sunnis reached a peak during Muharram. The practice of tabarra or denouncing the first three caliphs was answered by Sunnis with pronouncements of support for the Madha Sahaba or the rightly guided Caliphs. Except for declarations of tabarra, extreme criticism of the first three Caliphs rarely occurred in printed literature. In fact some Shi'as were anxious to remove these sources of tension and to raise the tone of debate. One such person was Ulfat Husain, a Delhi Shi'a and a graduate of the Delhi Anglo-Arabic school, who wrote such works as Mana-i-tabarra (Delhi, 1879) against the practice of tabarra, Tadd-i-tabarru (Delhi, 1876, 1879) denouncing abusive language in Shi'a-Sunni controversies and Risalah-i-Munazarah (Delhi, 1879) about religious discussions between Sunnis and Shi'as.

Sufism

Sufism was really more a religious discipline and a technique for training the inner spirit than a separate sect. Muslims from different sects were influenced by Sufi ideology and practice and, while there was opposition to some Sufi ideas, the different sects or individuals could subscribe to those aspects of Sufism which did not violate other beliefs. The Ahl-i-Hadith, for example, while discarding many Sufi practices accepted the concept of mystical illumination. Sufi Orders (silsilah) did have separate

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institutions and traditions and promoted a separate literature much of which found its way into print in the Punjab in the 19th century. The most active Orders at this time were the Chishti (Nizamiya branch), Qadiri and Naqshabandi Orders and, like other Muslims groups, they experienced a regeneration in the 19th century. Among prominent Saints were Shah Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa (1770-1860, Nizamia) who established a Khangah (spiritual center) near Dera Ghazi Khan, Haji Imdad-Allah (1808-1899, Chishti, Sabiri branch) who fled to Mecca in 1857 and who influenced the founders of Deoband, Shah Ghulam Ali of Delhi (d. 1824, Naqshabandi) who influenced many people in Delhi including Saiyad Ahmad Khan's mother, and Maulana Abdul Rahman, Suf (d. 1829, Qadiri). Among their goals was the imparting of an inner peace, and a sense of confidence to the individual and a raising of the moral tone of society. These were valuable ends at a time when the community was trying to come to terms with modern life and with the increasing tensions of society.

Publications of the Orders served the functions of preserving their ideology and practices and of expressing the joybs and excitement of mystical experience. Most of what appeared in print were standard Sufi works in Arabic or Persian and, usually, their Urdu translation. Original works in Persian and Urdu included biographies, mystical works, devotional poetry and commentaries. In addition there was an extensive oral tradition comprising songs and poems in the vernacular. The major kinds of literature included: 1. malfuzat, conversations or discourses

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with the saints as Amir Khusro's Afzul-ul-Fawaid (Persian) Fawaid-ul-Fawaid (Jhajjar, 1895 Urdu) an account of the authors visit to Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, a Chishti Saint; Ghulam Ahmad Khan's Majmu'a-i-Malfuzat-i-Khwajagan-i-Chishti (Delhi, 1892-93) a collection of discourses of prominent Chishti Saints, and Amanat Khan's Kuhl-ul-absar (Delhi, 1890) an Urdu translation of Zubdat-ul-asar, the sayings and anecdotes of Abdul-Qadir Jilani; 2. maktubat, letters of the saints as Maktubat-i-Imam-i-Rabbani (Delhi, 1871) in Persian, the letters of a Qadiri Saint and Maktubat-i-Hazrat Ghaus-al-Azam (Amritsar, 1890) the letters of Abdul Qadir Jilani translated by members of the Muhammadan Sufism Society; 3. biographies and genealogies of the Saints as the Silsila-i-Aulia Chishtia (Lahore, 1868, 1870; Delhi, 1871) in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Punjabi, genealogy of the Chishti sect, Ghulam Muhammad Khan's Manqabat-i-Sulaimani (Delhi, 1871) life of Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, a Saint of the 19th century and Rahim Baksh's Muhammad Masud Shah (Delhi, 1869) a genealogy of the Naqushabandi Order; 4. works on mystical ideology and practice as Mir Hasan's Jawahir-i-Khamsa-i-Urdu (n. p., 1878) concerning the authors use of prayers and charms to effect certain ends, and Risala-i-Shak Ruba (n. p., 1893) in Persian, excerpts from standard works on the nature of God and the Soul; 5. poetical works as Abdul Qadir Jilani's Majmu'a-i-Qasaid poems in Arabic by the founder of the Qadiri Order and Kitab Marqum (n. p., 1898) commentary and translation of a poem by Jalal-ud-Din, Rumi.

Ahmadis

The Ahmadiya was a religious movement which emerged in the

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1880's and 1890's from the claims of an individual. Although the period before 1900 covered only the first 15 years of the movement, it included the major revelations of the founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) and the first disputes between the Ahmadis and others. A great deal still needs to be known about the appeal of the teachings of Ahmad and about the backgrounds of the first disciples. The Ahmadis were different from the other Muslim sects in several ways. (1) The Movement was founded on Ahmad's dramatic disclosures of having revelations that he was mujaddid, an inspired reformer, the mahdi of Islam and masih mawud, the expected messiah of Christianity. He drew substantially from the Christian tradition at a time when the Missionaries were particularly active in the Punjab. (2) In many ways he was to break from the Islamic Tradition as with his explanation of accepting baya' from his disciples. (3) His emphasis was entirely on religious renewal with only a few related social or educational reforms. (4) Ahmad and some of his disciples seemed to thrive on challenges, confrontations and violent prophecies, and thus, appealed more to the militant temperament than other Muslim groups. In all these endeavors the printing press was a much used tool by Ahmad and the Ahmadis.

During his life Ahmad was the major author and pamphleteer for the Ahmadis. He published at least 60 works in Urdu most of which appeared before 1900 as well as other works in Arabic and Persian. Urdu appears to have been the major language of he Ahmadis, the language of theological argument as well as con-

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frontation. Ahmad knew Arabic and Persian well but claimed that Urdu was as capable as Arabic for understanding the Quran and that he received his revelations in Urdu more than Arabic. The most important of his works, those which dealt largely with his message, included Barahin-i-Ahmadiya (Amritsar, 1880-84, 1888; Sialkot, 1900) in which he made the claim to being a mujaddid and in which he presented the first Islamic response to the statements of Dayananda Saraswati of the Arya Samaj. In 1890-91 he made his claims to being the mahdi and masih mawud in three works, the Fath-i-Islam (Amritsar, 1891; Qadiyan, 1897), Izala-i-Auham (Amritsar, 1891) in which he also answers some of his critics, and Tauzih-i-Maram (Amritsar, 1891). When Ahmad acquired a press at his center in Qadian he used it unsparingly in support of his views. Some of the important works published at Qadian were Ainah-i-Kamalat-i-Islam (Qadian, 1893) on the superiority of Islam, the author's mission as the promised Messiah, a refutation of his opponents and an account of the annual meeting at Qadiyan in 1892, Shahadat-ul-Quran (Qadian, 1893) which provides proof from the Quran that Ahmad is the Messiah, Islami usul ki Filasafi (Sialkot, 1899) an important lecture on the philosophy of Islam delivered at the Conference on Religions at Lahore in 1896, followed by an exposition of Islamic principles, and Government-i-Angrezi aur jihad (Qadian, 1900) a tract on the illegality of jihad and the blessings of British rule. Ahmad also published several journals, Al-Hakam (Qadian, 1898), Badar (Qadian, 1902), and Review of Religions in both English and Urdu (Qadian, 1903) and wrote many letters some of which appeared in the vernacular press.[27]

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Although the number of Qadianis or Ahmadis in 1900 is not known, the 1901 census lists 1113, a number of disciples were involved in defending Ahmad against the attacks of others. Shahab-ud-Din Chishti, for example, in his Taid-i-Barahin-i-Ahmadiyah (Jullundur, 1891) defends the Barahin-i-Ahmadiya, in answer to the criticisms of Pandit Lekh Ram of the Arya Samaj. Other supporters were Abdul Karim, Khuda Bakhsh, Muhammad Ahsan, Muhammad Siraj al Haq, Muhammad Mubarak Ali and Sa'id Muhammad Husain all of whom wrote in his defense. More needs to be known about them and other supporters.

In the 1890's the Ahmadis became involved in disputes with just about every religious group in the Punjab among which the Ahl-i-Hadith, Arya Samaj (see below under Hinduism) and missionaries (see below under Missionaries) were the most persistent and bitter. Like the Ahl-i-Hadith (described above) Ahmad used all the tools of the press; pamphlets, journals, letters to newspapers and accounts of public debates. At the latter he seemed to be adept and performed well. He does not seem to have written as many tracts against the Ahl-i-Hadith as against the Arya Samaj and missionaries. They included two tracts in which he defended his knowledge of Arabic, Sirr-ul-Khilafat (Amritsar, 1894) which is a treatise in Arabic on the Caliphate and an Arabic Qasidah in praise of the Caliphs with an appendix in Urdu challenging Muhammad Husain to write a better composition on the same subject in Arabic and offering a reward of 27 Rupees, Karamat-ul-Sadiqin (Sialkot, 1894) a proclamation in which Ahmad upped the prize to 1000 Rupees if any Muslim could

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compose Arabic Qasidahs in better Arabic. His tracts against the Ahl-i-Hadith included at least two others in which he answered specific charges, Asmani Faisalah (Amritsar, 1892; Qadian, 1901) a reply to Nazir Husain and others and Kashf-ul-Gita (Lahore, 1898) a refutation of all his critics. The details of Ahmad's relationship with other Muslim sects needs to be assembled. He wrote at least one reply to the writings of Saiyad Ahmad Khan, Barakat-ul-Dua (Qadian, 1893). A search of vernacular collections and missing files of such religious papers as Nusrat-ul-Akhbar (Delhi, 1872 - 1905) and Muhammadan National Magazine (Sialkot, 1893) would undoubtedly add a great deal to what we know.

The Missionaries

Polemics between the missionaries and Muslims date as early as the press in the Punjab. For the Muslims it was carried on largely by the Hanafis and, later, the Ahmadiyas; the Ahl-i-Hadith seemed to be preoccupied with Islamic reform. The art of manazara (polemics) was developed and taught at Deoband to confront the missionaries. Ironically it was used as much by Muslims against Muslims as by Muslims against missionaries.

The first missionaries came to the Punjab in 1834. They had a printing press by 1835 and were publishing a large number of tracts in the vernacular by the 1850's. They issued a news-paper, Nur-i-Afsan in 1873 and by the 1880's and 1890's had begun to convert Indians on a large scale. The verbal assaul

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on Islam as well as other religions was deliberate and organized and was carried on by the Rev.'s Pfander, Wilson, Knowles among Europeans and Safdar Ali, Imad-ud-Din and Rajab Ali among the Muslim converts. The writings of the latter, particularly those of Imad-ud-Din,[28] were most feared and resented by the Muslims.

The Muslim reaction gained momentum after the mutiny and arose out of the fear of conversion, more threatening to Islam than to Hinduism, and from a sense of outrage at what missionaries and such Europeans as William Muir in his Life of Mahomet (London, 1861) had been saying about Islam. The reaction, not unlike the missionary assault, was extreme and irrational. As a result it was virtually impossible for anyone to write in a rational, scholarly way about each others religion. These tracts undoubtedly helped to form the popular view of Christianity held by Muslims. What effect did they have on the rejection by so many Muslims of all things Western? One would also like to know more about the organization of the campaign against the missionaries.

The most prolific Muslim polemicist was Maulvi Abul Mansur of Delhi who acquired the title Imam-i-Fan-i-Manazara or leader in the art of polemics and who wrote and published at least 22 works and three newspapers against Christianity. He was rivalled only by his son Nusrat Ali and by an earlier polemicist, Rahmat Ali. Some of the kind of works produced by them and others included: (1) answers to specific works usually by Pfander or Imad-ud-Din as Abul Mansur's Misbah-ul-Abrar (Delhi, 1878) a reply to Pfander's Miftah-ul-Asrar; (2) efforts to discredit the Bible as with Abul

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Mansur's Namunah-i-Tahrif (Delhi, 1879) which gives examples of mistakes in the Bible and Rahamatulla's Ijaz-i-Iswi (Agra, 1853; Delhi, 1876) which offers proof that the Bible has been corrupted; (3) works which eulogize the polemicists and help to spread what others have been saying as with Nusrat Ali's Kalimat-ul-Haq (Delhi, 1870, 1876) which is a life of Abul Mansur in verse and an attempt to compare his life with that of Christ and Nusrat Ali's Guldasta-i-Shadab (Delhi, 1878) which contains extracts from newspapers containing remarks against Christianity and Ain-ul-Yaqin by Saiyad Mehdi Husain (n. p., 1874) an account of the writings of Abul Mansur; (4) attacks on Christian doctrines such as Rahmat-Alla's Asahh-ul-Ahadith (Delhi, 1876) or refutation of the doctrine of the Trinity and Ghulam-Allah's Tahqiq-ul-Kalam fi Wiladat-ul-Masih Alain-ul-Salaam (Delhi, 1883) an inquiry into the birth of Christ; (5) accounts of debates between Muslims and Christians as Dini Mubahasa (Lahore, 1874) compiled by Ilahi Bakhsh and giving an account of a discussion at Amritsar between Imad-ud-Din and Hafiz Wali-Allah, Nusrat-i-Ahmadiya (Delhi, 1875) an account of a debate between Ahmad Husain and Imad-ud-Din and Maulvi Wazir-ud-Din's Taqrir-i-dil-pazir (Khairabad, 1875) an account of a discussion between Rahmat-Allah and the Rev. French; (6) newspapers urging Muslims to oppose Christianity as the Nusrat-ul-Akhbar (Delhi, 1872), Nusrat-ul-Islam (Delhi, 1872), and the Mehr-i-Darakhshan (Delhi, 1872) all edited by Nusrat Ali, Davat-i-Haq (Delhi, 1879) started by a committee of Muslims to oppose Christianity, Hami-i-Islam (Delhi, 1885), Hidayat-ul-Akhbar (Lahore, 1884) and the Nur-ul-ala nur (Ludhiana, 1893).

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The missionaries acquired a new, vigorous opponent with the emergence of the Ahmadiyas. In trying to discredit and weaken the missionaries, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad went one step further-than other Muslim polemicists by accepting and revising parts of the Christian tradition. The effectiveness of these tactics is perhaps open to question; the result was a quick and intense rebuttal from the missionaries. Ahmad's claim to being the masih mawud was put forth in his major works of 1890-1891 (see above). This was accompanied by debates with missionaries and converts in 1888 with Fath Masih-ud-Din 1893 with Abd-Allah Asim and Rev. Clark, the last of which is recorded in Ruaidad-i-Jalsa-i-Mubahasa (Amritsar, 1893) an account of the meeting, Hujjat-ul-Islam (Qadian, 1893) a reply to the challenge of debate by Rev. Clark, Ziya-ul-Haq (Qadian, 1895) a treatise directed against Abd-Allah Asim, and Anjam-i-Atham (Qadian, 1896) a claim to the fulfillment of a prophecy when Abd-Allah Asim died soon after Ahmad's prophecy to that effect.[29] Other pamphlets written by Ahmad included replies to Christian tracts as Anwar-ul-Islam (Sialkot, 1894), Char Sawalon ka Jawab (Qadian, 1897) and Nur-ul-Haq (Lahore, 1894), challenges to missionaries to disprove his claims as Al Ishtihar (Qadian, 1897), and an Ahmadiya account of the life of Christ in Raz-i-Haqiqat (Qadian, 1898).

Hinduism

Printed tracts and periodical literature played a role, albeit an unknown role, in the increasing tension between Hindus and Muslims during the second half of the 19th century. A full

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assessment is needed and would have to include many kinds of works in addition to religious writings and would commence with the appearance of the printing press. A number of general comments however can be made about the kind of works produced by Muslims and about their impact. Before 1890 Muslim publications critical of Hindus and Hinduism were either general indictments of beliefs and practices or responses to specific and somewhat random situations. There was no concerted or organized campaign of the kind Muslims were carrying on against the missionaries. Publications were the result of tensions rather than the cause.

A sampling of such Muslim works includes: a general refutation of Hinduism, Tuhfat-ul-Hind by Muhammad Ubaid-Allah (Ludhiana, 1853; Delhi, 1868, 1875, 1879), a Persian story critical of Hinduism, Katha Salwai by Sheikh Salim (Delhi, 1868), works critical of Hindu texts, Veda-wa-Quran ka Muqabalah by Abu Rahmat Hasan (Amritsar, 1895), answer to Hindu writers as Aqaid-ul-Islam by Muhammad Haq (Delhi, 1877), and complaints about historical writings as Abul Mansur's Shawahid-ul-Makaid (Delhi, 1883) a reply to Shiva Prasad's Jam-i-Jahan Numa. Among the authors were Hanafis, Shi'as and members of the Ahl-i-Hadith. One would like to know more about the process by which these individuals rather than others came to write against Hinduism.

After 1890 works produced by Hindus and Muslims particularly by the two militant sects the Arya Samaj and the Ahmadiya became a major factor in the increase of tension. The difference with the earlier period is one of degree and conscious use of the

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press. Detailed accounts of the collision course between Lekh Ram of the Arya Samaj and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of the Ahmadis, the major combatants, have been written.[30] Some of the publications and issues presented by Ahmad included: Shahnah-i-Haq (Amritsar, 1894) a treatise written against the members of the Arya Samaj, Radd-i-Niyog (Qadian, 1895) and Arya Dharma (Qadian, 1896) attacks on the marriage system of the Arya Samaj, Istifta (Qadian, 1897), a reply to the charges of Ahmad's complicity in the assassination of Lekh Ram, and Hazrat-i-Áqdas ki Purani Tahriren (Qadian, 1899) three pamphlets directed against the Arya Samaj.

New Orientations

A new way of thinking about the problems of the community began to emerge among Muslims in the 1870's and 1880's. It rested on a new image of the community and a more favorable appreciation of Western Civilization and culture. It regarded the ills of the community as being part of a general cultural malaise, not just a religious problem, and advocated a multi-faceted approach to these ills with equal and independent emphasis being given to educational, social and political measures as well as religious. A new approach was also adopted toward the problem of Muslim divisiveness by focusing on those aspects of Islam and Muslim culture which were common to all Muslims. In addition Hindus were regarded more as economic and political rivals and less as corrupters of and antagonists to Islam. The orientation was more flexible and forward looking than the purely religious one. Its supporters were the

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emerging, western educated[31] middle class and many of the traditional elite. Within this milieu certain groups like the Arains or the staff and graduates of MAO College, Aligarh, provided leadership. Publications were often sponsored by private societies[32] and supplemented by their goals and programs. While societies usually espoused aspirations far beyond their means, they would accomplish something in one or two of five areas; education, politics, religion, social reform or literature.

Education was regarded by these Muslims as the most important area of activity. There was no existing system, however, to which they could completely subscribe; the traditional schools made no concessions to modern knowledge, the missionary schools threatened Islam, and they could only give qualified support to the government schools.[33] They thus established schools of their own to overcome the inadequacies of the other systems. Many publications help to shed light on Muslim activities both within the Education Department and in trying to establish new schools.

The largest number of publications were texts, either translations from English, and occasionally Arabic and Persian into Urdu or original texts in Urdu. This was part of an effort to transform Urdu into a modern language and to make modern knowledge available to those who would not be studying English. Many fields were involved: History, Geography, Mathematics, Language, Science, Philosophy, Education, etc. Muslims participated as translators and consultants for the Education Department,[34] through literary societies like the Anjuman-i-Punjab, Delhi Literary Society,

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Aligarh Scientific Society, Rohilkand Literary Society, through such educational societies as the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam and, earlier, as supporters for the curriculum of Delhi College. One must note in passing the prolific efforts of Munshi Zaka Allah who translated or compiled more than 100 works in mathematics, physics, morals, history and biography. All these works are an important part of the transmission of the values, habits of mind and the accumulated knowledg of Western Civilization. Space prevents the listing of the considerable Muslim contribution there to but such information is readily available.[35]

Some texts particularly in history went beyond mere transla-- tions or compilations and are original in organization, style and perspective. They are not the product of original research but represent the effort of Muslims to break from traditional historiography and to satisfy the historical approach of the Education Department. They include Sair-i-Islam (Delhi, 1845) an eight volume history of Islam by members of the staff of old Delhi College, Maulvi Karim-ud-Din's Waqiat-i-Hind (Delhi 1868) a controversial survey of Indian history by the deputy inspector of schools, Muhammad Husain Azad's Qissas-i-Hind (Lahore, vol. I, II 1872; vol. III 1875) biographies of prominent people in the Muslim and British periods of Indian history, G.W. Leitner's Sinin-i-Islam (Lahore, vol. I 1871; vol. II 1876) a history of the Muslims of Spain, Egypt, Turkey, Persia and India written for the Arabic students at the Oriental College and for which he received help from Faiz-ul-Hasan, Maulvi Ghulam Mustafa and Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad, and three historical sets by Munshi

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Zaka-Allah for students at MAO College, Aligarh: Tarikh Hindustan (Delhi, 1875-1880, 4 volumes) on the Muslim period, Tarikh Hindustan (Delhi, 1898, 10 volumes) an expansion of the previous work and Tarikh Uruj Ahd Sultanat Englishiya Hind (Delhi, 1904, 3 volumes) a history of the English in India up to 1857.

On some matters Muslims prepared educational works to meet special needs. Most Muslims thought that the education of women should be restricted to selected topics and that this required special texts written in a simpler, more elementary language. Among the most popular works prepared were Altaf Husain Hali's Majalis-un-Nisa (Delhi, 1875) and Nazir Ahmad's Banat-un-Nash (Delhi, 1888) both containing advice on subjects suitable for women. Other specially prepared works were Saiyad Ahmad's Insha-i-Hadi un Nisa (Delhi, 1875) a letter writer for the ladies of the exroyal family, Sughhara Saheli-ba-Taswir (n. p., 1891) no author, containing advice on the concerns of domestic life and Sharif Bibyan a journal devoted to the special concerns of women.

Muslims were also concerned with the lack of religious or Islamic instruction in government schools. Punjabi Muslims understood the reasons for this and were partially successful in arranging for private instruction outside school hours. A number of pamphlets giving general moral instruction were prepared and used in government schools as Munshi Muhammad Ali's Chiragh-

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i-Hidayat (Lahore, 1866); Maulvi Karim-ud-Din's Pand-i-Sudmand (Lahore, 1867); Munshi Zaka-Allah's translation of Samuel Smiles trilogy Ta'lim-ul-Khasal (Delhi, 1892) on character formation, Ta'lim-ul-Akhlqa (Delhi, 1892) on man's obligation to himself, society and God and Ta'lim-ul-Intazam (Delhi, 1892) on sanitary science and economy. In addition there were many translations of moral tales and proverbs from traditional literature and used primarily in traditional schools.

There were a number of schools founded by Muslims of the new orientation through such societies as the Anjuman Islamia which had at least 20 branches in 1889, the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam which had at least 7 branches in 1889, the Anjuman Mufid-i-Am, and the Anjuman Hami-i-Qaum, Kapurthala sometimes with government Grants-in-Aid. Information on the more successful of these schools, their curriculum and activities is available in such journals and published reports as Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Lahore, 1886) the journal of that society, Qawaid-i-Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar (Amritsar, 1883-88) the rules of the Amritsar branch which sponsored a successful Anglo-vernacular school, Qawaid-i-Cricket Club Madrasat-ul-Muslimin-i-Amritsar by Khwaja Zahur Shah (Amritsar, 1888) the rules of the cricket club of the same school and Risala[36] the journal of the Anjuman Mufid-i-Am which sponsored a technical school. While it is not known how many such schools there were, most were small primary schools with financial problems.[37] Other sources, newspapers, personal papers, reports, etc. as yet unexamined will undoubtedly shed more light.

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An important assumption made by Muslims involved in educational activities was that the decline of Muslim power in India was closely connected with a decline of educational standards and knowledge of the world among Muslims. This point and the necessity for studying western knowledge was made in many speeches at the Muhammadan Educational Conference[38] and in such pamphlets as Nazir Ahmad's Itmam-i-Hujjat (Delhi, 1889) on the importance of knowledge, Ta'lim by Siraj-ud-Din Ahmad (n. p., 1898) on the defects of the traditional educational system and an anonymous pamphlet Mussamman-i-Asar-i-Salat (Delhi, 1890) in which the Agra Fort is pointed to as proof of how great Indian Muslims had once been and how this greatness can be regained through knowledge.

Social reform was usually promoted under the auspices of a religious group or given a religious context. Among Muslims of the new orientation, however, it became an area of independent focus with separate publications and societies. The reasons cited for reforms were mixed and aside from the broad desire to strengthen the community these reasons included saving money, humanitarian considerations, purging Islam of unIslamic practices and an admiration for Western culture. Religious considerations were important but they were not the only ones.

Quite naturally a great deal of comment was made about Western ethics and customs. The influence of the West on India was a complex often indirect process involving institutions, and individual life styles, dating back as early as the 18th century. What appeared in 19th century Punjabi publications was a continuation of a dialogue about the West. Saiyad Ahmad Khan's journals,

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the Aligarh Institute Gazette and the Tahzib ul Akhlaq mixed broad admiration with curiosity. The articles were frequently commented on in Punjabi newspapers and sometimes excerpted for republication. Munshi Zaka-Allah's translations of Samuel Smiles' pamphlets on manners and morality stemmed from a similar appreciation. These publications and many others about the West were read by students at the Government Colleges and MAO College.

Warnings about the dangers of becoming too mesmerized by Western achievements and way of life were presented well in novels, such as Ahmad Husain Khan's Gentleman (Lahore, 1898) Nazir Ahmad's Ibn-ul-Waqt (Delhi, 1889) about a youth who becomes too westernized but is brought back to a true sense of his duties by an orthodox Muslim, and Muhammad Khan ibn Muhammad Ahd Allah's Talab-i-Sadiq (Delhi, 1896) which is addressed to those who have become sceptics as a result of Western education. For Muslims who associated with Europeans guides were prepared on etiquette to be observed as, Siraj-ud-Din's Tahzib (Amballa, 1899) and Adale-i-Majlis-i-Farang (Lahore, 1888) no author.

An area of particular interest was the status and treatment of women, especially the practices of polygamy, purdah and the prohibition of widow remarriage. Most Western educated Muslims subscribed to the ideas of Amir Ali who in his Spirit of Islam described these practices as corruptions of Islam. In fact, his book was translated and widely published throughout the Muslim world. The personal suffering and social consequences of such practices were a common topic of social novels a form of literature

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which became increasingly popular among the emerging middle class in the 1880's and 1890's. Among many which were frequently reprinted were Nazir Ahmad's Ayama (Delhi, 1891) the story of a young widow who after a long illness brought on by her loneliness summons her elders and lectures them on the duty of remarriage, Himayat-un-Nisa (Punjab, 1898) by a Muslim widow who speaks out against polygamy and for remarriage, Abdul Halim Sharar's Badr-un-Nisa aur us ki Musibat (Delhi, 1898) on the evil effects of purdah, Nazir Ahmad's Fasana-i-Mubtala (Delhi, 1888) on the distressing results of polygamy which the author feels is contrary to Islam, a poem Munajat-i-Bewa by Altaf Husain Hali (Delhi, 1884, 1892) which describes the sorrowful life of Indian widows and their final resignation to divine will, and Ahmad Hasan Khan's Aina-i-Rozgar (Lahore, 1888) which describes the evils of marriage in old age, of putting jewels on children and of extravagant expenses in marriage.

Social novels also commented on the causes and consequences of such anti-social acts as extortion, drinking and debauchery. Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad's Samrah-i-Diyanat (Lucknow, 1887) Sadhaura, 1891) discusses the malpractices of native officials in securing bribes and illegal extortions as the consequences of an evil life. Ahmad Husain Khan's Shamat-i-Amal (Lahore, 1896) and Qissa Go Dilfigar (Lahore, 1896) describe the consequences of falling into bad company and evince as much interest in the vices as exposing them.

Efforts for social reform were aided by the increase in the 1880's of societies and public meetings devoted to reform. Publi-

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cations about their activities included rules and journals of the societies, Qawaid-i-Moral Association yani Anjuman-i-Akhlaq by Maulvi Bakhsh (Lahore, 1886), Qawaid Anjuman-i-Mufid Am (Ferozepur, 1898) rules of a Muslim Marriage Fund, the Kakezai Social Reformer (Lahore, 1899-1905) for promoting union and reforms among the Kazezai, the Kashmiri Gazette (Lahore, 1887-89) on the reform activities of the Anjuman Hami Qaum. There were many other societies involved in social reform, the Anjuman Rifa-i-Riaya-i-Hind of Delhi in 1875, the Anjuman Miran of Jullandar in 1880 dedicated to the uplift of the Mir community, the Dress Reform Society of Gujrat in 1888 devoted to changing dress among the Muslims in order to save money and the Majlis-i-Akhlaqia of Amritsar in 1882. Many of these groups and others undoubtedly published information about their activities.

In the 1870's and 1880's the Punjabi Muslims of the new orientation began discarding the conventional political methods of discreet and respectful petitions to the Government in favor of the open tactics of political societies, public meetings and full discussion of political matters in newspapers. Pressures to resort to more open political methods grew out of a feeling of insecurity and alarm about growing communal tensions and a sense of crisis about the Muslim lag in employment and education. It was a period in which patterns of relationships and responses between the communities and with the Government were established.[39] An important political turning point for Punjabi Muslims came in 1887-88 when the majority of Muslims supported Saiyad Ahmad Khan's United Indian Patriotic Association in opposition to the Indian

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National Congress, a position which seemed to prevail until the end of the century.

The richest source for Muslim political groups, issues and activities at this time should be the many Muslim newspapers. There were at least twelve journals started in the 1880's devoted largely to political matters.[40] A complete file of the Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore, 1884-1903) or The Observer (Lahore, 1901-), for example, would add immeasurably to our knowledge.

Other publications help shed light on major issues. Perhaps the most important was the question of the Muslim community and correct political tactics vis-a-vis the Indian National Congress and the British Government. Some Muslims like Muharram Ali Chishti in the paper he edited, Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore, 1884-1903), in a pamphlet in answer to Saiyad Ahmad Khan's lecture in Lucknow, 1888, Jawab-i-Lekchar, Sir Saiyad ke dusre Lekchar ka Jawab, (n. p., 1890) and in a society he founded the Muhammadan National Association, and in other societies like the Anjuman-i-Muhammadia of Lahore in 1888 founded for selecting delegates to the Indian National Congress, argued for Muslim support of the Indian National Congress. Journals critical of Saiyad Ahmad Khan like the Akhbaron ka Qiblagah (Lahore, 1880), the Delhi Punch (Lahore, 1880-1889) and the Wafadar (Lahore, 1880-1905) attacked all aspects of his ideas including his political stance.

Most Muslims after 1887-88, opposed the Indian National Congress and many pamphlets warned of the dangers of not doing so. These include Saiyad Hashim Shah Bukhari's National Congress se Muslimanon ko Bachna Chahiye (Ferozepur, 1888), Munshi Shams-ud-

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Din's Aina-i-National Congress (n. p., 1888, 1890) a lecture delivered at Gurdaspur and by the same author Congressnama (Gurdaspur, 1889). A more objective tone is adopted in Sihr-i-Sahir (n. p., 1888) no author, which presents different views on the question of supporting the Indian National Congress. Another, Report-i-Congress ya Sarguzasht-i-Lofar Castle (n. p., 1894) challenges the credentials of a Muslim who became chairman of the Congress session at Allahabad. Some among those who opposed the Congress advocated founding a separate Muslim political group following the leadership of Amir Ali and joining his Central National Muhammadan Association. The Anjuman Islamia of Gujrat supported the CNMA and there are undoubtedly publications expounding this view.

Up to the 1880's, Muslim societies were concerned largely with cultural matters only occasionally petitioning the Government about Muslim interests. With the increasing involvement of Muslims in political matters, the cultural societies also become politicized sponsoring many petitions and holding public meetings. The constitution of the United Indian Patriotic Society, for example, was sponsored by 54 Muslim societies, 17 of which were located in the Punjab. Thirteen of these were branches of the Anjuman Islami or the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam. More needs to be known about the process and scope of politicization of Muslims at this time and how this was reflected in publications.[41]

Other political issues, both domestic and international, were discussed in print. The indebtedness of Muslim landowners to money lenders was the concern of the Anjuman Islah Zamindaran

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(Baghbanpura, 1883) and several publications, Risala-i-Tashrih-i-Haquq-i-Zamindaran by Maulvi Ata Muhammad, Ranzur Ruba-fi-Haqiqat-ur-Bawa by Maulvi Muhammad Hasan (Rawalpindi, 1898) which deplores money lending and high interests. The Ilbert Bill was upheld and the statement by Shiva Prasad that Hindu and Muhammadan rule was tyrannical was rejected in Saiyad Muhammad Husain's Islam ka Mulki aur Adalati Insaf (Lahore, 1884). Muslim interests in the Near East and British policies were closely examined in the journals Vakil (Amritsar) and Vatan (Lahore, edited by Insha-Allah Khan and in such pamphlets as Mafruzah-i-Mazalim-i-Arminiya by Insha-Allah Khan (Amritsar, 1896) which strongly criticizes the statements of Gladstone and the Duke of Argyle at a public meeting in London and asks by what right Christian Europe can interfer in Turkey.

There is an unmistakable political dimension to a large number of publications praising British rule and describing its advantages. Many of these were more than traditional histories or commentaries about rulers. Mirat-ul-Mulk by Rahim Bakhsh (Delhi, 1875), for example, is the story of two princes only one of whom imitated the policies of the British Government in matters of administration. In a similar vein, Adl-i-Ahl-i-Farang by Nawab Nabi Bakhsh Khan (Delhi, 1867) compares British administration with Indian rule and Aina-i-Hal by Shah Muhammad (Amritsar, 1887) is an account of the blessings of the British Raj.

Muslims of the new orientation addressed themselves to several aspects of religious thought and doctrine. Spokesmen like Saiyad Ahmad Khan and Amir Ali attempted ambitious reconciliations of

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Islamic doctrine with scientific thought and Western customs with varying degrees of success. The problem of Muslim religious disunity was confronted at a less ambitious level by many of the Muslim societies and some publications by focusing on those aspects of Islam common to all Muslim factions. This goal was expressed by such groups as the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore (1884), the Anjuman Ghamkhwar Islam of Jullandar (1888) and the Anjuman-i-Ittihadiya of Amritsar (1884) in such publications as Rules of Anjuman-i-Ittihadiya, Amritsar by S. Abdul Qayum (Amritsar, 1884) and Anjuman-i-Akhlaq (Lahore, 1886) rules of the Moral Association. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was also responsible for publishing religious primers for elementary students which avoided all areas of controversy between the Muslim sects.[42] Another work exemplifying the same spirit is Faryad-i-Muslamin (n. p., 1891) contains articles showing causes which helped to create discord among Muslims and calls for unity.

Changing Muslim Perspectives

Concern and debate over the ways to strengthen the community was closely related to the more profound tasks of trying to fashion Muslim identity and of forming more precise cultural definitions. Who was a Muslim? What were his responsibilities? What interests and obligations did the Indian Muslim have to the community as a whole? What ties did the Indian Muslim have to Muslim history and tradition? These and other questions lay at the base of many of the publications of the religious sects and the new orientation. All publications could shed some light on Muslim identity and self-image, but history and biography are perhaps the most revealing. While they usually served specific

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cultural purposes, they were one of the few vehicles for analysis of Muslim life and society. Moreover, as with all historical writing, it was difficult to avoid viewing the past in terms of the present. There is a great deal in these histories and biographies which relates to contemporary, evolving self-images and which is of interest to the historian and the linguist.

History and biography have already been mentioned in connection with the special interests of the religious sects, the Education Department, and as an expression of loyalty to British rule. There were other areas incorporating different Muslim perspectives. Conventional ways of writing and thinking about the past[43] persisted through the 19th century and showed no signs at least in terms of the number of publications of declining. The traditional Muslim view of World history started with the creation and would usually move to an account of the prophets through Muhammad, the Caliphs, and then subjects of particular interest to the author. In the Punjab at this time many such works were straight translations or compilations from Arabic and Persian works such as Ahmad Husain's Aina-i-Jam-i-Jahan Numa (Gujranwala, 1872-73, 3 vols.), a translation of Bukhtawar Khan Muhammad's Mirat-ul-Alam. The author could exercise his discretion as to which subjects became the focus of his work but rarely would venture outside the bounds of the traditional approach. Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan, in another example, presents a balanced account in his 3 volume history of the world. The first volume, Tawarikh-i-Jahan (Delhi, 1862) compares the various theories of creation with the Muslim version and disproves them. The second volume,

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Tawarikh-i-Anbiya (Delhi, 1865) is an account of the Prophets and the first four Caliphs. The last, Ajaib Gharaib (Delhi, 1867) is a catalogue of curious animals and birds and a description of the shape and development of the fetus. In another work, Muhammad Nusrat Ali's Mirat-ul-Salatin (Delhi, 1881) in Persian, the account of the Creation and the Prophets exists as a brief introduction to biographies and pictures of all the reigning kings and queens of the world and a guide to Delhi. Still other works such as Saiyad Muhammad Nisar Ali's Risala-i-Paidaish-i-Jahan (Jullundar, 1890) are lengthy descriptions of parts of the traditional view, in this case the Creation, in which numerous Arabic and Persian authors are cited. World histories frequently contained tables (taqwim) of extensive biographical information on different rulers and reflected the traditional organization of history into reigns. These were printed separately in great quantity and were frequently included in the beginnings of books on almost any subject.

Local history, the outgrowth of group consciousness, was another traditional approach and one commonly employed in the Punjab at this time. These volumes relied extensively on previous works of a particular area; in fact use of earlier works gave them added authenticity. The author still had considerable freedom, more so than with world histories, to pursue individual inclinations and to bring the work upto date. While the works varied in length and scope, they assumed the general character of a gazeteer or almanac giving the history of an area and important facts about the geography, topography, economy, ethnography, social life and biographical data about prominent individuals.

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The authors frequently included information not now found elsewhere and based on their own intimate knowledge of the area and on the use of original sources. Among the most interesting on areas of the Punjab or published in the Punjab are: Muhammad Hayat Khan, Hayat-i-Afghani (Lahore, 1867) a lengthy account by the former extra-assistant commissioner of Bannu of the geography, trade and history of Afghanistan, of each of the tribes of the frontier area, and of the administration in the district of Bannu with suggestions for improvement, Mirza Azam Beg, Tarikh-i-Gujrat (Lahore, 1870) the history, produce, trade and social make up of the district of Gujrat including geneologies of the different tribes, Muhammad Abdul Haq, Mirat-i-Tarikhnuma (Lahore, 1872) a brief historical account of Budaon in Rohilkand, Murad Ali, Tarikh-i-Tanawaliya (Lahore, 1878) a brief historical account of Tanawal in Hazara district, Abdul Samad Ghulam, Tawarikh-i-Sialkot (Sialkot, 1887) an account of the Muslim invasions of Sialkot and the conditions of the city under different Muslim rulers, Muhammad Khalil-ul-Rahman, Tarikh Burhanpur (Delhi, 1899) about the city and different rulers of Barhanpur, Muhammad Hasan Khan, Tarikh-i-Patiala (Amritsar, 1878) a history of Patiala compiled from the records and personal information of the author who was the Prime Minister of the State, Saiyad Muhammad Latif, Tarikh-i-Punjab ma halat shahar-i-Lahore (Lahore, 1888) a description of the Punjab and the city of Lahore by the extra assistant commissioner who used original sources and drew from his personal knowledge of Lahore. In addition to secular local histories there were a few histories of religious places as Muhammad Fakhr-ud-Din

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Husain Khan's Khulasah-i-Tawarikh-i-Mecca (Lahore, 1891). There were also many geographies of the Punjab, an independent literary and scholarly tradition, which contained some history and, indeed, had tarikh (history) in their title but which were largely geography and topography.

Local history existed in another form in the numerous descriptions of buildings, tombs, mosques, palaces and other monuments of Muslim heritage. These were records for posterity and descriptions for those who could not travel to see them. The most famous was the Athar-us-Sanadid of Saiyad Ahmad Khan (Delhi, 1847) for which he did considerable original archeological footwork and was nominated to the Royal Asiatic Society. Others include Muhammad Abdul Ghafur's Durbin-i-Alim (Delhi, 1883) which included 800 sketches of buildings and Babu Ghulam Beni's Dunya ke Ajaibat (Lahore, 1900) which was a compilation of eyewitness accounts of mosques, churches, palaces, tombs, temples, etc. for those who could not see these places. There were also descriptions of impor tant events such as Imperial Assemblages which were a record and memorial of the event and included accounts of the days proceedings, pictures and short biographies of the participants and mention of the importance of the event in the context of history, eg. Muhammad Akbar Ali Khan's Tarikh-i-Qaisari (Delhi, 1877) and Muhammad Abdul Ghafur's Gulshan-i-Umara (Delhi, 1878). The proceedings of the many societies of the 1880's (see previous section) seem to be an adaptation of these traditional descriptions of specific events.

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For the most part world and local histories contained traditional perceptions about Muslims and Muslim history. A new approach involving different perceptions was taken in works of the so-called scientific method. The approach was more critical and objective and involved consulting original sources, asking different kinds of questions, collecting different kinds of information and coming to new kinds of conclusions. The debt to Western historiography is clear. The history texts prepared for the Education Department played an important part in the transition to and the evolution and dispersal of this new approach.[44] So also did the works of Saiyad Ahmad Khan and Shibli Nu'mani. Saiyad Ahmad Khan in his Asbab Baghawat-i-Hind (privately printed, 1858) was one of the first Muslims to try and answer such a question as, 'What caused the Indian Mutiny?'. New approaches were also taken in his account of the Mutiny in the district of Bijnor Tarikh Sarkashi Zilla Bijnor[45] (1860's) and his account of the Loyal Muhammadans of India. Shibli acknowledged his debt to Sir Saiyad and followed his example in numerous analytical historical essays on such subjects as the burning of the Alexandrian library, Kutub Khana Askandriya (1892). Short historical essays were a favorite form among the supporters of the Aligarh Movement many of which were read at the annual proceedings of the Muhammadan Educational Conference and published with the proceedings. A more analytical approach appeared in less well known works as Saiyad Muhammad Husain Aglab's Nairang Afghan (Lucknow, 1904) which was a journalistic description of Afghanistan but one in which evidence was used carefully and conclusions arrived at

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cautiously. The author lists in the introduction nine mistakes that historians make which affect their objectivity. Clearly, more needs to be known about the dimensions of these new perceptions and about how they are related to changing historiography.

Biography, an essential part of Muslim historical writing, received its impetus from the importance of the biography of Muhammad and was nurtured by the belief that history was dominated by the achievements and qualities of prominent individuals. In fact, political history, the history of science, theology, poetry, literature, etc. was usually organized and discussed in terms of individuals. Politics, for example, was the result of a few prominent persons and understandable in the light of their personal qualities. Biography also served ethical and moral purposes and abounded with anecdotes to this end.

In the Punjab at this time, there were many biographies written or compiled in this vein. Among those on Muslim rulers are Muhammad Habib-ul-Rahman's Tazkira-i-Babur (Lahore, 1893) Mirza Hairat's Sawanih Umri (Delhi, 1875) on the life of Nur Jahan, Muhammad Ahsanullah's Mirat Quetinama (Delhi, 1895) which compares the Kings of Turkey with the Kings of England, and Muhammad Nusrat Ali's Qaisariya (Delhi, 1877) a description of the administration under different Turkish rulers. In these works rulers were judged by their intellectual and administrative qualities or lack thereof. Biographies of scholars and theologians give details about their education, their teachers and their travels as in Habib uddin Ahmad's Tarikh-ul-Hukama (Delhi, 1881) which discusses the careers of

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206 scholars and Hazrat Tahman Ali's Tazkira Ulama-i-Hind (Lucknow, 1895) biographical notices of the ulama of India. Biographies of poets and men of letters were popular and usually included a description of their literary achievements, anecdotes about their lives and excerpts from their works. Among many works, Maulvi Karim-ud-Din's Tarikh-i-Schuara-i-Arab (Lahore, 1866) about Arab poets, Muhammad Firoz-ud-Din's Tazkirat-us-Shu'a-i-Urdu (Sialkot, 1889) and Muhammad Husain Azad's Ab-i-Hayat (Lahore, 1880's) both about Urdu poets, were particularly popular. Biography also aided geneology, a matter of great importance to descendants of the family of the Prophet or his close associates and to the various groups of nobility (ashraf) in Punjabi Muslim society. Lines of descent were described carefully. Indeed, geneology seemed to have its own special dynamic in history.

Traditional biography was supplemented in the 1880's by at least two pronounced developments in biographical writing which were important to changing Muslim perceptions. There was the sudden and voluminous production of short, eulogistic and largely uncritical accounts of Muslim historical figures as part of an effort to recreate pride in Muslim history. These works went beyond the customary purposes of ethical instruction and preserving a record of the past, and signaled a new effort to glorify and admire Muslim heritage. A number of historical forces lay behind their appearance, interest in the recent Pan-Islamic movement, an awareness that Christian authors were being critical of Muslim history and a growing need to reaffirm

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matters of broad cultural interest. Among many works published in the Punjab were the biographies, at least thirty, published by the Khadim-ut-Ta'lim press of Lahore, a series known as the "Tarikh bait-ul-Muqaddas" or the history of the Holy Land published by the Mujtabai press in Delhi and many miscellaneous works.

The second development was the counterpart to the "scientific" histories, a new way of writing about individuals in history. The subject is complex and cannot be discussed here except to say that the new approach focused more on the development of personality and the unique place of individuals in history rather than on their sublimation to broader historical forces. One of the best examples was Altaf Husain Hali's Hayat-i-Jawed (Delhi, 1901) or biography of Saiyad Ahmad Khan, still the best biography available. Hali's earlier biography of the Poet Saadi, Hayat-i-Saadi (Delhi, 1886) was not as successful. Other authors and their works, Shibli Nu'mani and his series of the "Royal Heroes of Islam", Ahmad Din's Aurungzeb (Lahore, 1894) and Muhammad Husain Azad's Durbar-i-Akbari (Lahore, 1899) illustrate different aspects of this development.

Muslim interests outside India were dominated by concern over the fate and fortune of Muslim countries, particularly the Ottoman Empire. Turkey, the largest, most powerful Muslim country, was still the seat of the Caliph and naturally assumed an important part of Muslim religio-political consciousness. Turkish administration and Society seemed to offer an alternative, a living Islamic alternative, to British rule and

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Western society. Publications appeared on many aspects of Turkish history and society. Many of the most informative works existed in English and some of these were translated with comments by the editor or translator. While cultural bonds were strong the image of Turkey in the translations and original works was mixed. General histories of Turkey included Muhammad Nusrat Ali's Qaisariya (Delhi, 1877) Insha-Allah Khan's Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Ahl-i-Uthman (Amritsar, 1899) and a translation of E.S. Creasy's History of the Ottoman Turks, Karnama-i-Turk (Delhi, 1891), translated by Khalil Ahmad. Many publications dealt with the present condition of Turkey or with recent events as Nawazish Ali Khan's Qustuntuniyah (Lahore, 1897) a description of Constantinoble, the Turkish system of government and of recent reforms, and Insha-Allah Khan's Sultanat-i-Uthmaniya ke Maujuda Halat (Amritsar, 1897) an account of the condition of life in Turkey and its Tributary States. The same author also translated Waqeat-i-Rum (Lahore, 1896) a summary of facts about Turkey and Ahd-i-Hakumat Khalifat-ul-Muminin Sultan Abdul Hamid (Lahore, 1894) which defends the Sultan's policy in the Russo-Turkish war and wrote a treatise critical of European policy and Christian ethics, The Armenian Question: the Christian sense of humanity and Treaty Obligations (Amritsar, 1899). Two other works which drew from newspaper accounts and secondary sources described the war between Turkey and Greece in 1897, Muhammad Ali Husain's Thessaly ka Maidan (Lahore, 1899) and between Egypt and the Sudan, Amir Ahmad's Maharabat-i-Misr-wa-Sudan (Delhi, 1899). A first hand reaction by an Indian Muslims to Turkey, Egypt and Syria in the 1890's was Shibli Nu'mani's Safar nama Rum, Misr-wa-Sham (Azamgarh, 1940).

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Other publications important to Muslim perceptions were the popular historical novels many of which describe fanciful events in the Ottoman Empire and travelogues, accounts of pilgrimmages to Mecca and trips to Europe and the Near East.

Medicine: Traditional and Imported

Two other categories of publications should be part of any survey of the Muslim contribution to printed literature; medical texts and works of popular culture and superstition. There were three medical systems in the Punjab at this time, the Ayurvedic or ancient Hindu system based on the Susruta and Caraka Samhitas and similar in some ways to the Hellenistic system, the Yunani system, an Arab modification of the Greek system as practiced largely by the Muslims of India, and the Western tradition, both Allopathic and Homeopathic. At the time of British annexation the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems had a firm base in their respective communities with established procedures for preserving and passing on the corpus of knowledge. Rivalry between the two systems existed for upper class patronage. The Sikhs preferred the Yunani system and had replaced the Muslim rulers as patrons. In case of serious illness, however, both Hindu Vaids and Muslim Hakims were consulted and a treatment agreed upon. In the 1850's the Yunani system seemed to have the edge. It had benefitted most from Muslim and Sikh rule, it was better organized and it relied more on written sources for reference and teaching.

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Western medicine was formally introduced to the Punjab with the founding of the Lahore Medical College in 1860, the Veterinary College in 1882, and the Missionary Medical College for women in Ludhiana. The primary object was to train Punjabi doctors, surgeons and assistants who, after passing an examination, would go into Government service in the Punjab and the North West Province. The Government was also interested in establishing rapport with the traditional systems. Many believed that Western Medicine could learn and benefit from Ayurvedic and Yunani experiences in the treatment of disease and the use of drugs. With this in mind a class in Western Medicine was established for hakims and vaids at the Lahore Medical College. It was hoped that an exchange of information might take place within the class. This approach was also adopted by the Anjuman-i-Punjab in their lecture series and carried further by the Oriental College of the Punjab University College which offered academic degrees in the traditional systems.

The number of publications which appeared in each of the three systems [Table IV] seems to confirm the fact that the Yunani system was more popular than the Ayurvedic. Conversely, it exaggerates the popularity of the Western systems. Most of these works were sponsored and paid for by the Government. A separate column enumerates works in which the treatments for particular diseases recommended by two or all three systems are listed and is of special interest. These works do not represent an attempt to synthesize the systems but reflect a genuine curiosity about the use of drugs and the treatment of disease. It appears there was an exchange of information about specific remedies

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Table IV

Number of Medical Publications

	Yunani	Western	Ayurvedic	Combined	Total
1874					21
1883					
1884	6	66	4		76
1885					93
1886	65	41	2		108
1887	19	69	12		100
1888	20	85	5		110
1889	17	88	11	3	119
1890	10	17	4	51	82
1891	16	5	8	44	73
1892	15	24	5	17	61
1893	20	27	8	20	75
1894	17	5	3	17	42
1896	16	5	6	5	32
1897	13	9	9	1	32
1898	24	17	5	1	47

Compiled from: Report of Publications issued and registered in the several Provinces of British India, for the years 1874, 84-94, 96-98.

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but not about the principles of treating disease or physiology. The systems retained their basic assumptions and approaches as, indeed, they still do today.

Many of the combined works such as Talif-i-Ihsnai (Lahore, 1892) and Makhzan-i-Mufridat-wa-Murakabat (Lahore, 1894) were nothing more than glossaries or alphabetical lists of medicines, herbs, minerals and prescriptions with their Persian, Urdu and Hindi names, their properties and proper dosage. A work such as Anwar-ul-Hikmat (Lahore, 1898) by a hospital assistant from a family of hakims includes remedies for diseases from all three systems but only those which have proved efficacious. Another work involving only the Yunani and Ayurvedic systems, the Mufridat-i-Bakrami (n. p., 1891), is a Persian translation of a Sanskrit text on the medicinal properties of Indian herbs and fruits. The combined approach was also adopted by a number of monthly and bi-monthly journals. The Risala Hafiz-i-Sihnat (Lahore, 1878-1905) edited by Hakim Ghulam Nabi Awan and Hafiz Fakhr-ud-Din and including articles on treating diseases according to all three systems was one of the most successful. Other journals with the same scope were the Ganjina-i-Tababat (Lahore, 1893) which described diseases, symptoms and cures of all three systems and reported on modern experiments, the Tabib-i-Lahore (Lahore, 1903) edited by Hakim Muhammad Din and the Ash Shifa yani Tibb-i-Yunani-wa-Doctori ka Mahwari Risala (Lahore, 1903) edited by Saiyad Ahmad Hasan and devoted to the Western and Yunani systems.

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While proponents of the traditional systems could not help but be on the defensive against a system they could not fully comprehend, it is clear they did not feel as insecure or were not as rigid in their beliefs as the ulama. Only occasionally did a hakim or vaid write to refute the Western system as in Hakim Nasir ud-Din's Barahin-i-Musallam fi Ibtal-i-Dauran-i-Dam (Lahore, 1883) which attempted to disprove the European theory of circulation. On the contrary, many were evidently willing to experiment with other remedies, a trial and error approach which lay at the heart of the traditional systems. Moreover, everyday medical activities did not seem to bring the three systems into direct conflict. Western medicine was a competitor but not a serious threat.

Muslims were responsible for publications in both Western medicine and the Yunani system. Their contribution with the former lay largely in compiling and translating texts from English into Urdu, the language of Western medicine, and writing scores of brief, simple pamphlets for popular consumption on hygiene, cholera, the plague, diseases of women and childre, etc. The most prolific writer was Dr. Rahim Khan, a graduate of the Calcutta Medical College and superintendent of the Hindustani classes at the Lahore Medical College who devoted his life to the introduction of Western medicine to the Punjab. Among his most important works were the Tibb-i-Rahimi (Lahore, 1868, 73, 74, 88, 98) a text on the principles and practices of medicine used at the Medical School, the Qurabadin-i-Rahimi (Lahore, 1886) on therapeutics and pharmacy, and the Qurabadin-i-Baiwanat (Lahore, 1883)

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a manual of Veterinary Medicine. He also edited the Bahar-i-Hikmat (Lahore, 1868 on) a medical journal attached to Punjab University College, translated works by Hallam and Huxley into Urdu and wrote pamphlets on the diseases of women, general hygiene, midwifery, and animal pathology. Other Muslims who wrote similar works were Dr. Amanat Khan of Delhi an exponent of Homeopathy, Dr. Muhammad Husain Khan of the Lahore Medical College and Saiyad Amir Shah of the Department of Surgery.

Yunani works appeared in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. While not being able to comment on the importance or substance of what was translated into Urdu, it is clear there were still many basic works in Arabic and Persian which were not translated. In fact, Persian seems to have been an essential language if not the major language of the Yunani system through the 19th century. The few that appear in Arabic include Mujiz (n. p., 1887) and a Medical Dictionary. Persian works include Tashrih-i-Mansuri (Delhi, 1868, 1885) by Mansur bin Muhammab on the Arabic system of anatomy and highly esteemed by Muslims, the Ilaj-ul-Amraz (Delhi, 1887) a compilation by Hakim Sharif Khan of prescriptions for many diseases, the Ramuz-i-Azam (Lahore, 1888) a voluminous work on diseases and cures, and the Tibb-i-Yusufi (Lahore, 1870, 1892, 1894) a standard work on diagnosis, sanitation and the properties of different foods.

The works translated from Arabic into Urdu include Bahr-ul-Jawahir (n. p., 1878) a Medical Dictionary and Mujarrabat-i-Bu Ali Sina (n. p., 1894) a work on aphrodasiacs attributed to Bu

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Ali Sina and those translated from Persian into Urdu include such standard works as Mizan-i-Tibb (n. p., 1886) and on the Yunani system of treatment Ilaj-ul-Amraz Urdu (Lahore, 1889) by Hakim Muhammad Sharif Ali Khan of Delhi and translated by Hakim Muhammad Hadi Husain Khan and the Mufridat-i-Razzaki tarjuma-i-Mufridat-i-Nasiri (n. p., 1891) a practical guide to herbs, vegetables and minerals used in the Yunani system.

Works in Urdu appear for the most part to be a filtering down or popularization of knowledge contained in the classical literature. A number of journals devoted solely to the Yunani system were started and supported by different groups of hakims, the Mujalla-i-Tibbiya (Delhi, 1903-05) for the hakims of Delhi and the Gulzar-i-Hikmat (Lahore, 1882-86) edited by Hakim Ghulam Ali and the Hakim (Lahore, 1905) edited by Hakim Muhammad Din for the hakims of Lahore. In addition, there were a number of less professional journals dispensing information on drugs, medicines and general health like the Jahan Qadar (Amritsar, 1899-1903) edited by Muhammad Iman Din and the Madan-ul-Akhbar (Lahore, 1901) edited by Muhammad Feroz-ud-Din. Pamphlets and books in Urdu on the Yunani system which were not translations of classical works were, like many journals, practical guides to drugs and diseases. Some, like Ilaj-ul-Ghuruba (n. p., 1890) by Hakim Ghulam Imam of Bareli listed cheap cures for all diseases for the poor. Among others were the Mufridat-i-Hindi (n. p., 1885) on the indigenous drugs of India and the Guldasta-i-Mujarrabat (n. p., 1897) containing prescriptions for many ailments.

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More needs to be known about the exchanges and influences of the different systems on each other. Indian influence on the Yunani system started as early as the 11th and 12th centuries in Bagdad. The Persian and Urdu publications of the 19th and 20th centuries comprise a later episode involving three different medical traditions.

Popular Culture and Superstition

Works of popular culture are perhaps more properly the province of the person well versed in Arabic, Persian and Indian literature but they are of great interest and value to the historian. They were a distinctive part of 19th century Punjabi culture, or cultures and contained its images, idioms and values. Moreover, as several languages, literary traditions and social levels were involved, intriguing questions arise about cultural transmissions and socio-cultural groupings. The only purpose here is to call attention to the existence of at least three separate types of popular works.

First in popularity to judge by the number of publications were the Persian romantic tales in both prose and verse as the love stories of Laila and Majnun; Shirin and Farhad, an historic romance about Alexander the Great, a story about the King of Turkey and many many more. They were used in Persian-Urdu maktabs in both Persian and Urdu translation. In fact, quite surprisingly, up to the end of the century Persian was still more valued than Urdu in the rural areas as a language of education.[46] These tales were an important part of the preferred curriculum in

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Persian. The fact they were printed more in Urdu than Persian reflected the control of the Urdu knowing Muslim over the publishing process. Many of the works in verse were translated into Punjabi and Pushtu. The love story of Joseph and Zalaikha, for example, was translated into Urdu in 1864, Punjabi in 1872 and Pushto in 1870. While most of the Persian tales originated outside the Punjab and outside India, there seem to have been numerous Punjabi influences.

A second kind of popular work was rustic Punjabi verse, an oral tradition produced by both Hindu and Muslim uneducated country poets. They were usually composed in such primitive models as the bara masa, or Calendar which described the grief shown during the absence of a lover during the 12 months of the year and the siharfi or 30 stanzas of four lines with each stanza starting with a different letter of the alphabet. Siharfis, also known as bazaar songs, were devoted to a number of subjects. The government reports were both disparaging and dispairing of their literary value but they were, nevertheless, a popular form of expression.

Finally notice must be made of the many works of magic and superstition, a fascinating and unknown part of Muslim culture. These works included such things as (1) various methods of divination including geomancy, sticks and the alphabet, (2) charms, amulets, incantations and recipes for averting calamities and obtaining objects, (3) palmistry, and (4) interpretations of dreams. What part did this play in Muslim life and how prevalent

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was it?[47] Many of the beliefs and practices came directly from Arabic literature and were translated into Urdu as Muhammad Ghaus' Jawahir-i-Khamsah (Delhi, 1877) translated from the Arabic by Saiyad Mir Hasan on charms and incantations. Other examples include Mushtak Husain's Tuhfah-i-Tilismat (Delhi, 1883) on recipes, charms, interpretation of dreams and fabulous birds and animals, and Mir Hasan's Takmala-i-Jawahir-i-Khamsa (Delhi, 1988) on methods of curing diseases by mesmerism and recipes.

Conclusion

This article has surveyed considerable ground. It has discussed and listed examples of printed materials which exist in five areas important to Punjabi Muslim life and thought in the late 19th century. An effort has also been made to discuss some of the ways in which these publications may be of use to historians and scholars. This piece, however, despite its length is in no way comprehensive. Areas like poetry and travelogues just to name two have hardly been mentioned and we have done nothing more than give examples of the types of publications which exist in the areas discussed. This is particularly true of the works on religious sects.

Much still needs to be done to determine the nature of the materials which exist in the larger collections. As previously mentioned, the many guides and catalogues available give only a general indication of what exists. The publications themselves must be seen and carefully studied often this leads to unexpected results. Also much more can be done to determine the ways in which

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these publications can supplement scholarship based on other sources. This applies to nearly every discipline. In addition, the search for missing publications, especially periodicals, must also continue. Such research may be difficult, but exciting prospects and opportunities exist for scholars with the requisite skills, the interest and patience.

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NOTES

1. This figure is based on Government records. It does not account for the fact that translations and reprints did not have to be reported after 1890.

2. These projections are based on the assumption that in the decade before 1914, the number of annual publications including translations and reprints was about 2500.

3. see C. Shackle, "Punjabi in Lahore" in Modern Asian Studies, (July, 1970), pp. 239-267.

4. see biography by his son, Nawab Saiyad Ali Hasan Khan, Ma'athir-i-Siddiqi, (Lucknow, 1924). Only 197 of these were published.

5. A judgment made after a cursory glance at about 50 of his works.

6. Saiyad Sulaiman Nadvi, Hayat-i-Shibli, (Azamgarh, 1943), pp. 101-107.

7. that is, Editor, Proprietor and Publisher.

8. Compiled from the reports on Vernacular Newspapers.

9. Compiled by the author from library catalogues and from a survey of the Urdu collections at the Azad library, Aligarh; the Asafiya library and Salar Jung library, Hyderabad; and the Harding library, Old Delhi.

10. See K.A. Nizami, "Socio-religious Movements in Indian Islam", in Islamic Culture (July, 1970) pp. 141, for this reference. See also Mushir-ul-Haq's "Indian Muslim Attitudes to the British in the early 19th Century," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, (April, 1964) for an interesting historical use of fatawa.

11. G.W. Leitner, History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882, (Calcutta, 1883).

12. The Dars-i-Nizamia included linguistics (Sarf, Nahw, Balaghah) rational sciences (Mantiq, Hisab, Hikmah), and religious disciplines (Fiqh Usul-ul-Fiqh, Tafsir, Hadith, Kalam).

13. Subjects included in the Deoband curriculum were Arabic Literature, History, Biography of the Prophet, Polemics (manazara), Medicine, Astronomy. The number of texts was increased from 31 to 80.

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14. For example, the Arabic Madrasah of Maulvi Abdur Rabb founded in 1872 in Delhi and the Madrasah Husain Bakhsh reopened in 1875 and also of Delhi both assigned texts from the Deoband curriculum.

15. It was a problem to distinguish between some Wahabi and Ahl-i-Hadith tracts. Those not clearly Wahabi were designated as Ahl-i-Hadith. There may be some error.

16. A valuable discussion of research materials for the Movement appears in Q. Ahmad's Wahabi Movement (Calcutta, 1966). See the introduction and Appendix VII.

17. W.W. Hunter in his The Indian Musalmans (London, 1871) discusses some of these early pamphlets.

18. A survey for one year, 1881, turned up 19 pamphlets by 15 authors.

19. Dr. Peter Hardy, "Wahaabis in the Punjab, 1876", in Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan (October, 1964).

20. For a description of another kind of conflict, efforts of the Ahl-i-Hadith to gain access to a Hanafi mosque see Futuhat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith by Maulvi Abul Wafa Sana-Allah (Amritsar, nd.)

21. For a description see Spencer Lavan, "The Nature and Role of the Ahmadiyah Movement in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century India" (Unpublished dissertation, McGill, 1970), chapter 3.

22. cited in Abdur Rahman Dard, Life of Ahmad (Lahore, 1949).

23. Because of the practice of taqiya or concealing ones religion in in time of danger.

24. The 1911 Census places two-thirds of the Shiahs in the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions. This meant that most Shiahs were removed from the major publication centers.

25. A group which split off in the 8th century and which recognizes the line of descent through Ismail, son of the sixth Imam instead of through Musa, another son. The vernaculars for the Khojas and Bohras were Gujerati and Sindhi.

26. The Urdu catalogue of the India Office Library lists 27 more. Many more appeared in Persian and Arabic.

27. See Mukhtubat-i-Ahmadiyah (2 volumes) as cited in Lavan pp. 409.

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28. A prolific writer who waged a campaign of his own to convert Muslims. He wrote at least 15 Urdu tracts.

29. For other incidents with Missionaries, see Lavan chapter 3.

30. Lavan for the Ahmadiyas and Kenneth W. Jones, "The Arya Samaj in the Punjab: A study of Social Reform and Religious Revivalism, 1877-1902" Unpublished Dissertation, California 1966 for the Arya Samaj.

31. The term western educated refers to those students who were educated in Government schools. This does not presuppose a knowledge of English. In fact most students in the Government schools were educated in the vernacular and did not learn English.

32. see forthcoming article, Edward Churchill, "Muslim Societies of the Punjab, 1860-1890" to appear in Punjab Past and Present, which undertakes a discussion of 80 societies.

33. Muslims disagreed with the Education Department on such matters as the capability of Urdu to transmit modern knowledge, the advisability of the Government offering courses in Arabic, Persian and Oriental Knowledge, and the lack of religious instruction in Government schools.

34. Some who did, Altaf Husain Hali, Muhammad Husain Azad, Maulvi Karim-ud-Din, Nur Muhammad, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad.

35. see the reports of the Director of Public Instruction and the Punjab Text Book Committee.

36. a discussion of this journal appears in Sheikh Muhamma Ismail, Panapati, "Anjuman-i-Qasur aur uska Adabi-wa-Ilmi Mahanamah" in Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan (Karachi, 1964).

37. The proceedings of the first five years of the Muhammadan Educational Conference contains information on 23 of these schools.

38. To my knowledge the only full collection of these proceedings is in the Azad library, Aligarh.

39. N. Gerald Barrier, "Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1870-1890", Punjar Past and Present, (April, 1971), pp. 1-63.

40. N. Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace, The Punjab Press, 1880-1905, (East Lansing, 1970).

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41. Another sign of politicization was the emergence of many societies devoted to specific cultural-political issues such as; Anjuman Faizan-i-Am, Gujranwala--devoted to Muslim employment; Anjuman Himayat-i-Urdu, Gurdaspur--for the preservation of Urdu; Anjuman Akhwan-us-Sufa, Gujrat--for Muslim Education; Muawanat-i-Urdu, Amritsar--to preserve the status of Urdu.

42. These texts were discussed at the 7th session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, see Muhammadan Educational Conference ka Satwan Salanah Jalsah (Agra, 1893), pp. 109.

43. see, Franz Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography, (Leiden, 1968).

44. Shibli Nu'mani is supposed to have become interested in history after reading G.W. Leitner's Sinin-i-Islam. See Saiyad Suleiman Nadvi, Hayat-i-Shibli (Azamgarh, 1943), pp. 135.

45. This has been translated, see Hafeez Malik and Morris Dembo, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's History of the Bijnor Rebellion, (East Lansing, 1972).

46. The statistics of languages taught in indigenous schools shows Persian was favored 2 to 1 over Urdu.

47. Even such distinguished theologians as Abdul Aziz were susceptible to such superstitions. He wore an amulet on which something was written with the blood of a cock. While so adorned he would not eat eggs or chicken. Altaf Husain Hal Hayat-i-Jawed (Lahore: 1966) p. 76.

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Two Traditional Elites: Priests and Princes

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History at Pilgrim Centers:

On Pattas Held by Families of Priests at Centers of Hindu Pilgrimage

B. N. Goswamy

The man who scrutinizes every pilgrim with a lynx eye as soon as his bus or train comes to a halt at a place of Hindu pilgrimage, and then darts at him the all-important question twice: "Kahan ke basi? Kahan ke basi?" ("What is your native place?") is without doubt either a panda (priest) of that place himself, or his accredited agent, a munim. The pilgrim answers the question and the crowd of pandas around him, who have all asked him the same question, becomes visibly thinner (for many of them turn to other pilgrims), and only those one or two who have interest in the place of the pilgrim's extraction persist with other questions. The pilgrim answers these also: first about his jati or "caste," and then about his own immediate family. With the asking of these questions and getting answers to them, the panda gets nearer and nearer his aim; by a lightning process of elimination, he is determining whether any other members of the pilgrim's family have been his yajamanas (roughly, "religious clients") before. He then mentions stray names of the pilgrims' possible senior relatives, the names of his father or grandfather or uncles, and the moment the pilgrim nods to any of these names and answers one or two sup-

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plementary questions also in the affirmative, the panda takes virtual charge of him. He quickly transports him to his own premises, a large haveli or small shop, and, seating him, takes out his red-cloth bound bahi relevant to the place of the pilgrim's extraction, quickly flips through some leaves to find the specific village and the entries of members of the pilgrim's caste in it, and before the pilgrim has recovered his balance, spreads the bahi before him. It contains entries, complete with dates, names and signatures, of other members of his own family who have been to this place before and who have stated that they acknowledge this panda's family as their hereditary priests at this place of pilgrimage. This proved, the pilgrim has also found his man, because it is he who shall minister to his needs, both mundane and religious, at the place. The purohit and yajamana have come together and before the yajamana leaves, after performing whatever rites he has come to perform, he will make his offering of money and kind to the panda and enter his name, as his elders and ancestors had done before him, in the panda's bahi.

To anyone witnessing this entire procedure with unbelieving eyes for the first time, this remarkable institution of the pandas, perhaps even their expansive personalities, would seem to be subjects eminently worthy of study. This would of course be so, but even more important are the records which the pandas have accumulated over the past three hundred years or more. Among these records are not only the bahis to which I have referred above, but also private papers that the pandas possess in large numbers, and vast quantities

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of pattas or documents recording rights which they have secured from important yajamanas in the past, and preserved as family property. The richness, extent and continuity, even perhaps the existence, of this material in the possession of the pandas have not yet begun to receive the attention they deserve from students of history, sociology, economics, demography or religion.

My aim here is to draw attention to one category of these records, the pattas. To make my point through illustration, I am presenting below five documents that I saw held by families of pandas at different centers of Hindu pilgrimage in North India. One of these was pasted inside a bahi or pilgrim's register; another was inscribed on the pages of an old register; two of them I found in a pile of other papers in a basta of coarse red cloth that had been on a shelf for upwards perhaps of a hundred years; one of these came out of a bamboo tube (followed by a scorpion!) in which there were other similar pattas that had lain like this for a long while, safely preserved. All the documents were issued by some authority or family of what one can call Greater Punjab, but two of them I saw at Hardwar, and one each at Mattan in Kashmir; Kurukshetra, now in Haryana; and Kangra, now in Himachal Pradesh.[1] The earliest of these dates roughly from the mid-seventeenth century, the most recent from the first quarter of the nineteenth.

Each of these documents contains something of interest.[2] These are among the best of the preserved priestly papers, for they provide proof of the hereditary tie between these priestly families and the grantors who obviously had considerable means. Today, the devotion

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of those families to their priest may have diminished considerably (their means certainly have), yet the papers are carefully preserved to testify both to the antiquity and to the importance of the pandas' families, for the eminence of their yajamanas always did rub off a little on the purohits. The care with which many of these pattas[3] are preserved is not, unfortunately, matched by the ease with which the researcher can get to them. But finding them is not altogether impossible. I was able to photograph close to four hundred of these documents in one short trip three years ago--and the result is obviously worth every effort that one has to make. For besides containing a great deal of useful factual information, these documents possess a directness, a warmth of touch, that belongs to very few of our historical records. For all their seemingly repetitive character, these being mostly grants conferring or confirming rights to receive priestly dues, they succeed in bringing the period to which they belong closer to us, even as they close gaps in our information about it.

The first of the documents[4] is described as a satha which is the Hindi equivalent for patta or grant, and comes from the former state of Nurpur in the Punjab hills; it was issued by Mian Bhau Singh, younger son of the famous Pathania Chief, Raja Jagat Singh (ruled A.D. 1619-1646).[5] The document itself does not mention Nurpur (or Shahpur)[6] by name, but a brief indexing note by the panda which appears on the lower edge of the patta at the back, as is usually the case, identifies it as given by the Pathania Mian of this name, which leaves little doubt in the matter. This is how the patta which is in Takri,[7] reads:

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Document I

ॐ तत सत

... श्री गंगा देया परोहता की
भाटी करी दीती ॥

राम

ॐ ॥ श्री महा श्री लछमी नराएण वचने । गुलाम
श्री मीएं भाऊ सींघे हथे ॥ ब्र.(हमण) भुज ... श्री गगां (जी दे
प्रोहते की साथा करी दीता भाटीए तथा बीरती ...
पीचे श्री महाराजे जगत सींघे दे खांदे तीहां ...
अगे दए करणी । धरम श्री मीएं भाऊ सींघे दा ॥

(In left margin)

सं ३१ वसाख प्र ३१ मुकाम
श्री गगां जी ...

(In right margin)

बहुकम ....

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Translation

Om: He is True.[8]

Bhati[9] rights granted...,

Purohit of Shri Ganga.

[Written] at the wish[10] of the Auspicious and the Great Lakshmi-Narayana, in the hand of their slave, Shri Mian Bhau Singh. This deed is given by us to...Purohit of Shri Ganga[11] in respect of Bhati and Birt[12] rights. Just as they used to receive these in the time of Maharaja Jagat Singh, so will they continue to receive [them] now. This is the solemn obligation of Shri Mian Bhau Singh.

[In the left margin:]

Written the 31st of the month of Vaisakha, Samvat 31[13] at Shri Ganga Ji...

[In the right margin:]

By orders of ....

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Bhau Singh, of whom we know very little besides the fact that he served the Mughal cause on the North-West Frontier after the death of his father, received the jagir of Shahpur from Shah Jahan in A.D. 1650 and later embraced Islam under Aurangzeb, receiving the new name of Murid Khan,[14] is here referred to as a Mian, not as a Raja,[15] which title he presumably acquired only through the favour of Aurangzeb. The date of this document "S.31" raises a problem because this year could mean either S.1731[16] (A.D. 1674) or A.D. 1655 by the calculation according to the Saptarshi or Kacha Samvat in which the century is taken for granted and to which one adds 24 to obtain the corresponding year in the Christian era.[17] The unusual invocation at the top of the document, "Om tat Sat," reflecting a decidedly religious turn of mind is of interest because it is this very Mian Bhau Singh who later became a convert to Islam. Or is there perhaps an indication of things to come in the uncommon Persian usage "Ghulam" that he employs for himself here, even while writing in Pahari in the Takri script?

The text of the grant, as distinct from the brief note in the Mian's own hand at the top, begins with an invocation to Lakshmi-Narayana. This comes as a confirmation of the fact that the bent of the members of the ruling house of Nurpur was in the direction of the Vaishnava faith; we know of this fact from the important and early portrait of Bhau Singh's father, Jagat Singh, which shows him standing with folded hands, in an attitude of

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adoration, before two small idols of Vishnu and Lakshmi on a pedestal.[18] The only portrait that we have of Bhau Singh,[19] however, is of a later date and gives no such indication of his faith as a Hindu, for it shows him as a Muslim and identifies him as "Shri Raja Murid Khan."

The second of our documents[20] belongs, like the first, to the seventeenth century. It comes not from royalty but bearing the seals of a Khatri Dhir family of Nakodar in the Jullundur District and has something of the format of a yad-dasht or qabulnamah in the Persian-Mughal tradition.[21] Even though its content is more or less like that of the satha of Mian Bhau Singh, the manner of its writing, the language--Persian--in which it is written, the types of seals it bears, are all different and are to be noted, for they fit in perfectly with our picture of the Punjab Khatri: intelligent, self-projecting, quick to adapt.[22]

This patta, originally issued by Bhagwant Sahai in A.H. 1069 also has later seals by other members of the same family, confirming the engagement further, and a brief genealogical table is appended to it, tracing the family back another six generations from the date of the document.

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Document II

(seal)

سری بھگونت سہائے
۱۰۶۹

العبد

بندہ درگاہ کمترین بھگونت رائے
ولد راجہ رام ابن پکھرمل دھیر پروہت
بالو را ... موافق نوشتہ بزرگان
قبول داریم ۔
بتاریخ ۱۵ شعبان ۱۰۶۹

(Below)

ا

(seal)

کیول کشن سہائے
نورنگ رائے
۱۰۶۹

بندہ کمترین نورنگ رائے ولد کیول کشن ابن راجا رام دھیر پروہت
بالو را بموجب نوشتہ بزرگان قبول کردہ ایم ۔ بتاریخ ۱۵ شعبان ۱۰۶۹

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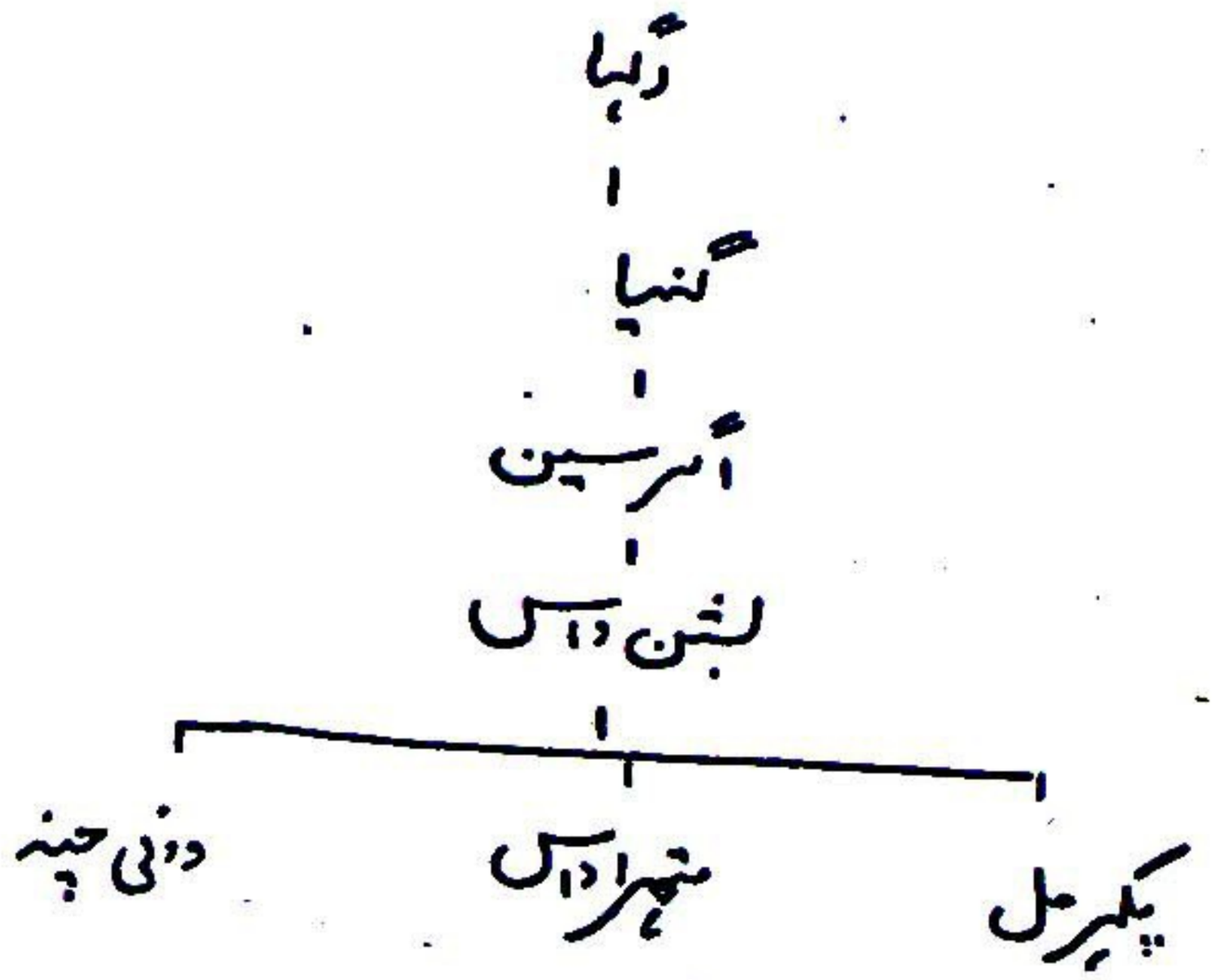
(Below)

نوشتہ ہائے چشتیہ ... بموجب نوشتہ بزرگان



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Translation

[Seal][23]

May Bhagwant [God]

be the Protector

1069

[A.D. 1658-59]

I, the lowly slave Bhagwant Rai, a servant at the Court [of the Immortal], son of Raja Ram, son of Pakhar Mal, [of the] Dhir [Khatri] Caste, accept Balu Purohit [as our family-priest] in accordance with the writing of our forefathers.

Dated the 15th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1069[24] [April 21, 1659].

[Another entry on the same page:]

O [mkar?]

[Seal][26]

Naurang Rai

May Kewal Krishna

be the Protector

1069

This lowly servant, Naurang Rai, son of Kewal Krishna, son of Raja Ram, Dhir, accepts Balu Purohit [as our family-priest], in accordance with the writing of our forefathers. Dated the 15th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1069.

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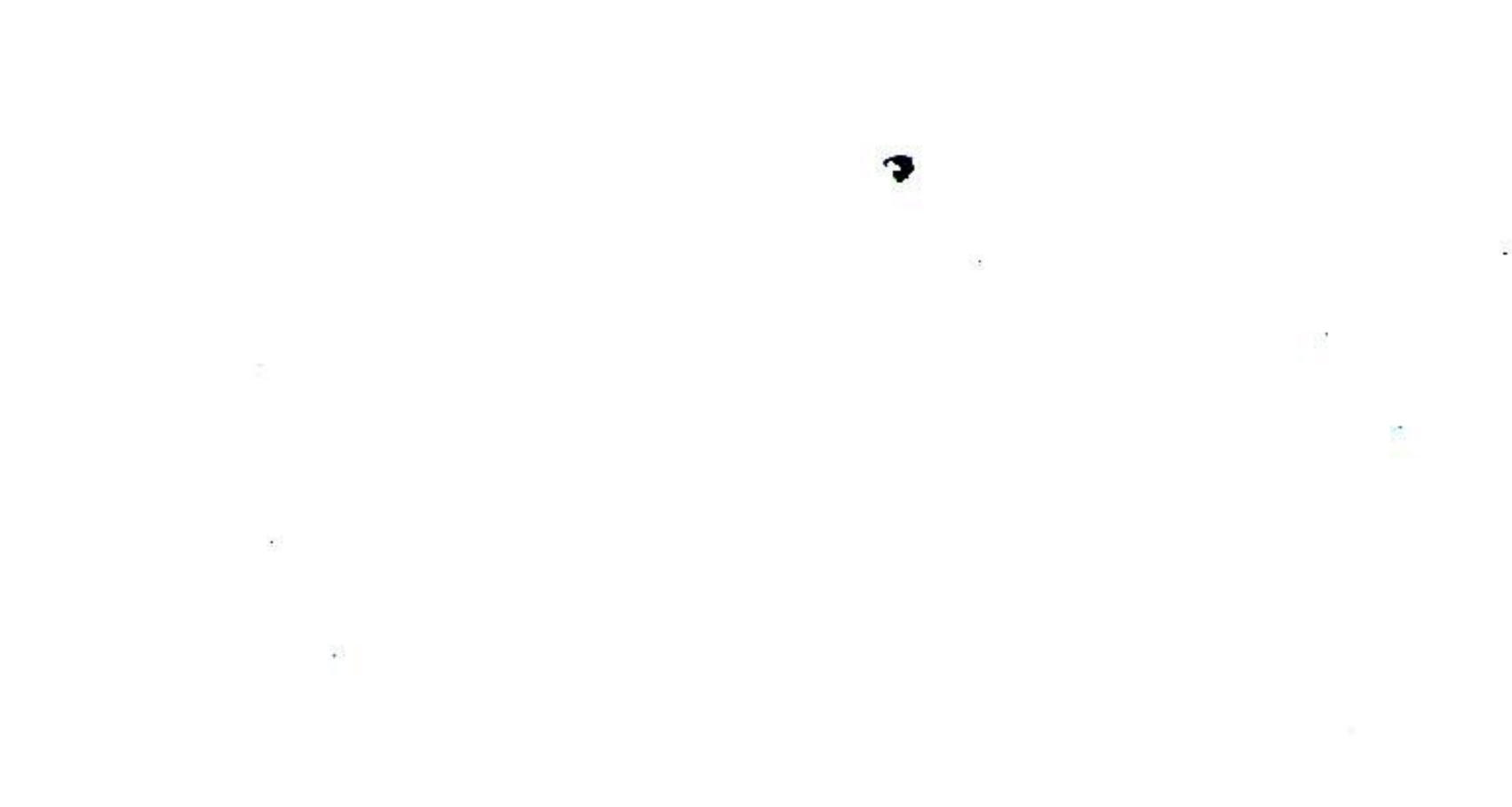
[Another entry in the hand of Rai Chaturbhuj of this family appends the following genealogical table here:]



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The seals in this document call for a word of comment. Not only are they beautifully made and affixed; the inscriptions on them contain a highly sophisticated play on words. While it was usual to invoke the protection of a deity on seals,[28] here both Bhagwant Rai and Naurang Rai weave in their own family names with that of the deity. Thus Bhagwant Rai's seal reads "May the auspicious Bhagwant [God] be the Protector"; that of Naurang Rai has: "Naurang Rai. May Kewal [lit. 'only'] Krishna be the Protector." "Kewal Krishna," it might be remembered, is not only one of the forms--"single"--in which the Krishna idol is installed in some temples, but was also the name of Naurang Rai's father.

The third document[29] is in Takri again. It relates to Raja Goverdhan Chand of Guler, a state again in the Punjab Hills, and forms a welcome addition to our information about that ruler. For all his importance to the development of painting in the hills,[30] all that we have so far on Goverdhan Chand is a five-line note in Hutchison and Vogel's History of the Panjab Hill States, which is not even certain of the date of his accession.[31] That note, incidentally, gives the name of Goverdhan Chand as "Goverdhan Singh" but this causes no confusion about his identity, for both he and his son, Prakash Chand, like several other figures from the hills, have names which end in two different ways.[32]

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Document III

(seal)

۲۵
راجہ گوردہن چند
فردی پادشاہ
غازی
محمد شاہ
۱۱۵۶

लीखतं श्री राजा गोवरधन चंद
श्री हरीदुआरे दी प्रोहताई
लाल चंदे दे पोत्रे जेकीसने हरी
चंदे की दीती श्री महाराजे
श्री वीक्रमा सींघे तथा श्री
महाराजे श्री राज सींघे दे लीखे
दीखी असे भी लीखी दीती,
जे कोई श्री महाराजे श्री
वीक्रमा सींघे तथा श्री महाराजे
श्री राज सींघे तथा श्री महाराजे श्री
दीलीप सींघे तथा श्री
गोवरधन चंदे दे वंसे दा होए
तीस देणा लाल चंदे दे वंसे दा
होए तीस भुजणा होरे जे गुलेरीए ...
जात ... श्री हरीदुआर
जाए तीस इनां दे पैर पूजने

(Below, in Hindi)

राम सत

कागत श्री महाराजाधीराज श्री राजा
गोवर्धन चंद जी का

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Translation

[Seal][33]

Raja Goverdhan Chand

Servant of the

Victorious Emperor

Muhammad Shah

1156

[A.D. 1743-44]

Written by [on behalf of] Shri Raja Goverdhan Chand. The priestly rights [relating to our family] at Hardwar are given by us hereby to Jaikishan and Hari Chand, grandsons of Lal Chand. After seeing [that these purohits have] the documents [of appointment] issued by Shri Maharaja Shri Vikrama Singh[34] and Shri Maharaja Shri Raj Singh,[35] we have also issued this grant in writing. It is the obligation of all who belong to the [dynastic] line of Shri Maharaja Shri Vikrama Singh, and Shri Maharaja Shri Raj Singh, and Shri Maharaja Shri Dalip Singh, and Shri Goverdhan Chand, to give [all priestly dues] and it is the right of those who belong to the line of Lal Chand to receive [lit., "be fed"]. Further, everyone belonging to the Guleria caste and going to Hardwar should worship at the feet of these very purohits.

[Below, in Hindi:]

Rama is True.

Grant of Shri Maharajadhiraj Shri Raja Goverdhan Chand Ji. Dated Asuj....Samvat 1801 [1744-45].

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This patta of purohitai is couched in the classical style of such pattas, for the solemn character of the undertaking, binding not only the grantor but all his descendants to it, is of the essence of the situation. This is a grant in perpetuity, as it were, a patta-i-istimrar which needs to be renewed of course, from reign to reign, but which leaves no one in any doubt.

An interesting feature of this grant is that it is made binding by the ruler on all Gulerias, members of the Rajput class bearing this name, and refers to earlier grants of ancestors, which also are in possession of the pandas who now have the document under discussion.

The date of Goverdhan Chand's accession has been a matter of some speculation among art historians interested in his career. Fortunately, another patta issued by him to a purohit at Jwalamukhi and already published,[39] has laid the matter at rest, for it gives the year S.1803 (1746-47) as the 5th regnal year, thus giving A.D. 1741-42 as the year of his accession. The date of the seal on this document is not in conflict with that information, because seals were not struck only once at the time of assuming power; they were renewed from time to time and thus could bear different dates.[40]

The seal establishes a clear relationship between Goverdhan Chand and the Mughal overlord at Delhi, the Emperor Muhammed Shah. This is again wholly in character with the prevalent situation, for despite all the erosion of Mughal authority in the hills in the early eighteenth century, there was no nominal repudiation of the

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Imperial authority. Even as important a ruler as Ranjit Dev of Jammu, in mid-eighteenth century, showed allegiance in official matters first to the Mughal overlord and then to the Abadali sovereign.[41]

The breif note in Hindi at the bottom this Takri document in inscribed probably by the purohit, identifying the grantor and recording the date of issue. This was often done, expecially if the seal and entry were in a script or language with which the pandas themselves were not familiar. No doubt a note like this would be appended soon after the grant is made.

The next document comes from Kashmir and relates to a family[42] of pandas at the holy tirtha of Martand, or Mattan as it is commonly now called.[43] This document is a parwana in a familiar form,[44] addressed to a local functionary by Raja Sukh-Jiwan who had such as eventful career as the Governor of Kashmir.[45] The consideration that Sukh-Jiwan shows here himself, and wishes his functionary to show to the pandas of Mattan is in keeping with the generally humane character of his administration. There is almost a clear suggestion about the pandas not having been treated well so far in the fact that he urges Lala Qandharimal to deal with them "in accordance with the dictates of righteousness." Bad treatment might very well have been the case under the fast-changing Muslim governorships of the area in the mid-eighteenth century. This is how the document of Sukh-Jiwan, himself a Hindu, reads:

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Document IV

1

(seal)
۱۱۶۸
سوکہہ جیون
راجہ بہادر
فدوی
پادشاہ غازی
عالمگیر

عزیز القدر لالہ قنہ ہاریمل در حفظ ستر بہاراج باشند (آنکہ)
پربہا و کنت (؟) وغیرہ برہمنان مچھ بہون پرگنہ مارتنڈ سیوا کار چشمہ کنہہ ...(اند)
لہذا نگارش مے رود کہ در ہر امور مرجوعہ آنہا از روے راستی
رعایت و اعانت جائز دہند کہ تا بخاطر جمع آباد بودہ شب و روز
بدعای ازدیاد دولت ابد مدت مشغول باشند ... متعرض حال نباشند

(In the margin)

اندر پنجاب تاکید مزید
دانستہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند تحریراً
بتاریخ نہم محرم سنہ ۱۱۶۹ بیضی

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Translation

O [mkar?]

[Seal][46]

The Valiant Raja

Sukh-Jiwan

Servant of the

Victorious Emperor

Alamgir

1168

[A.D. 1754-55]

May the well-beloved Lala Qandharimal remain under the protection of God![47] Now, since...Prabha and Kant [?] and others, Brahmins of Machh Bhawan [48] ["The Abode of the Great Fish"] in the pargana of Martand are appointed to serve in the [temple of] the ancient spring there. It is hereby ordered that in all matters concerning them, you should, in accordance with the dictates of righteousness, give them every legitimate help and concession. So that through this being able to sustain themselves well, they should remain occupied day and night with praying for the enhancement of the Everlasting Dominion [of the Emperor]. Do not in any way offer obstruction... In this matter, knowing this to be a strict injuntion, you should act in accordance with [the instructions contained in] these lines.

Written on the 9th of Muharram,

of the year A.H. 1169 [October 15, 1755]. Baiz.[49]

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Quite clearly the document belongs to that brief period in which Sukh-Jiwan had received his governorship from the Emperor Alamgir II of Delhi, however thin his Imperial authority then was, after repudiating his allegiance to the Afghan, Ahmad Shah. The seal bears the name of the Mughal Emperor and apparently was among those symbols of Sukh-Jiwan's changed loyalty that finally led Ahmed Shah to send a successful campaign to depose him in Kashmir.

This is a thoroughly "Mughal" document in many ways; we see this reflected in the preciseness of its wording, the clear nature of its exhortation, the phrases about the justification for liberali towards the priests "so that, sustaining themselves well, they may remain occupied with praying day and night for the Everlasting Domin ion"--which occur in so many madad-i-ma'ash documents.[50] There is no particular thing that is mentioned as necessary to do: the intention of the document clearly is to make the local functionary change his general attitude towards the pandas.

The last of this group of documents is also a parwana, issued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to the local functionaries at Kangra, clarifying the nature of the settlement he had made on the priests of the Temple of the Goddess Bhuwaneshwari[52] there. The devotion that the Sikh Maharaja had for the shrine of Jwalamukhi and Kangra in the hills was great, as is evidenced not only by the various gran he made to the pandas of the temples,[53] but also in the accounts tha we have of his visits to these temples. A typical account of his

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visit to the Kangra temple, of a date very close to that of the document that we have here, reads:[54]

> When the day had advanced four hours he rode out and went to the temple of Devi Nagarkot. On approaching the temple he alighted from his horse, entered it on foot when the day had advanced one quarter, enjoyed a sacred sight of the Devi, performed some rites peculiar to the place and made an offering of his gold staff, a gold threaded suit of clothes, one huge canopy, several necessary articles which he carried with himself, and twelve hundred rupees in cash. He remained standing for full four hours, and with his own hands distributed sweet-meats and five hundred rupees among the Brahmans.
>
> All the Majaraja's reverence notwithstanding, however, the tone of this document is hard and business-like.

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Document V

1

(Seal)

ਅਕਾਲ ਸਹਾਇ
ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ

ارادت نشان مصر چھجو ، ہزاری جیت سنگھ مسرور باشند

مبلغہاے ششماہے کہ باسم بہوجکیان سری کانگڑہ از حضور مقرر است

منجملہ است و در وجہ ششماہے مبلغ چہل روپیہ بابت ... .

بہ بالکرام برہمن بہوجکی آنجا میدادہ باشند و نیز .. توشک سری دیوی جیو

ہر ماہ بہوجکیان میگیرند منجملہ .. نصف پوشاک بالکرام بہوجکے

را میدہانیدہ باشند درین باب تاکید دانستہ

حسب المسطور بعمل آرند بیغہ

(In the margin)

تحریر پانزدہم ماہ پہاگن

سمت ۱۸۷۰ مقام لاہور

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Translation

O [mkar?]

[Seal][55]

May the Immortal

[God] be the

Protector

Ranjit Singh

May the obedient Missar Chhajju and Hazari Jeet Singh remain in peace and happiness!

[Be it known to them] that the six-monthly amounts that are fixed by the Exalted One [for disbursement to] the Bhojkis of Shri Kangra are all-inclusive. On account of one six-monthly installment, they should give forty rupees to Balakram Brahmin Bhojki[56] of that place. Also, the Bhojkis [at the temple of] Shri Devi Jio should receive the bedding every month. Further, they should arrange to give half the [Goddess's] apparel to [the said] Balakram Bhojki. Knowing this to be an injunction, they should act in accordance with [the instructions contained in] these lines. Baiz.

Written on the 15th of the month of Phalguna, Samvat 1870 [A.D. 1813-14] at Lahore.

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The form and the language of the document are almost completely taken over from Mughal documents of the previous century, but then this, as has been noticed before, was true of a great deal of Ranjit Singh's administration. The subject of the document, however, is peculiarly Hindu, for the references to the bedding and the apparel of the Goddess can only be understood in terms of the rites and ceremonies observed in Hindu temples. The deity's daily routine in these temples follows that of a common mortal including waking up, having a bath, having meals, going to bed, etc., and some of these rituals are marked by the playing of music and performance of arati. Here, the concern of the grantor is with the manner in which the discarded clothes and bedding of the Goddess are to be disposed of. Missar Chhajju and Hazari Jeet Singh are therefore told precisely what is to be done because there must have arisen some question about the exact nature of the grant that had been made by the Maharaja for this purpose, perhaps on his visit of 11th October, 1813, which we have noticed in the account above.

There is a vast quantity of material such as this that is in the possession of the pandas, as has been said before. This material is by no means confined to the Punjab, nor to the pandas

58

at these places of pilgrimage.[58] We can find these documents everywhere that pilgrims went and everywhere we can address our

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own sets of questions to them, to make them yield what is most of interest to us.

The pandas still collect and keep documents like this. The hierarchies have changed and there is a different set of persons which commands either means or influence. But when a visiting panda from Kashmir takes out of his pocket and shows you a worn, typewritten certificate given to him by your uncle who was a Judge of the High Court, he is doing much the same thing that some ancestor of his did when he went on annual visits to his yajamanas or met them on their arrival at a tirtha with his bahi.

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NOTES

1. In my work on documents of this and other kinds I have received great help from many pandas at these centres, a help which I gratefully acknowledge here. These five documents and many others related to them were shown me by Pandit Som Nath Chaklan of Hardwar, Sardar Ram Kumar also of Hardwar, Pandit Madan Mohan of Kurukshetra, Pandit Sham Lal Lamba of Mattan and Shri Umesh Kumar of Kangra. To the generosity of these gentlemen I owe a great deal. The pandas of Hardwar and Mattan are well known in the north of India, although their records are not. It is not often realized that the pandas at many other places in the north like Jwalamukhi, Kangra, Pehowa, Kurukshetra, Benaras, Allahabad, and Gaya also keep records of pilgrims. Similar records are also, I understand, maintained by priests at important centres of pilgrimage in the south.

2. See my preliminary essay of 1966 on these records, "The Records Kept by Priests at Centre of Pilgrimage as a Source of Social and Economic History," in Indian Social and Economic History Review 3: 174-184 (June 1966). Also see my "On Some Historical Records in Possession of Old Families of Priests," The Indian Archives 29 (January-June 1970). In these two brief studies I have attempted to point out the possibilities of the kind of use to which these records can be put by historians.

3. I am here using this word in a loose sense, as the pandas do, to denote any document recording rights.

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4. This document is in the Possession of Pandit Som Nath Chaklan of Hardwar who is the most important among the purohits of pilgrims coming from the former Nurpur State.

5. For the history of Nurpur and for a detailed account of the reign of Jagat Singh, see John Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States (Lahore: Superintendent, Govt. Printing, Punjab, 1933), I, pp. 232-255.

6. This is Shahpur-on-Ravi, not far from Pathankot in the Gurdaspur district. Shahpur was the main town of the jagir which Bhau Singh received from Shah Jahan in A.D. 1650, and which later turned into a small state of this name.

7. This is the general name given to the "script of the hills," even though there are many local varieties of it. The script is notoriously difficult to read and it is only with the greatest effort that I was able to decipher (a part of) this document.

8. This invocation and the two lines below are in the hand of the Mian himself. He has chosen to make this entry personally, not being content with the word "Sahih," meaning "correct," which appears at the top of so many grants of this nature.

9. The exact nature of this right is not clear to me, especially in contradistinction to birt. In general terms, however, both of these denote the right to serve as priests and collect priestly dues from a given body of yajamanas.

10. This form is used to show great honour to Vishnu and Lakshmi in this case. I have seen documents from the Pahari area in which the "wish" of the grantor's father is recorded in the first line of the grant even though he was not alive at the time

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of the gift.

11. I have been unable to read the name of the purohit in this document.

12. See note 9 above.

13. This manner of writing a date presents a problem, for one is never certain whether this stands for the year of a century which is taken for granted (thus S.1731 in this case), or for the year of the Saptarshi era which was also often used in the hills. For the conversion of Saptarshi era into the Christian, 24 must be added, and the century presumed. If this date is in the Saptarshi era, then, the year would be A.D. 1655. I am inclined to think that it is the Vikrami Samvat which is intended here, so that it would give us the year A.D. 1674-75 as the date of this document.

14. For Bhau Singh, see Hutchison and Vogel, I, pp. 259-260. The conversion of Bhau Singh to Islam took place in A.D. 1686 according to them.

15. This was a title commonly used in the hills by Rajputs of a high rank or members of the royal family.

16. This abbreviation of a year does occur in many documents from the Pahari area that I have seen and relates often to the Vikrami Samvat. The usage is no more unscientific than our referring to the present year simply as "73."

17. For a discussion of the Saptarshi or Sastra Samvat, see Hutchison and Vogel, I, pp. 7-8.

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18. For a discussion of this important painting, which is in the Chandigarh Museum, see Karuna Goswamy, "An Early Seventeenth Century Painting from Nurpur," due for publication in the Ganda Singh Abhinandan Granth from Patiala.

19. This portrait is in the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benaras, and bears No. 10251.

20. This document, along with other interesting entries of Khatri families, is in the possession of Pandi Madan Mohan at Kurukshetra. I am deeply grateful to my colleagues, Mr. D. R. Grover and Mr. Suri for their help in the translation of these Persian documents here.

21. We know of a great many of these documents . Some of these are reproduced in B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar: Some Madad-i-Ma'aish and Other Documents (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1967), referred to hereinafter as Jakhbar Documents, and B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori: a Historical Interpretation of 52 Persian Documents (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1969), referred to below as Pindori Documents.

22. Sir Denzil Ibbetson describes the Khatris vividly in his Panjab Castes (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1916), pp. 247-248. They were, and are, among the most literate and the most enterprising of the Punjabis.

23. There is a perfect impression of this seal on the paper.

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Many of the seals of functionaries like Qazies and others from the Mughal period contain invocations of God or the Holy Law. The Sikh seals contain the words "Akal Sahai" almost invariably. This seal of Bhagwant Rai, similarly, invokes the protection of God at the same time that it gives the year of its being struck.

24. It is interesting to see Bhagwant Rai using the Muslim Hijra calendar even in a purely personal Hindu document such as this. This usage came perhaps from the habit formed by using this calendar in all formal or legal documents, but is to be contrasted with the Hindi calendar used by Mian Bhau Singh of Nurpur.

25. The letter which appears here is only alif. A sarnama alif in most Muslim documents stands for Allahu Akbar (God is Great); but it was skillfully retained by the Sikhs like the rest of the form of the documents, sometimes with the addition of a wau, which suggests to us that the 'O' thus formed was made to serve for 'Omkar.' Alif being a very versatile vowel might also conceivably have stood for 'Ishwar' while in use as a sarnama. See Pindori Documents, documents I, XVIII, XIX for different uses of alif as a sarnama.

26. In this seal, Naurang Rai cleverly brings in the name of his father also, while appearing only to invoke the protection of Krishna. The date of the seal is the same as that of Bhagwant Rai.

27. The date of Naurang Rai's entry is the same as that of

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Bhagwant Rai, suggesting that he and his uncle travelled together on this visit. It was quite common in pilgrimages for several members of the same family, or people from the same village, to start off together for distant places.

28. See Pindori Documents, XI, XVI, XVII, XVIII for examples.

29. This document is in the possession of Sardar Ram Kumar of Hardwar whose family has held the purohitai of the Guler region for several generations.

30. For a discussion of the role of Goverdhan Chand in the development of Pahari painting, see William G. Archer, Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills (London: H.M.S.O., 1952) and Karl Khandalavala, Pahari Miniature Painting (Bombay: New Book Company, 1958).

31. I, 206. The account of Guler in Hutchison and Vogel is generally very sketchy. The date of accession of Goverdhan Chand is given here as "c. A.D. 1730." "He probably had a long reign, but no records have come down to us."

32. Thus, Balwant Dev of Jasrota is also referred to as Balwant Singh. This is true equally of Surat Dev of Jammu who is sometimes called Surat Singh.

33. The year on top in this seal represents the regnal year of Muhammad Shah. The description of the ruler as "Fidwi-i-Padshah-i-Ghazi" follows a well-established pattern. See Jakhbar Documents, XIII, XV; Pindori Documents, III, VIII, X, etc.

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34. Sardar Ram Kumar has also in his possession a grant by Raja Vikrama Singh of Guler, great-grandfather of Goverdhan Chand.

35. Raj Singh was Goverdhan Chand's grandfather. A patta given by him to this family of priests is also in its possession still.

36. The word Guleria here does not signify people belonging to Guler. The reference is to members of the Guleria Rajput caste, as is clear from the word "jat" which follows "Guleria" in the document.

37. This note in Hindi is in the hand most probably of the panda who received the grant.

38. This date is not mentioned in the text proper of the document, but appears to have been added by the panda making this note. this tallies, incidentally, with the date on the seal.

39. Karuna Goswamy, "The Date of Accession of Raja Goverdhan Chand of Guler: a Brief Discussion," Proceedings of the Panjab History Conference (Patiala 1968).

40. See, for example, the seal of Qazi Muinuddin in the Jakhbar Documents, XIII, which is dated the 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah and his seals in Pindori Documents, V, IX, which bear the regnal year 14.

41. The allegiance to the Mughal Emperor was really through the Governor of Lahore, but the Imperial name was used. It was the authority of Ahmad Shah, however, which was felt more closely by Ranjit Dev.

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42. The family of Pandit Sham Lal Lamba of Mattan.

43. Mattan is the most important place of pilgrimage in the whole of Kashmir and is one of the earliest historical sites in the valley. The old Sun temple of Martand is situated on a hill above the beautiful spring of water which is now the spot most frequented by visitors.

44. Cf. documents V and VII in Jakhbar Documents, or documents X, XII in Pindori Documents.

45. A detailed account of Raja Sukh-Jiwan is not easily available, but there is much relevant information on the Raja in Ganda Singh, Ahmad Shah Durrani: Founder of Modern Afghanistan (Bombay: Asia, 1959), pp. 92,93,101,103,195,283-285. He comes in for a great deal of praise for his humane rule, his concern for learning, etc., even though his end was tragic.

46. The issue of a seal like this is tantamount to a proclamation of at least nominal loyalty and must have coincided with Sukh-Jiwan's expulsion of Khwaja Kichak who had been sent to Kashmir by Ahmad Shah in 1752 as his naib with Sukh-Jiwan as his manager. The Emperor Alamgir of the seal is, of course, Alamgir II.

47. I have some doubt about the reading of this word as "Sri Maharaj;" at first the reading "Sri Ram" suggested itself to me. It is unlikely that the word is "shariat," which is what it would be, had the parwana been issued by a Muslim Governor.

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48. This is a popular name for Mattan and came into currency undoubtedly because of the large fish in the spring at that place. It is around the spring that the pandas mostly stay for contacting their yajamanas and visitors.

49. This word indicates "the end" in public documents such as this and is used clearly to obviate any later additions to the text by an unauthorized person. The word is seen used in a great number of Jakhbar and Pindori documents.

50. See, thus, Jakhbar Documents; I, III, IV, etc., and Pindori Documents, XII. The Sikhs continued the usage as in Pindori Documents, XLIII.

51. I saw this document in the possession of Shri Umesh Kumar, son of the late Pandit Rattan Lal Sharma at Kangra Mandir.

52. This temple, one of the most celebrated in the hills and the Punjab, and one of the most ancient, is known by different names such as Bhawan temple and the temple of Mahamai. The association of the temple with the bounty and the homage of Ranjit Singh is still very much alive in the minds of the priests of the temple.

53. Almost every panda at Kangra and Jwalamukhi has pattas and letters of Ranjit Singh, for not only were the Maharaja's visits to these places frequent, he also showed generosity to the pandas when they visited him in Lahore or Amritsar.

54. This account, dated Monday the 11th of October 1813, is from a newsletter preserved in the Alienation Office, Poona. See Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh 1810-1817, ed. by H. L.

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O. Garrett (Patiala 1970), pp. 102-103. (This is a reprint of the 1935 Lahore edition, which was Monograph No. 17 of the Punjab Government Record Office.)

55. This is the same seal which appears on such a large number of documents issued by Ranjit Singh. See Pindori Documents, XXXV, XXXVII for other impressions of this seal.

56. The priests at the Kangra and Jwalamukhi temples are nearly all "Bhojkis." For Bhojkis, see Ibbetson, Panjab Castes, pp. 221-222.

57. See Pindori Documents, pp. 29-36.

58. See note 1 above. The papers in possession of the pandas even at the places from which I have reproduced the above documents cover a wider range of yajamanas than just people living in the Punjab. While it is natural that the most celebrated of the places of pilgrimage like Hardwar should have been visited by people from all over the country, even at relatively smaller tirthas such as Kangra, Pehowa and Jwalamukhi, the pandas have pattas issued them by important visitors from all over the country. Some of the pattas issued by the rulers of Rajasthan or even distant Oudh have been framed and displayed in the office of the Temple Managing Committee at Kangra.

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THE PRINCELY STATES OF PUNJAB: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

Barbara Ramusack

The princes of India and their states rarely have been the focus of intensive scholarly analysis. Losing their external sovereignty in the early decades of the nineteenth century their limited internal autonomy in 1947, and their residual privileges in 1971, they have suffered the frequent fate of those vanquished in struggles for power. Their triumphant opponents have relegated them to the footnotes of history while their frustrated supporters have embalmed them with romantic legends. The princes and states of Punjab with the notable exception of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Kingdom of Lahore have attracted even less intellectual interest among historians of India than others such as the heroic covey of Rajput princes in their desert strongholds or the progressive quartet of Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, and Cochin. This neglect of the Punjab princes is partly due to the relatively small and scattered territories of their states and partly because of their confused origin, development, and demise. These factors have also contributed to the wide dispersion of the sources essential for historical analysis.

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The Punjab states may be broadly divided into the two major categories of plain and hill states. In the former group are Patiala, Nabha, and Jind, known as the Phulkian states since their rulers all claimed descent from Phul, a revenue official who was sympathetic to Sikhism; Faridkot, Kalsia, and Kapurthala which Sikhs also created and governed; and Bahawalpur, Dujana, Khairpur, Loharu, Malerkotla, and Pataudi, which Muslims of varying backgrounds controlled. The hill states, all of Hindu origin, include Baghal, Baghat, Balsan, Bashahr, Bhajji, Bija, Bilaspur, Chamba, Chami, Darkoti, Dhami, Jubbal, Keonthal, Kumharsain, Kunihar, Kuthar, Mahlog, Mandi, Mangal, Nalagarh, Sangri, Sirmur, Suket, Tehri, and Tharoch. The distinction between plain and hill helps to explain the differing historical origins of these two clusters of states as well as the eventual structure of their relationship with the British Government of India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and with the successor states of India and Pakistan.

The Punjab plain, with fertile soils and few natural barriers, has been a frequent pathway of plundering and politically ambitious invaders coming from the northwestern passes through the mountains which constitute its northern border as well as from the Gangetic Valley to the southeast. As Mughal control over Punjab weakened during the eighteenth century, the alternating raids of Persians and Afghans from the north and Marathas from the south created chaos. In the resultant political vacuum, ingenious local revenue officials, landlords, and military men

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carved out territorial bases in which they began to collect revenue for themselves in return for protection. The origin and growth of Patiala state may be taken as typical of the evolution of most Punjab plain states.

In the 1750s Ala Singh, a politically astute grandson of Phul, began to offer protection to areas around his ancestral villages and to wrest control of other lands from rival cousins. In 1762 Ahmad Shah Durrani, as part of his policy of utilizing indigenous groups against the Mughals, conferred upon Ala Singh a robe of honor with the title of Raja and the right to coin money. With this facade of legitimacy backed by military force, Ala Singh and his descendants gradually built up a revenue base of conquered territories dispersed throughout the Malwa region of Punjab. When confronted by the threatening power of Ranjit Singh of Lahore at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Patiala rulers appealed for protection first to the Marathas and then to the British East India Company. Ala Singh concluded a treaty of subsidiary alliance with the Company in 1809. This agreement confirmed as a distinct political entity the haphazard collection of districts which owed tribute to the Patiala Raja. The next significant stage in the development of Patiala state occurred when Maharaja Narindar Singh shrewdly remained loyal and extended aid to his British overlord when the latter was menaced by the Sikh wars of the 1840s and the revolt of 1857. His reward assumed many forms but the most important was Queen Victoria's promise that there would be no further annexation of princely

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territories by the British Government of India. For another ninety years British patronage assured the continued existence of Patiala and other Punjab plain states which had honored their treaty obligations. Henceforth the British government conducted relations with the plain states through the Punjab provincial government until 1921, when it grouped most of these states into the Punjab States Agency under an Agent to the Governor-General; the office became that of Resident in 1936.[1] With the grant of independence in 1947, most of these states, with the exceptions of Bahawalpur and Khairpur (in Pakistan), were formed into the Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU).

In contrast to the Punjab plain, the Punjab hills are difficult to penetrate and have little arable soil. The states here were the ancient creations of Rajput nobles from the Indo-Gangetic plain who fled before waves of Muslim intruders. Much of their early history is difficult to document with the notable exception of Chamba, which retained an extraordinary collection of stone and copper plate inscriptions extending back to the pre-Muslim era of Indian history. Like their counterparts on the plain, the rulers of the hill states only entered treaty relations with the British East India Company when their continued existence was threatened by the encroachment of emerging indigenous political powers, the Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Dogras. They, too, conducted their relations with the British first through the Punjab government and then after 1936 through the Punjab Hill States Agency.[2] In 1948 Vapal P. Menon, the key deputy of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the

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States Ministry of the Government of India, brought most of them together to form the Chief Commissioner's province of Himachal Pradesh.

This essay will not discuss the Lahore Kingdom of Ranjit Singh nor the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the latter the Punjab Government maintained a Political Officer during the summer months until 1877 when the Government of India took over control of relations. In 1885 the central government started to maintain a full-time Resident in Jammu and Kashmir. The nineteenth century literature refers to both as Punjab states, but they are worthy of extended treatment as individual units. This essay also excludes small states such as Kaithal, Kulu, and Kunjpura which the British annexed to Punjab prior to 1857 and hill states such as Basohli and Kashtwar which Gulab Singh, the Dogra Raja, added to Jammu prior to 1847.

Unpublished Primary Sources

The major repository of primary source material on the Punjab states is the Punjab State Archives at Patiala. During the existence of PEPSU from 1948 to 1956, a herculean effort was made to gather the records of the former states in this political unit. The Archives now contains most of the extant records of Faridkot, 1901-1948; Jind, 1859-1948; Kalsia, 1907-1948; Kapurthala, 1848-1948; Malerkotla, 1823-1948; Nabha, 1822-1948; Nalagarh, 1823-1948; and Patiala, 1708-1948. These state records as well as those of the Chamber of Princes are located in the Qila Mubarak in the

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heart of the old city, while the main office of the Archives is situated in Old Moti Bagh, the palace complex built for Maharaja Bhupinder Singh during the 1910s.

The records of Patiala state are the most extensive, and are more or less typical of the arrangement and content of other state records. First, the language of the documents varies from Persian during the eighteenth century to Urdu, English, and Panjabi during subsequent centuries. Second, the records are sparse for the early period and become more numerous only as one approaches the twentieth century. Daya Kishan Kaul, a Kashmiri brahmin who served in Patiala as Prime Minister during the early 1920s, indicates some of the reasons for the paucity of documents in "Care and Preservation of Old Records in Northern Indian States," Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings, II (January 1920). He points out that the informal mode of governance in Patiala prior to 1858 did not generate many written documents and that most officials treated the few records of their activities as private property to be retained at home and by their descendants. As administration became more complex after 1858 and records began to accumulate in state offices, the lack of a rational system of classification and adequate storage facilities made it difficult to locate documents on a given topic. Only during the early decades of the twentieth century did the state make efforts to improve the safekeeping of governmental records. Third, since power was wielded on a personal basis and administrative structures changed frequently, the categories of state documents are not necessarily reliable

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guides either to content or to importance. It is usually essential to skim several types of documents to locate data on any particular topic. The files associated with the reign of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh who governed from 1909 to 1938 provide a prime example. While there are the expected divisions of Home, Foreign, Judicial, Revenue, Public Works, and Forests, the most important one is the Ijlas-i-Khas which was the Supreme Court of Administration under the personal supervision of Bhupinder Singh. It contains files on relations with the British, political agitations directed against the Maharaja, appointment of officials, jagirdars of the state, financial conditions, and requests to build new religious structures such as gurdwaras and mosques. Second in significance are the files of the Prime Minister's Office, which assumed a greater share in the decision-making process and in implementation as Bhupinder Singh became more involved in political and constitutional activities beyond his state. The files of the Prime Minister's Office has a separate section on agitations which is a rich lode of material on the activities of the Akali Dal, on the states people's movement in Patiala, and on the rising communal tensions among the Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims in that religiously diversified state.

The Archives at Patiala also retains the records of the Chamber of Princes. They provide extensive documentation on the leadership role of Bhupinder Singh and then of his son, Yadavindra Singh, in this consultative body of princes inaugurated by the British Government of India in 1921. They also include a vast assortment of material on Bhupinder Singh's activities at the First Round Table

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Conference in London and during the subsequent negotiations over federation. The Archives has some records of the Punjab States Conference and the Simla Hill States Association which anxious princes formed in the 1930s to gain strength during the parleys over federation and to seek cooperation in the control and suppression of popular political agitation and communal riots.

The National Archives of India in New Delhi has several categories of Government of India documents which may be mined for additional data on the Punjab states. The most obvious collection is that of the Foreign and Political Department, which served as the secretariat of the Viceroy in his relations with the Indian princes. Though this department did not enjoy direct jurisdiction over the political officers in charge of the Punjab states until 1921 and over those in charge of the hill states until 1936, it was the ultimate recipient of ample correspondence and reports on internal conditions as well as the conduct of relations between these states and the paramount power. These files are indexed according to topic in yearly installments and are easily surveyed. The National Archives does not have a complete set of the original files, since the British carried off to London in 1947 those files containing information considered privileged. These documents are now available at the India Office Records in London in the Crown Representative Papers and will be discussed later. Foreign and Political Department records in New Delhi are open to scholars on most topics up to 1945.

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A second relevant collection at the National Archives is that of Residency Records. The British Government of India transferred them there from provincial capitals and residencies once it declared that its paramountcy over the Indian princes based on treaties would lapse on the transfer of power to the new dominion governments. The Archives has several types of files from the pre-1947 Punjab government as well as from the office of the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States, which was located in Lahore. While many files are on routine administrative matters, there are some with data on internal conditions and some petitions from disgruntled state subjects.

A third group of documents in New Delhi with material on the Punjab states is that of the Political Branch of the Home Department of the Government of India. Created in July 1907 to cope with the growing political unrest in British India, the Political Branch took a broad view of its responsibilities. It maintained files on any political activities in the princely states which might even remotely threaten the political tranquility of British provinces. Because of the political culture of British Punjab and its geographical juxtaposition with the Punjab states, the files of the Political Branch are a rich source on such items as the Arya Samaj Sedition Case in Patiala in 1909, the role of the Sikh states in the formation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the Nabha-Patiala controversy, and the Akali demonstrations against Bhupinder Singh of Patiala. They are especially helpful as a complementary source on events documented by files in

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the Agitation Section of the Prime Minister's Office in Patiala. The records of the Political Branch also retain printed copies of many Foreign and Political Department files which are no longer extant in the original or are available only in London. One example is the fortnightly reports which were submitted by the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States, from 1921 onward. While not comprehensive, these summaries serve as a chronicle of certain types of political activity within the states and are useful for a fuller understanding of the growth of agitational politics within the Punjab states specifically and of post-World War I Punjab politics generally.

The Pakistan Government Record Office at Lahore is a third major archive with holdings of unpublished primary sources on the Punjab states.[3] The heir of the pre-1947 Punjab Record Office at Lahore, it contains some vernacular records from the Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Bahawalpur agencies from 1799 to 1852. They cover the British relations with these states from the imperial perspective as well as the internal conditions and relations among the states during that period. This archive also retains the records of the Foreign Department of the Punjab Government which was the immediate supervisor of British relations with most Punjab states prior to 1936. The confidential records in this Department were kept separately and it is difficult to ascertain their present availability.

The India Office Records in London is the final key depository with material on the Punjab states.[4] Here the recently opened Crown Representative Records are the collection of greatest value.

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The Governor-General used the title of Crown Representative in his dealings with the Indian princes after passage of the 1935 Government of India Act. The records of this office, however, include original Foreign and Political Department files, in some instances dating back to the 1870s, which the British transferred to London in 1947. Several kinds of information were considered privileged and so there are files on succession disputes, personal problems of the princes such as alcohol and women which might reflect adversely on their administrations or belie the British sterotype of princes as benevolent autocrats, confidential evaluations of the princes, their officials and their administrations, financial conditions, and political agitations. All the Punjab states are represented in this collection, which is open to 1945, though Patiala and its rulers probably claim the most attention. The Crown Representative Records also include most of the files on the Punjab states which were once listed under the heading of Residency Records. This latter division now has only three boxes containing sixteen files relevant to the Punjab hill states from 1855 to 1946.

The India Office Records holds the files of the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. Though this Department underwent several name changes and structural reorganizations as did its Indian counterpart, it essentially handled relations with the Indian princes, the frontier areas, and the Persian Gulf states. While its files duplicate much of the màterial found in the records of its Indian counterpart and in those of the Crown Representative, they are helpful for manuscript annotations of India Office officials

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and for information on instances when the princes approached London directly.

The extensive and expanding collection of the private papers of British officials at the India Office Library is a most valuable source on the Punjab states. Since the Viceroy functioned as the Political Member of his Executive Council, the papers of assorted Viceroys have frequent references to the princely states and their rulers. Though never ignored, the Punjab princes and states attracted greater attention from Viceroys and even Secretaries of State as communal tensions worsened in Punjab, as the shift of the imperial capital to Delhi in 1911 brought the British hierarchy into closer physical proximity to Punjab princes, and as Punjab rulers such as Bhupinder Singh beçame increasingly prominent as political allies of the British on an all-India level. The papers of Lord Curzon, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Reading, and Lord Irwin as well as those of Edwin Montagu, Lord Peel, Lord Templewood, and Lord Zetland have information on the Punjab princes.

One deficiency is the paucity of papers of those British officials who were in more frequent contact with the princes and their states such as the Lieutenant-Governors, the Political Agents, and the Agents to the Governor-General. Still, there are three notable exceptions to this generalization. Sir John P. Thompson, who served as Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab from 1916 to 1921, when the provincial government still controlled relations with the states, and then as Political Secretary to the Government of India from 1922 to 1928, left his diaries of these years. Though

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usually sketchy in their comments on political affairs, they contain lively remarks on princely personalities and intrigues. Sir Clarmont Skrine, who served briefly as Secretary to the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States, from July 1926 to March 1927 and later as Resident for the Punjab States from 1939 to 1942, contributed a full run of letters to his mother for his entire career. He, too, commented more fully on personalities and on his tours of the states, though he included some telling analyses of the reactions among the Punjab princes to the final stage of negotiations over federation in 1939. Lord Hailey, who served as Governor of Punjab during the critical years from 1924 to 1928, deposited at the Library a voluminous collection of private and semi-official correspondence which contains some striking and highly unsympathetic remarks on Maharaja Bhupinder Singh and his role in Sikh politics.

Published Primary Sources

In the sphere of published primary sources, the Punjab princes and their states appear in a wide variety of materials. While the censuses of 1855 and 1871 only estimated the population of Punjab states,[5] the decennial censuses included them beginning in 1881. The Punjab provincial volumes of the Census of India contain the relevant data on the states. Probably as a reflection of their scattered territorial holdings, the Punjab states are treated as an integral part of Punjab in the report volumes of the Census, although each state is handled as a separate unit in most classes of statistical data included in the volumes of tables. The chief exception

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is that some of the smallest hill states are lumped together for certain categories of information such as religion. Some states, either in the Punjab States Agency or in the Punjab Hill States Agency, which had been under the supervision of provincial governments other than Punjab prior to the creation of these Agencies, will be found in the volumes of their respective provinces. The most notable examples are Khairpur, under the jurisdiction of the Bombay government prior to 1933, and Tehri Garhwal, supervised by the United Provinces government until 1936.

Gazetteers are a second major published source of both primary and secondary data on the Punjab states, which historians have not yet adequately exploited. There is general coverage of these states in the second volume on Punjab in the provincial series of the Imperial Gazetteer published in 1908. Most states received much more detailed description and analysis in individual gazetteers which began to appear in the early decades of the twentieth century. The Punjab State Gazetteers were issued in two parts: "A" volumes which contained narrative material and some statistical data under headings of "descriptive," "administration," "economic," "education," and "places of interest;" and "B" volumes which had statistical data and theoretically were issued after each census. In actuality most states are represented by one "A" volume and three or four "B" volumes. The extent and quality of the material in the "A" volumes vary markedly from state to state but the type and range of data in the "B" volumes are more nearly uniform. The India Office Records has the most extensive collection of state gazetteers; its

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holdings are now available in microform from the Inter Documentation Company of Zug, Switzerland.[6]

While the gazetteers contain some general comments on land-holding patterns and land revenue rates, published assessment reports provide such data in a more specific and more useful form. These reports were prepared for Patiala where Major F. Popham Young of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) conducted a settlement during the first decade of the twentieth century. He compiled a general report on Patiala state while associates amassed the reports for the tahsils of Narwana, Sunam and Bhawanigarh in Karamgarh Nizamat or District, Bhikki and Barnala in Barnala District, Narnaul and Mohindragarh in Narnaul District, and Rajpura and Banur in Pinjour District. There are also references to assessment reports issued by Faridkot and Suket states[7] and the India Office Library has a copy of Assessment Report of Tehsils Nahan and Paonta, Sirmur State (Nahan, 1929), compiled by Sardar Kahan Chand.

Administration reports are further sources of statistical data and descriptive material often unavailable elsewhere. They are of two types: those produced by ICS officers in their capacity as agents of Political Departments of the Punjab and the Government of India and those published by state administrations to satisfy the British and later as apologies for princely rule. The British official reports started at the bottom of the political hierarchy with annual reports by local political officers on the states under their immediate charge. The Punjab government then abstracted a summary of events and conditions for

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submission to the Political Secretary of the Government of India. Their reports with many of the local ones are available for scattered years from 1875-76 to 1928-29 at the India Office Records under the heading of Indian States Administration Reports. The Punjab government also included a running commentary on succession disputes, local uprisings, instances of administrative efficiency and of developing social services within the states under its supervision in its own annual administration reports which are available at the India Office Records from 1854-55 to 1930-31. In all cases these reports are most valuable for the years prior to 1921.

The preparation of administration reports by the states themselves was largely due to British example and prodding. Most Punjab states first produced them when a minor was on the throne and a British ICS officer on special deputation headed the administration. The earliest examples of this pattern occurred in Bahawalpur, Chamba, and Pataudi in the late 1860s. There are copies of the reports from these states in the printed Selections from the Records of the Punjab and its Dependencies in the India Office Records. Most other Punjab states were more lax in the production of these reports and began to prepare them regularly only during the 1930s, if at all. The premier state of Patiala is represented only by a slim report for 1920-21 and two comprehensive volumes for 1938-39 and 1939-40. There is no union list of these reports, but the two most extensive collections are at the India Office Records and the National Archives of India.[8] The value of these reports is diminished by their irregular

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appearance, by the lack of uniformity in the type and scope of data presented, and by various subterfuges used in the presentation of data which were designed to support favorable generalizations about the beneficence of the prince and his administration. Still, they provide details unavailable at the more distant level of British reports as well as insights into what state administrations deemed worthy of note.

Newspapers published in the Punjab states are yet another source of both primary and secondary data though their limited numbers and scope are a striking commentary on social and political conditions within the states. No state sustained a daily newspaper and only Bahawalpur, Kapurthala, and Patiala had weekly papers. The Bahawalpur Government or Durbar owned the press and paid the staff of the Sadik-ul-Akhbar, an Urdu weekly, and thereby insured that the paper advocated the interests of the Nawab and his administration.[9] Besides the official gazette and orders from various ministers, the Sadik-ul-Akhbar carried general news on both Indian and world events such as British-Turkish relations. In Kapurthala there were private efforts to maintain a weekly newspaper from the early 1880s; usually their editors received some indirect subsidy such as a guaranteed number of subscriptions from the Durbar. All in Urdu, they included the Sabha Kapurthala (1881-1883), the Akhbar-i-Sabha (1883-1887), the Muhazzab Kaum (1887-1889), the Nanak Parkash Kapurthala (1889-1893), and the Kapurthala Akhbar (1892-ca. 1947). By 1901 the Durbar had become the actual proprietor of the Kapurthala Akhbar which carried the official gazette as well as local and foreign news of a non-

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political nature. The Patiala Akhbar, an Urdu weekly, which Munshi Newal Kishore of Lucknow started in 1872, was also closely associated with the Patiala Durbar. After the appointment of a Council of Regency in 1876 when Rajindar Singh had succeeded to the gadi or throne at the age of four, the President of the Council approved the proofs before other copies were printed. The Patiala Akhbar published the official gazette, editorials supportive of the Council, and social, historical, moral, and literary articles on Sikhism and the Phulkian states. In 1895 Sayyid Rajab Ali Shah, the proprietor of the Rajindar Press in Patiala, took over the management of the Patiala Akhbar but it closed in 1910. After 1910 the Patiala Gazette, published by the Durbar itself in Gurmukhi and later in an English version under the title, Patiala Government Gazette, assumed the semi-official functions of the Patiala Akhbar.

For a fuller chronicle of political and social developments in the Punjab states and contemporary editorial reactions to them, one must turn to newspapers published in British Punjab. Here was freedom from the constricting, autocratic censorship exercised by most Punjab princes within their borders and a higher rate of literacy than existed in most of the states. The Tribune, the premier English-language, Indian-controlled newspaper of Punjab, frequently reported and commented on events and personalities in the Punjab states. Published at Lahore, it also attracted letters from disgruntled states' residents to its letters-to-the-editor column. There is a nearly complete run of this newspaper at the present

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Tribune offices in Chandigarh and on microfilm at the Nehru Library in New Delhi, at the University of Missouri Library in Columbia, Missouri and at the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago. Other English-language newspapers with an interest in Punjab state affairs were the Anglo-Indian Civil and Military Gazette, the short-lived Native States and the Sikh-oriented Khalsa Advocate, all based in Lahore. The Advocate, like the Tribune, is available on microfilm at the University of Missouri Library as well as at the Nehru Library.

There were many vernacular newspapers which printed news and observations about the Punjab states. One must use particular care in evaluating their contents since many received payments from princes or state officials and other sought to blackmail vulnerable individuals. (The Aftab-i-Hind, an Urdu weekly of Jullundur, received funds from Patiala and the Nanak Parkash Kapurthala sent a hundred copies to the Kapurthala Durbar.) Sometimes a newspaper would support one faction in a state while a rival would come to the rescue of the opposition. While the Victoria Paper, an Urdu weekly and daily from Sialkot, favored the Muslim faction on the Patiala Council of Regency headed by the Prime Minister, Khalifa Muhammad Hasan, the Ambala Gazette, also an Urdu weekly, applauded the Hindu and Sikh members during the 1880s and 1890s and abused the Muslim Prime Minister.

Vernacular newspapers commenting on Punjab state politics increased during the twentieth century; their remarks ranged from benevolent to virulent. Though all princes and states received some attention, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala became their

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chief focus. Granted full powers of administration in 1909, he quickly emerged as a dominant figure in Punjab and Sikh politics. Papers at the moderate end of the spectrum were the Durbar, a weekly, and the Mast Patendar, a montly, both in Urdu and published in Jullundur, the Rais, an Urdu weekly from Lahore, the Sher Khalsa, a Gurmukhi daily from Lahore, and the Shamsher Khalsa, an Urdu weekly from Amritsar, which even defended Bhupinder Singh from his critics. On the radically critical end, there were the Riasti Kher, the Sacha Dhandora and the Kirpan Bahadur, all Gurmukhi weeklies from Amritsar and the Riasati Dunya, an Urdu weekly from Lahore, owned by the Punjab Riasati Praja Mandal, the provincial organization of the states' people's movement.[10]

The Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers prepared by the Home Department of the Government of India can extend a survey of the Indian press if used with discretion. The British compiled these extracts from Indian-controlled English and vernacular newspapers on topics of concern to the imperial government to gain some sense of Indian public opinion. Since the principle of selection reflects certain biases which are not always apparent, the Selections are limited in their comprehensiveness. While they cover newspapers from both British India and the princely states, they rarely have extracts from the press of the princely states, which was most docile compared to that of British India. Even so, the Selections are an important scholarly asset since files of many of the newspapers surveyed are no longer extant. For Punjab they range from 1864 to 1925 and are available for most years at the National Archives of India and the India Office Records and for 1896 to 1925

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on microfilm at the University of Michigan Library under the title of Note on the Punjab Press.[11]

Two other official analyses of the Indian press offer additional information on the press of the princely states and on British Indian newspapers interested in the states. The Statement of Newspapers and Periodicals provides basic data on language, frequency of issue, circulation, editor, publisher, proprietor of the press, and general political or social orientation; the Annual Report on Native Papers discusses the content of the provincial presses under subject headings of interest to officialdom. The Home Department of the Government of India issued both series annually from about 1868 to 1935 and both are available at the National Archives of India and for selected years on microfilm at the Central Research Library in Chicago.

Finally, the Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council and of the Punjab Legislative Council and their successors are sources which one should not overlook. Though debate on the internal affairs of the states and on most aspects of British relations with the states was outside the purview of these Councils, members discussed some matters such as the Princes Protection Act of 1922 and the loan extended by the Punjab Government in 1924 to the Bahawalpur Durbar to enable the latter to finance its share of the Sutlej Valley Project. The Proceedings also contain a record of the speeches of men from the Punjab states who served as appointed members in these forums. Here the most notable example is Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, who was on the Imperial Legislative Council from 1907 to 1909 as a representative of Punjab provinces while he was the Tikka Sahib or Heir-Apparent.

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General Survey Histories

Though historians have not made adequate use of most of the primary source material described above, the historical literature on the Punjab states and their rulers is extensive. There are many histories of the Punjab states in both manuscript and published forms although their accuracy, comprehensiveness, and style vary to a marked degree. Scattered in public archives and private libraries, the manuscript histories, which focus mainly on the Phulkian states of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind, are useful sources on local events and personalities viewed from a parochial perspective. For the convenience of the research scholar, the discussion of these manuscript histories will be organized according to their present location.[12]

At the Punjab State Archives in Patiala there are the Persian manuscripts, "Kitab-i-Tawarikh-i-Khandan-i-Rajgan-i-Mulk-i-Mahfuza," "Kitab Kaghzat Mutalliqa Khandan-hai-Rajgan-i-Phulkian," and "Phul-Fahrist Tafsil Aulad-i-Sardar Phul wa Kaifiyat-i-abadi-i-Mauza Phul," all of which are on the history of the Phulkian states. The "Malfuzat" in Persian by Sayyid Rajab Ali contains the official correspondence of the British Government addressed to the cis-Sutlej states from 1836 to 1839. Sayyid Rajab Ali also wrote in 1864 the Urdu manuscript, "Tazkirah-i-Rausa-i-Panjab" which has sketches of assorted Punjab princes. In Urdu, the "Muqadama-i-Chaharmiam Sarkar Patiala" contains Patiala state records on the history of territories south of the Sutlej, especially after the Sikh conquest of Sirhind in 1764. In Panjabi there is "Patiala Yunian Raj Ate Navin Lehran," written by Atma Singh in 1956, and

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in English there is "A Report regarding the History of Faridkot" by Gopal Singh, Durga Das Puri, and Sohan Singh Giani which is dated 1937.

Besides the Archives, other public institutions and private individuals in Patiala have manuscript histories of note. The Rajindra Public Library has the "Tazkirah-i-Khandan-i-Maharajah Karam Singh Mahendra Bahadur wa digar Rajagan-i-Phulkian" which focuses on the family of Maharaja Karam Singh, who ruled in Patiala from 1813 to 1845, but includes information on other Phulkian princes. Professor Ganda Singh, an eminent Sikh historian and former director of the Punjab State Archives, holds two rare Persian manuscripts on the Phulkian rajas, "Ahwal-i-Khandan-i-Phulkian" and "Tazkirah-i-Khandan-Rajaha-i-Phulkian," a Persian one on the treaties and agreements of the rajas of the hill states with the Lahore Durbar, "Iqrar Namah-i-Rajaha-i-Kohistan wa Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai," and an Urdu manuscript on Hindur state and the Sikh conquests in the Himalayan foothills, "Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Handur" which was written by Raja Uggar Singh in 1867. Shamsher Singh Ashok has a Persian manuscript on the Sikh misals,[13] the voluntary tribal militia which gradually assumed revenue rights, and the cis-Sutlej states, "Waqaya-i-Munshi Mul Chand," an Urdu manuscript on the Phulkian states, "Muraslat wa kaghzat Agenty Mutalliqa Darbar Patiala wa Nabha wa Jind wa Kaithala," and a Panjabi one on Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha who was on the gadi from 1871 to 1911, "Sri Nrip Binod" by Hazura Singh of Nabha. Munshi Bhagwant Rai has "Darbar Patiala," a history of Patiala in Persian and Urdu.

Khalsa College in Amritsar has the Panjabi manuscript "Gur Panth Binod" on the Phulkian families and the important Urdu one,

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"Tarikh-i-Sikhan wa Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Mumalik Mahfuza," by Qanungo Sarup Lal, dated 1865. It details the history of the Sikhs from the formation of the Sikh misals in the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century and has a section on the laws and customs of the protected Sikh states from 1833 to 1864. A copy of this manuscript is also available at the Punjab Public Library in Lahore which holds other major manuscripts. They include "Tawarikh-i-Sidhu Bairaran, Khandan-i-Phul wa Rausa-i-in-ru-i-Satluj" by Attar Singh, Reis of Bhadaur, and "Tawarikh-i-Izlah-in-ru-i-Satluj" by Tulsi Ram, dated 1856. Both are in Urdu and concentrate on the Sikh chiefs and territories in the tract between the Sutlej and the Jumna. The Library has "Sima-i-Zafar, Tarikh-i-Riyasat-i-Sangrur," an Urdu history of Jind which is sometimes called Sangrur after its capital, written by Abdul Haq in 1885, and "Tarikh-i-Bahawal Khan II," a Persian history of the Nawab of Bahawalpur who ruled from 1772 to 1809, by Jan Muhammad Wadera. The British Museum has two Persian manuscripts of value. Their English titles are "An Account of the Rajahs of Sirmur," an anonymous nineteenth century account, and "A History of the Khans of Bahawalpur from their Origins to A. H. 1224" by Daulat Rai, the son of a state official in Bahawalpur during the early nineteenth century.

In his pioneering Bibliography of the Punjab (Patiala, 1966) Ganda Singh has listed several manuscripts whose present location he was unable to supply. In this category there are "Ahwal-i-Khandan-i-Rajgan-i-Patiala," a Persian account of Rajas Ala Singh and Amar Singh of Patiala as narrated by Sardar Mahna Singh Grewal and dated 1825; "Kafiyat-i-Rawaj-i-Sardaran-i-Malwa," an Urdu report on the laws and customs of the Sikh sardars of the cis-

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Sutlej Malwa districts; "Kafiyat-i-Jagirat-i-Mai Sahiban, wa Ahwal-i-Khandan-i-Phulkian," an Urdu history of Patiala with a resumé on the jagirs allotted to the maharanis; "Khidmat-i-Sarkar Patiala," an Urdu manuscript attributed to S. Karam Singh which details the military services of Patiala state in support of the Government of India during the first Anglo-Sikh war, the revolt of 1857, the Kuka outbreak of 1872, and the Afghan wars; "Waqaya-i-Khandan-i-Rajgan-i-Patiala," an Urdu history of the state to the end of Sahib Singh's reign in 1813; "Kitab Khairkhwahi-i-Sarkar-o-Ahlkaran-i-Kapurthala, 1846-1847," a Persian manuscript on the government and nobles of Kapurthala.

In the genre of published survey histories of the Punjab states, the Phulkian states and especially Patiala once again draw the most coverage for various reasons. First, most general narratives of the evolution of Sikhism as a political power usually outline the development of the Phulkian and other Sikh states (Kapurthala, Faridkot, and Kalsia). Second, the Phulkian states controlled greater resources than did other Punjab states, and therefore, could subsidize either overtly or covertly the production of both published and unpublished histories. Third, as the Sikh revival spread in the late nineteenth century, there was a renewal of interest in the remaining symbols of Sikh political power, and the Phulkian states were convenient surviving representatives of an earlier era. As a consequence of these factors, most of the published histories pursued political and religious objectives rather than scholarly ones.

Among the histories of Sikhism and Sikhs which treat the

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Sikh states are Radha Kishans' Gosha-i-Panjab (Lahore, 1861), Tulsi Ram's Kitab Sair-i-Panjab (Lucknow, 1872), Giani Gian Singh's Tawarikh Guru Khalsa (Sialkot, 1892 in Urdu but other editions in Panjabi are available) which deals with the Phulkian and Ahluwalia misals in Volume III, Part 2, Bedi Ganesh Singh's Baran Mislan (Amritsar, 1893), Bhai Bishan Singh's Sur Bir Khalsa Ya Baran Mislan (Amritsar, 1917), Hari Ram Gupta's Cis-Sutlej Sikhs, Volume II, 1769-1799 in his multivolume work on the Sikhs (Lahore, 1944) and Khushwant Singh's A History of the Sikhs (Princeton, 1963-1966) in two volumes. While this last work covers the expansion of the Phulkian states in some detail during the period prior to 1849, it has only limited material on their modern history. It also displays a noticeable bias against the Patiala ruling house for its readiness to ally itself with enemies of the Khalsa or community of baptized Sikhs.

Several surveys of Punjab states have short accounts of individual hill and plain states. The earliest is T. Fortescue's Protected Sikh and Hill States (1824). (Ganda Singh cites it in his A Bibliography of the Punjab but I have been unable to locate a copy in an American or British library.) The most extensive is Sir Lepel H. Griffin's The Rajas of the Punjab: Being the History of the Principal States in the Panjab and Their Relations with the British Government (Lahore, 1870 and reprinted Patiala, 1970). An ICS officer who was Secretary to the Punjab government in the 1870s, Griffin strove for the appearance of objectivity but usually stressed the justice and benevolence of British policies and the ingratitude and lack of foresight among the Punjab princes.[14] At

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the same time he glorified those princes who acted loyally during times of crises and attempted to pattern their administrations after British models. His book covers the ruling families of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Kapurthala, Faridkot, Mandi, Bhadaur, and the minor Phulkian families who had jagirdar status. Attar Singh traces more briefly the evolution of the Phulkian states and Faridkot in his Tawarikh Siddhu Bairaran Ate Khandan Phul (Moga, 1934) which Nahar Singh translated from Urdu into Panjabi. Short accounts of most of the plain and some of the hill states are in Rahman Ali Khan's Riyaz al-Umara (Lucknow, 1873), Muhammad Nusrat Ali's Guldastan-i-Ru'asa (Delhi, 1877), and Muhammad Abd al-Ghafur's Gulshan-i-Umara (Delhi, 1878). All three are available at the India Office Library; the first two are in Urdu and the third is in Hindi.

More specifically on Patiala state, there are Muhammad Hasan Khan's Tarikh-i-Patialah (Amritsar, 1878) dealing with developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Ganeshi Lal Pandit's Jughrafia-i-Patiala (Lahore, 1881) on geography; Diwan Gurumukh Singh's Nanak Parkash (Lahore, 1890) with a short account of the rulers of Patiala as a preface to a biography of Guru Nanak; Colonel Muhammad Abdul Majid's A Short History of the Patiala State (Patiala, 1910) written upon the accession of Bhupinder Singh to full ruling powers by the Mir Munshi of Patiala state; Munshi Bhagwant Rai's Mukhtasar Tazkirah-i-Qadamat printed in 1910 for private circulation; S.N. Banerjee's History of Patiala; Ganda Singh's The Patiala and the East Panjab States Union: Historical Background (Patiala, 1951) which briefly delineates developments in the decades preceding in-

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dependence, and Sita Ram Kohli's article covering much of the same period, "Patiala and East Punjab States: A Leaf from Their History," The Jyoti (Ranbir College Sangrur Magazine), June 1951.

Jind, another Phulkian state, is the focus of four works. Behari Lal Dhingra, who held ministerial posts including that of Chief Minister in Jind during the early decades of the twentieth century, recounts its history in his Jind State: A Brief Historical and Administrative Sketch (Bombay, 1930), Munshi Dunni Chand in Tawarikh-i-Jind (1920), Rai Brij Narain Varma in Urdu verse in his Phul Namah (Sangrur, 1915), and Somerset Playne in The State of Jind: A Biographical, Historical and Administrative Sketch (London, 1921-1922). (Ganda Singh cites this last title in his A Bibliography of Patiala and East Panjab States Union but I have been unable to locate a copy in an American or British library.)

Nabha, the third Phulkian state and the one which contended first with Patiala and then with Jind over precedence and prestige, is the subject of Bhai Sohan Singh's Nabha-Guru-da-Ghar (Amritsar, 1923), Gurmukh Singh's Tawarikh-i-Nabha (Amritsar, 1924), Nabha Affairs, 1912 to 1917, published by the state government in Allahabad, and Nabha Administration: A Review of Recent Years (Lahore, ca. 1940).

Sadhu Singh founded Kapurthala state but Jassa Singh Ahluwalia greatly expanded its territory. The latter is famous in Sikh history for his exploits in the recurring battles between the Sikhs and the Afghans and later the Rohillas for control of Punjab. The most detailed history of Kapurthala is Tawarikh-i-Riyasat-i-Kapurthala by Diwan Ram Jas (Lahore, 1897). Others

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are by anonymous authors and were published under official auspices. They include The Ruler and Method of Administration: The State under His Highness Maharaja Jagatjit Singh Bahadur; Kapurthala State: Its Past and Present (Kapurthala, 1928); Modern Kapurthala and Its Maker by an Official (Bombay, 1937); and Kapurthala State (Lahore, 1941).

A family who shared a common ancestor with the Phulkian rulers in Barar who had preceded Phul by twelve generations established Faridkot as an independent state in the middle of the eighteenth century. Its history has been chronicled by Wali-Allah, Siddiki in his three volume Ainah-i-Barar-Bans (Faridkot, 1904); by Wali-Ullah in Riyasat Faidkot ke Tarikhi Yad-Dashten (Faridkot, 1900); briefly and extravagantly by Makhan Singh in Investiture Ceremony of Raja Harindar Singh Sahib Bahadur Ruler of Faridkot State (Lahore, ca. 1935); and by Harbans Singh in "Faridkot and Its Ruler," The Khalsa (Lahore, January 26 and February 2, 1947). Other possible sources are Faridkot Directory Muaziat Riasat (Faridkot, 1919) and "Faridkot Number," Volume 2, No. 19 of The Prince of Lahore (17 October 1934) published on the occasion of the investiture of Raja Harindar Singh.

The two most prominent Muslim-ruled states in Punjab were Bahawalpur, on the border between Punjab and Sind, and Malerkotla in the environs of Ludhiana. Bahawalpur, isolated by rivers and deserts and sparsely populated until the Sutlej Valley Project spread irrigation facilities to its vast territories in the 1920s, was the largest Punjab state in area, but second after Patiala in population. Though the Nawabs of Bahawalpur claimed the Abbasid

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caliphs as their ultimate ancestors, they had more recently emigrated from Sind in the early 1700s. An early history of the state is Shahamet Ali's The History of Bahawalpur with Notices of the Adjacent Countries of Sindh, Afghanistan, Multan and the West of India (London, 1848). It is not a continuous narrative but an assortment of sketches. The book has three main divisions; first, an introductory chapter on Bahawalpur based on Shahamet Ali's own inquiries and observations made in 1833 when he accompanied the Wade mission seeking to open the Sutlej to navigation; then an abridgment of the family annals of Nawab Bahawal Khan done by Peer Ibrahim Khan and translated into English by Shahamet Ali; finally, a conclusion on the Daoodputras of Bahawalpur as written by Shahamet Ali but based on information supplied by Major Mackison, who had also accompanied the Wade mission and then served as the British Agent at Bahawalpur. Some of the same material is covered again in Peer Ibrahim Khan's Memoir of Peer Ibrahim Khan, Bahadur, British Agent at the Court of H. H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur (London, 1852). A more recent account of the state is Nazeer Ali Shah's Sadiqnamah: The History of Bahawalpur State (Lahore, 1959). Though not as comprehensive as the two books cited above, it, too, is a collection of disparate extracts from other works, notes supplied by former state officials, and short narrative chapters on individual rulers. In Urdu there is Mir Nasir Ali's Jughrafiyah-i-Riyasat-i-Bahawalpur (Delhi, 1892) on the state and its administration.

Though Malerkotla was one of the smallest Punjab states in area, it enjoyed prominence because of its strategic location and the distinguished past of its Sherwani Afghan rulers. Mirza Ijaz

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Hussain outlines its development in A Brief Note on the History of the Malerkotla State (Lahore, 1922).

The Punjab hill states, though physically and culturally isolated from modern developments until the 1950s, have received a fair amount of attention from historians. The basic work on them is John Hutchison and Jean Philippe Vogel's exhaustive two-volume History of the Panjab Hill States, (Lahore, 1933), a compilation of papers which first appeared in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.[15] Hardayal Singh discusses several hill states in his Tawarikh-i-Riyasat-ha-i-Kohistan (Moradabad, 1887); Muhammad Akhtar's "The History of the Punjab Hill States," a master's thesis at Punjab University (Lahore, 1946) is a more recent history of the area; and H. Montgomery Hyde's "Simla and the Simla Hill States under British Protection, 1815-1835," Journal of the Panjab Universit Historical Society, XIII (December 1961), concentrates on a more limited period.

The Punjab hill states and the hill districts incorporated into British Punjab were the home of a major school of miniature painting during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as painters migrated from the plains to the hills much as their new princely patrons had fled centuries earlier from the Muslim invaders. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy first defined the existence of a pahari or hill school of painting in his two-volume work, Rajput Painting (Oxford, 1916), and then Joseph Charles French actually toured the area, looking at examples of various workshops, and refined the classification in Himalayan Art (London, 1931). After independence others have explored this topic with even greater scholarship and sensitivity. Most notable are William George Archer in Kangra Painting (London, 1952), Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills

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(London, 1952), and Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills (London and New York, 1973), a two volume summation of a lifetime of study and reflection; Karl Khandalawala in Pahari Miniature Painting (Bombay, 1958); and Mohindar Singh Randhawa in Kangra Valley Painting (Delhi, 1954), Basohli Painting (Delhi, 1959), Chamba Painting (New Delhi, 1967), and Maharaja Sansar Chand, the Patron of Kangra Painting (New Delhi, 1970).[16] B. N. Goswamy breaks new ground in "Pahari Painting: The Family as the Basis of Style," Marg, XXI, 4 (September 1968). Basing his conclusions on family records kept by priests at Hindu pilgrimage centers, settlement records of the Kangra District, and oral traditions, he delineates the influence of a prolific family of painters based in Guler.

Some individual hill states are the subjects of discreet historical accounts. They include Man Mohan's A History of the Mandi State (Lahore, 1930), published at state expense; a chapter on Mandi in Griffin's Rajas of the Punjab; Balaka Rama, called Shad's, Tarikh-i-Riyasat-i-Hindur (Lahore, 1896); and Bihari Lal's Tarikh-Riasat Nalagarh (Sargodha, 1929). Both of the latter two works are on Nalagarh, also known as Hindur. Of particular interest to historians was Chamba, a state with one of the oldest ruling families in India. Here the large number of stone inscriptions and copper plate title deeds discovered in the early decades of the twentieth century constitute a unique treasure trove for the historian both in their own right and as a supplement to and confirmation of the accuracy of the Rajatarangini of Kashmir, a major Hindu chronicle of Himalayan history. Professor Jean Philippe Vogel presents a full record of early inscriptions in his Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I (Calcutta, 1911) while B. C. Chhabra completes the epigraphic survey for the Muslim

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and modern periods of Indian history in his Antiquities of Chamba State, Part II (Delhi, 1957). Herman Goetz discusses the general archaeological remains from the centuries prior to the British in The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba (Leiden, 1955) while Professor Vogel describes the prime examples of movable treasures such as copper plate inscriptions, sculpture, woodcarvings, and textiles in his Catalogue of the Dhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (Calcutta, 1909). Madanjeet Singh focuses on the temple art of Chamba and Mandi in his section on the Siwalik Ranges in the beautifully produced Himalayan Art (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1968). Some additional information on Chamba as well as on a particular Christian mission station is in Chamba Mission, Report (Ludhiana, 1868).

Biographies of Punjab Princes

Biography is particularly important in the study of princely states since a vigorous, ambitious, and occasionally eccentric prince could shape dramatically not only the affairs of his own state but those of nearby ones whose territories or histories were closely intermingled with his. While there are many published biographies of Punjab princes, most suffer in objectivity because of the circumstances surrounding their production and publication. One must use them with special caution and of course they do not cover all the topics which a twentieth-century historian might deem significant. Read in their own context, they can yield insights on images which the princes desired to project as well as chronicles of their policies and deeds.

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As an introduction there are the collective biographies of Indian princes, which provide vignettes of the more eminent Punjab princes. Here Lepel Griffin's already mentioned Rajas of the Panjab furnishes a comprehensive compilation of material on those rulers who occupied the gadi prior to 1870. His biographical efforts are valuable for data on family ties among the princes and noble families and British attitudes toward those under scrutiny rather than for his heavy-handed moral estimates of character and achievements. The latter, however, do furnish insight into Victorian standards for the Indian aristocracy. Griffin's book later served as the basis for sketches of the princely families which were included in subsequent revisions of his directory of the principal families of British Punjab, The Panjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families in the Territories under the Punjab Government (Lahore, 1865). The revisions issued in 1890, 1910, and 1940 kept Griffin's work current but added no new material on the families or princes included in his original works.[17] Some additional material on Patiala and Kapurthala is in M. Griffith's India's Princes: Short Life-Sketches of the Native Rulers of India (London, 1894).

For the first four decades of the twentieth century, there are governmental publications which admirably supplement the accounts given in the later editions of Griffin's Panjab Chiefs. The Government of India issued the Memoranda on the Indian States at intervals for the use of its political officers. These contain brief resumés on each current ruling prince as well as some his-

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torical background and basic statistics of each state. The Political and Secret Department Library at the India Office Records has copies of the 1905, 1912, 1921, and 1939 editions while the Records collection of official publications has them for 1930, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937. 1938. amd 1940. For years when the Government of India did not produce a full edition of the Memoranda, it published a summary statement of current statistics on each state under the title of The Indian States. Many of the latter for the period from 1921 to 1940 are also available in the India Office Records along with a few copies of the Memoranda on the Indian States.

In the 1920s the Government of India also began to publish biographical directories of the princes and their officials for each of the political agencies created during the reorganization of the Political Department after the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. These items are of special importance for the information they supply on the leading families and officials of the states surveyed All of the following are available at the India Office Records: Panjab States Agency. List of Ruling Princes, Notables and Principal Officials (Calcutta, 1924) and (Delhi, 1938); Ruling Chiefs, Notables and Principal Officials of the Punjab Indian States (Excluding States in the Punjab States Agency) (Lahore, 1924); Information regarding the Khairpur State in the Sukkur Agency in Sind and Its Leading Officials, Nobles and Personages (September 1922). From a quick examination of these lists, it appears that the Aitchison Chiefs' College in Lahore brought about boyhood friendships which later evolved into administrative relationships. One could explore further this theme by analyzing the Old Boys Register Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lahore up to the

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year 1927-1928 (Rawalpindi, 1928), compiled by Sardar Mohan Singh.

Among the biographies of individual princes, the Patiala house accounts for the most titles. Part of the interest might be due to the dissidence which seems to surround each one from Ala Singh to Yadavindra Singh, part to their personal largesse, and part to their eventual success in establishing themselves as the premier Sikh ruling house. Controversy began with Ala Singh, the third son of the second son of Phul. An able military leader, Ala Singh displayed his political shrewdness by accepting the title of Raja and a dress of honor from Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1762 when the Afghan leader was defeating everyone who stood before him and then by redeeming this affiliation with a Muslim by joining the Sikh attack on the Afghan governor at Sirhind in 1763. The most extensive study of this powerful, amoral chief is Kirpal Singh's Life of Maharaja Ala Singh of Patiala and His Times (Amritsar, 1954). Shorter accounts are Karam Singh's Jivan-Brittant Maharaja Ala Singh-ji (Tarn Taran, 1921) in Panjabi; Gurdial Das's master's thesis at Punjab University, "The Life and Work of Alla Singh, the Founder of the Patiala Dynasty" (Lahore, 1938); Atma Singh's "Baba Ala Singh," Patiala Samachar (22 Poh, 6 Magh, 2001 Bk).

After the death of Amar Singh, a grandson of Ala Singh, in 1781, there was a decline in leadership abilities among the Patiala princes. According to Lepel Griffin, who could hardly be considered an advocate of women's liberation, "For many years the only persons in that [Patiala] family who possessed wisdom, energy or courage were women...."[18] When analyzing Rani Rajindra of Phagwara, a first cousin of Amar Singh, he commented that she

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> was one of the most remarkable women of her age. She possessed all the virtues which men pretend are their own--courage, perseverance, and sagacity--without any mixture of the weakness which men attribute to women; and, remembering her history and that of Ranis Sahib Kour and Aus Kour, who some years later, conducted, with so much ability, the affairs of the Patiala state, it would almost appear that the Phulkian Chiefs excluded, by direct enactment, all women from any share of power, from the suspicion that they were able to use it far more wisely than themselves.[19]

It is fitting that these women of Patiala should attract some attention as they have in Atma Singh's Patiala Shahi Gharane dian Surbir Devian (Patiala, 1936) and John J. Pool's Woman's Influence in the East, as Shown in the Noble Lives of Past Queens and Princesses of India (London, 1892). Atma Singh has short notices of Mai Phatto, Bibi Pradhan, Bibi Rajindra, and Bibi Sahib Kour, while Pool has a sketch of Rani Sahib Kour, the capable and ambitious sister of Maharaja Sahib Singh, who served her brother and state as Chief Minister and as the leader of Sikh troops against a Maratha attack in 1794. Pool abstracted his account from Griffin and added little to it. Much later Sardul Singh Caveeshar, a Sikh publicist and politician during the 1920s and 1930s, glorified the combative Sahib Kour as a true Sikh heroine in a long narrative poem published in his Two Gems from the House of Phul (Lahore, 1920) and The Sikh Studies (Lahore, 1937).

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Though Maharaja Narindar Singh gained distinction and additional territories for Patiala by extending active support to the British in both Sikh wars and during the revolt of 1857, his biography has been told only in connection with those events. He, like most of his immediate predecessors and successors, died a relatively young man, in his case at the age of thirty-eight. The notable deeds of his heir, Maharaja Mohindar Singh, who died at the age of twenty-four, have been recorded by Syed Abdoolah in his Memorandum on the Life and Character of His Highness the Maharajah Mahindar Singh, Sovereign of Patiala (London, 1872). Mohindar's son, Maharaja Rajindar Singh, campaigned with his Imperial Service troops before his death in 1900 and is the subject of Shumshere Singh's The Maharaja of Patiala on the Frontier (Calcutta, 1899).

Once Maharaja Bhupinder Singh took over control in Patiala in late 1909, he restored the tradition of the Patiala family being the leading Phulkian and Sikh house. Though he has not been the subject of any full-length biography, Gokal Chand covers limited aspects of his life in A Bibliographical Sketch of His Highness Maharaja Bhupindar Singh of Patiala, with a Brief History of the State (Patiala, 1911). Other sketches include G. de S.A.R. Saint Amand's "Le Maharaja de Patiala (Sri Sir Bhupendra Singh)," Revue International (30 November 1925); Kavalam M. Panikkar's The Indian Princes in Council: A Record of the Chancellorship of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, 1926-1931 & 1933-1936 (London, 1936); Ganda Singh's "His Highness Maharaja Sir Bhupendra Singh of Patiala," Darbar (Amritsar, March 1938); and Nawab Sir

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Liaqat Hiyat Khan's "Late His Highness Maharaja Bhupendra Singh ji: Reminiscences," Patiala Post (November-December 1943). After a career with the Indian Police Service in Punjaaqat had served Bhupinder Singh first as Home Minister and then as Prime Minister in the 1920s and 1930s.

Maharaja Yadavindra Singh, the son of Bhupinder, was the last ruler of Patiala, the first Rajpramukh or Governor of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union and later served as the Indian Ambassador to Italy and then to the Netherlands. He is the focus of Akhtar Subhani's My Ruler (Patiala, 1940); William Fisher's "Sikh Maharaja (Sir Yadavindra Singh of Patiala)," Patiala Post (July-August 1944); and Trilochan Singh's Our Leader Today (Patiala, 1948).

Perpetual rivals of the Patiala rulers, the Maharajas of Nabha who had descended from the elder son of the eldest son of Phul have attracted less overt attention. S. Ranga Iyer, who once served as private secretary to a prime minister of Nabha, produced an extravagant biography of Maharaja Hira Singh in Diary of the Late Maharaja of Nabha (Lucknow, 1924). Saint Nihal Singh lauds both the old-fashioned simplicity of Hira Singh and the cautious reforms of his son and successor, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, in a short article, "The Progressive Ruler of Nabha," Modern Review, XIX (April 1916). Munnalal Syngal, another former Nabha state official, has written a highly biased biography whose title aptly characterizes its contents, The Patriot Prince or the Life Story of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha Who Died as a Martyr (Ludhiana, 1961).

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Kapurthala was a Sikh state whose history was dominated in the late eighteenth century by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the forceful leader of the Sikh misals, and in its last years by Maharaja Jagatjit Singh, the cosmopolitan, French-speaking trout fisherman who ruled from 1877 to 1948 and then was Uprajpramukh of PEPSU until his death on June 19, 1949. The former is the subject of a Panjabi manuscript biography, "Jassa Singh Binod" by Ram Sukh Rao and Sardar Nihal Singh, available in the Punjab State Archives at Patiala. Ram Sukh Rao has also written a biography still in manuscript on "Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala," who ruled from 1801 to 1836. Maharaja Jagatjit Singh wrote several volumes on his travels such as My Tour of the World, October-December 1929 (Allāhabad, 1932); My Travels in Europe and America (London, 1895) and gathered his public addresses in A Collection of Speeches Made by H. H. Maharaja Jagatjit Singh (1939). He is applauded in His Highness Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Kapurthala (London, 1924) and Ganda Singh's "His Highness Maharaja Jagatjit Singh of Kapurthala," Darbar (Amritsar, November 1937). Brinda, the first wife of his heir-apparent Tikka Raja Paramjit Singh, gives a far less flattering view in Maharani: The Story of an Indian Princess, as told to Elaine Williams (New York, 1954). Besides personality differences, the clash may be traced to the father-in-law's insistence that his heir take a second wife after Brinda, the daughter of a Rajput noble of Jubbal, bore only daughters.

In Tiger's Tale, as told to Kenneth Wheeler (London, 1969) Muhammad Mansur Ali Khan, the former Nawab of Pataudi, has re-

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counted what happened to the heir of one small princely state during the early decades of independent India. While he discusses his memories of his father, his family ties, his own vague educational and career goals, he directs most of his attention to his exploits on the cricket fields of England and India. Here he kept alive the tradition of Indian princes as major patrons and participants in this leisurely game of Empire and Commonwealth.

Specialized Studies of the Punjab States

Probably the most fruitful and the most neglected approach to a study of the Punjab states is an institutional one which seeks to place them in the wider contexts of Punjab and modern Indian history. Though the historical literature is sparse on such topical questions as the process of state formation in eighteenth century Punjab or the role of Punjab princes in Sikh revivalism, there are some studies worthy of notice. More importantly, there are published as well as unpublished primary source materials on many such topics which historians have yet to utilize fully.

To begin with origins, one must first survey the literature on the evolution of Sikhism cited above. Then one must widen the perspective and look first at relations among the Punjab states themselves, then at those between them and other Indian powers such as the Marathas and Rohillas, and finally at their alliances with the British East India Company. In all these spheres, Griffin's _Rajas of the Panjab_ is essential for a basic overview. It, however, must be supplemented by articles and books which focus on specific aspects.

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In the chaos of the decline of Mughal power in Punjab, an ambitious official or petty chieftain trusted no one, least of all his relatives and neighbors. Some of the ferocity of the resultant warfare is conveyed by Hari Ram Gupta, a former history professor at Forman Christian College in Lahore, in "Origin of Sikh Territorial Chieftainships, 1748-1759," Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, III (1939); by S.N. Banerjee, a former professor of history at Mohindra College in Patiala, in his articles in the Patiala Post, "Bhattis and the House of Patiala" (March-April 1944), and "Conquest of Hissar by Patiala" (June-July and September-October 1945); and by Inayat Ali Khan in A Description of the Principal Kotla Afghans (Lahore, 1882) which depicts the battles between Malerkotla and Patiala. How the Punjab princes managed to survive the onslaught of challengers who came from further afield may be partially pieced together from Kirpal Singh's "Maharaja Ala Singh's Relations with the Marathas," Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XV (1952) and his "Statesmanship of Maharaja Ala Singh of Patiala," Ibid., XVI (1953); S.N. Banerjee's "Ahmad Shah Abdali and Raja Ala Singh," Patiala Post (April-May and July-August 1946) and his papers, "Raja Alha Singh and the Marathas," Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings, XXI (December 1944), "Patiala and General Perron," Ibid., XVIII (January 1942), "Dispute over George Thomas' Territory," Ibid., XIX (December 1942), "The Cis-Sutlej Chiefs under Maratha Rule," Ibid., XXIII (December 1946); and William Francklin's The Military Memoirs of George Thomas (Calcutta, 1803).

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Thomas, an English adventurer, had served the Marathas before establishing himself as an independent power in the Hissar-Hansi region in the late 1790s. He first attacked Jind in 1798 but was routed eventually by a joint Sikh-Maratha Force under Louis Bourquin in 1801.

After the defeat of Thomas, the Punjab states, especially the cis-Sutlej ones, found themselves facing two far more formidable enemies. In the trans-Sutlej lands Ranjit Singh of Lahore was rapidly consolidating his hold over the territories of the major Sikh misals and in the Jumna doab the British Company was beginning to move against the recent but not firm allies of the cis-Sutlej states, the Marathas. After elaborately acknowledging the suzerainity of Ranjit Singh when he visited their states, most of the Punjab princes ultimately chose to seek protection and alliance with the more distant power which did not appear to aspire to outright annexation. Since their decision was based on expediency, most of them did not become steadfastly loyal allies of the British until after the latter gave conclusive demonstrations of their strength in the two Anglo-Sikh wars, which led to the extinction of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore. For the British their treaties with the cis-Sutlej states in 1809 represented a crucial initiative arising from complex considerations.

The British wanted to thwart the advance of Ranjit Singh toward their newly acquired northern borders while laying the foundation for further probes toward the territory of the new enemy in Europe, Russia. The Persian version of the letters and agreements between General Lake and the cis-Sutlej rulers is in

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The Conferment of British Protection on the Cis-Sutlej State by Earl of Minto, Governor-General of India in 1809 A.D. (Patiala). (A copy of this publication is in the J.P. Thompson Papers, MSS Eur F 137/4 at the India Office Library.) Nineteenth century sources describe the nature of British-princely state relations and the conditions within the states in the decades immediately after the conclusion of the 1809 treaties. In the former category are J. Sutherland's Sketches of the Relations Subsisting between the British Government in India, and the Different Native States (Calcutta, 1837) and Andrew D'Cruz's On the Political Relations existing between the British Government and Native States and Chiefs Subject to the Government of the North Western Provinces as They Stood in 1840 (Calcutta, 1844). Sutherland was a captain in the Third Regiment of the Bombay Light Cavalry and D'Cruz was an Assistant to the Secretary in the Home Department of the Government of India. In the latter category are two accounts by travelers and two official reports. In his two-volume work, Five Years in India (London, 1842), Henry Edward Fane has scattered observations on Patiala which impressed him positively, on Bahawalpur which affected him negatively, and on a few minor hill rajas. During the years from 1837 to 1842, Fane was serving as Aide-de-Camp to Sir Henry Fane, his uncle and Commander-in-Chief. There are more limited references to the hill princes, especially Bilaspur in Baron Charles Hugel's Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab, translated from the German, with notes by Major T. B. Jervis (London, 1845). A graphic, detailed, and sympathetic report on conditions in Bashahr state in the late 1850s and on

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reforms undertaken by British agents to rationalize the administration is in C.G. Barnes's Memorandum on the District of Bussahir; And the Pacification of the Disaffected Portion of Its Inhabitants. It is available at the India Office Records in printed Selections from the Records of the Punjab Government, Vol. V, No. 4. Similar information on Khairpur state during the early 1850s is supplied in two notes by Lieutenant Lewis Pelly, printed in the Selections from Bombay Government Records (New Series), No. 17, Part I, also at the India Office Records.

In the secondary literature Edward J. Thompson gives a broad view of the entrance of the British into the Punjab state system in The Making of the Indian Princes (London, 1943). Two other studies pay more particular attention to the cis-Sutlej states. Mian Bashir Ahmad Farooqui provides a basic orientation in his succinct but authoritative British Relations with the Cis-Sutlej States, 1809-1823 (Lahore, 1941) which is solidly grounded on the correspondence of the principal British participants in the negotiations and implementation of the treaties. Suraj Narain Rao's doctoral dissertation, "Cis-Sutlej States, 1803-1849" (Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1953) covers much of the same period but in a wider context.

The First Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-1846 was crucial in convincing the Punjab states of the superiority of British power. During that conflict the rulers of Patiala, Jind, and Faridkot supplied military aid as requested by the British, though somewhat reluctantly at times, while those of Nabha and Kapurthala allowed

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their troops to fight against the British. As a result, the British presented a dramatic object lesson by increasing the territories of their allies and reducing those of their enemies. Indubhusan Banerjee describes the British triumph in "Cis-Sutlej States in Crisis of First Anglo-Sikh War," Bengal Past and Present, LXXIII, 137 (1954) as does R.R. Sethi in "The Cis-Sutlej States and the First Sikh War," Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society, Lahore, IV, 2 (December 1935).

After 1846 the Punjab princes were quick to respond affirmatively to any call from their imperial patron for military aid and frequently volunteered such assistance on their own initiative. Their timely action during the revolt of 1857 is described in most studies such as Surendra Nath Sen's Eighteen Fifty-Seven (New Delhi, 1957). Later instances of military support appear in Shumshere Singh's The Maharaja of Patiala on the Frontier (Calcutta, 1899); Saint Nihal Singh's The King's Indian Allies: The Rajahs and their India (London, 1916); Patiala and the Great War (London, 1923); Maharaja of Patiala, War Speeches (Madras, ca. 1916); Kalsia State's Contribution to Win the War (1946); Mangal Singh's articles in the Patiala Post, "A Hero of the Soil (Subedar Rachhpal Ram)" (November-December 1943), "The Pride of Patiala: The First Rajendra Sikhs" (December 1943-January 1944), and "Patiala's War Effort" (April-May 1944); and Maharaja Yadavindra Singh's "Indian State Forces and My Recent Visit to the Middle East and Italy," Patiala Post (November-December 1944). In Notes on the Armed Forces of Some of the Native States of India, issued

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by the General Staff, India (Simla, 1911), there is a frank assessment of the military fitness and loyalty of state troops as well as statistics on numbers and equipment.

Once their territories were stabilized during the late nineteenth century and political changes within Indian society were making them increasingly impotent politically, the Punjab princes began to argue with their British suzerain over less substantial symbols of power like interpretations of treaty clauses, ceremonies, titles, and questions of precedence. Certain sources became key reference works for both sides in these debates which were waged with no less vigor because their objectives were so insubstantial. Sir Lepel Griffin's The Law of Inheritance to Chiefships as Observed by the Sikhs previous to the Annexation of the Panjab (Lahore, 1869) was of consequence since many Punjab princes and gentry died with only collateral heirs surviving creating complex problems of succession. The Memorandum on the Ceremonial Observed in Meetings of Feudatory Chiefs under the Punjab Government (Lahore, 1873) with a preface signed by the industrious Lepel Griffin, was useful in disputes in that sphere. The Punjab volume of Sir Charles Aitchison's monumental A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries (Calcutta, 1892-1893 with several subsequent editions) was the standard reference for the Government of India in all discussions of treaty obligations. Terence Creagh Coen discusses some of the issues debated by the British and the princes as well as the structure, operation, and personnel of the British service which handled relations with the

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princes in The Indian Political Service: A Study in Indirect Rule (London, 1971).

Historians have treated British relations with the Punjab states in great detail, stimulated no doubt by the accessibility of abundant primary source material from the British side. Few scholars have explored the resources of the Punjab State Archives at Patiala or the dispersed records of the Muslim and Marathas challengers to give the viewpoint of the Indian clients of this foreign patron. Though these records might not cause drastic revision of the major outlines of our present knowledge of the origin and operation of the British system of indirect rule, they might yield answers to different questions. What political, social, economic or religious ties among Punjab states affected their decisions and attitudes toward the British? What led some leaders to fight the British encroachment and others to remain apathetic?

The abundance of studies on British-princely relations contrasts sharply with the lack of intensive investigation of the internal administration, politics, and society of the Punjab states. A few books give some insight into areas in which the princes copied or actually used British institutions. Sir John MacPherson's British Enactments in Force in Native States: Northern India (Calcutta, 1895 and later editions) reveals the penetration of British laws; Charles Stewart-Wilson's British Indian Adhesive Stamps Surcharged for Native States, Part I, Chamba, Faridkot, Gawlior and Part II, Jind, Nabha, Patiala

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(Calcutta, 1897-1898) describes the postal arrangement first concluded by Patiala in 1884 with the Government of India and then adopted by the other five states mentioned above. The assessment reports cited above document the application of British land settlement patterns to Punjab states. In "Coins of the Modern Native Chiefs of the Punjab," Indian Antiquary, XVIII (1889), Sir Richard C. Temple discusses the princes' retention of numismatic sovereignty. He bases his analysis on the selection of coins at the British Museum (from Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal, and Malerkotla) and challenges the statements by Lepel Griffin that Kapurthala and George Thomas had issued coins on a regular basis.

Despite the extensive administrative records which are now available at the Punjab State Archives in Patiala, there are only superficial studies of governmental operations, usually written by state officials. On Patiala there are A Short Account of the Principal Charitable and Administrative Acts of His Highness Shree Mahendra Singh of Patiala (Calcutta, 1872) by Khalifa Muhammad Hussain, the Foreign Minister of Patiala, and the anonymous A Short Account of the Charitable and Administrative Acts Executed in the Reign of Maharaja of Patiala under the Management of the Council of Regency, from 1876 to the end of 1882 (Lahore, 1883). Khalifa Muhammad Hussain also wrote the polemical tract, An Attack on the Police Administration of the Punjab Native States and Its Reply (Ambala, 1893) while Shib Chand Puri Sunami, a Superintendent of Police in Patiala, produced Shan-i-Police (Patiala, 1932), an account of the Police Department and his rise to the top of the service.

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There are three books on the internal administration of states other than Patiala. E.A. Good's Khairpur Scandal; Or an Autocratic Vazir and His Maladministration: An Appeal to the British Government (Bombay, 1902) views the situation in a geographically remote state from a critical angle. At the opposite end of our geographical area there is W.H. Newell's "Goshen, A Gaddi Village in the Himalayas," in India's Villages, edited by M.N. Srinivas (Calcutta, ca. 1955). This article not only describes a particular village in Chamba state but also discusses the simple state administration, based on the concept that the Raja owned all the land. One can explore further the topic of land ownership in hill states in Preliminary Report on the General Questions of Settlement of Suket State (Lahore, 1923).

The relatively low level of resources allocated by most Punjab state administrations to social services besides those of the cosmetic variety is emphasized by the one available published work in this sphere. In 1903 the Patiala Council of Regency commissioned H.T. Knowlton, a member of the Indian Educational Service, to assess its education system. His Report on the Condition of Education in the Patiala State (Lahore, 1904) is a thorough catalogue of critical weaknesses such as limited finances, poorly qualified teachers, a disproportionate share of resources allotted to Mohindra College with its high visibility, and of suggested reforms to extend educational opportunities to a wider spectrum of the people. A look at literacy rates is subsequent censuses indicates that his proposals were never fully implemented.

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There are a few short exploratory works and one pioneering study on economic development in the Punjab states. In the former division are Alakh Dhari's Economic Possibilities of Kapurthala; Patrick Geddes's Town-Planning of Patiala State and City: A Report to H.H. Maharaja of Patiala (Lucknow, 1932); Robert W. Hodgson's Fruit Growing Possibilities of Patiala: A Preliminary Study (1937); a series of articles in the Patiala Post, G.M. Modi's "Possibilities of Industrial Development in Patiala State" (June-July 1944), K.J. Budhiraja and Cyril S. Fox's "Saltpetre Industry in Patiala State" (August-September 1945), Gursham Singh's "Development of Sugarcane in Patiala State" (December 1945-January 1946); Cyril S. Fox's Economic Mineral Resources of Patiala State and Their Industrial Possibilities (Patiala, 1946); and H.R. Ambler's mimeographed paper at the India Office Library, "The Former Patiala State Monorail Train-way" (Delhi, ca. 1962). The groundbreaking analysis is "Some Economic Characteristics of the Princely States of India" (University of Pennsylvania, 1969; University Microfilms Order No. 69-21, 372) by John Hurd II. In his doctoral dissertation, Hurd investigates the pattern of economic change in princely states between 1901 and 1931 in order to determine the relation-ship of the states to the general pattern of economic stagnation in the subcontinent during the twentieth century and the causes of economic change, with particular attention to regional varia-tions. The Punjab states included in his sample are Bahawalpur, Bashahr, Bilaspur, Chamba, Faridkot, Jind, Kapurthala, Mandi,

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Nabha, Patiala, and Sirmur. In most Punjab states the extent of irrigation was a significant condition for economic development and a basic overview of this crucial topic is in Aloys A. Michel's The Indus Rivers: A Study of the Effects of Partition (New Haven, 1967).

Scholars have seriously neglected the role of Punjab princes in all-Indian, Punjab, and communal politics despite abundant source material at the National Archives of India, the Punjab State Archives, and the India Office Library and Records. On the all-Indian political stage, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala was dominant as is indicated by his role in the Chamber of Princes, his lobbying before the Indian States Committee in 1928-1929, and his attendance at the First Round Table Conference in 1930. The published proceedings of the Chamber of Princes chronicle his formal activities there and are available at the University of Michigan Library as well as the National Archives of India. His propaganda efforts designed to influence the Indian States Committee (popularly referred to as the Butler Committee after its chairman, Sir Harcourt Butler) are in his Public Pronouncements in Connection with the Indian States Committee (London, 1928), a collection of speeches before organizations such as the East India Association and articles in newspapers and journals. His "Indian Princes and the British Empire," Nineteenth Century, CV (February 1929) is a later repetition of arguments advanced in 1928. A fuller picture of his activities as an all-Indian politician is in Barbara Ramusack's "Indian Princes as Imperial Politicians, 1914-1939" (University of Michigan, 1969; University Microfilms Order No. 69-18, 089).

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In the arena of communal politics many Indian princes seemed to possess unique credentials for leadership, since some had ancestors associated with religious reformers as protectors, patrons, or devotees while others ruled territories which were remanents of political units with a particular communal orientation. The Sikh Punjab princes seemed to be much more active in the Sikh revival than were their Muslim or Hindu counterparts within their respective communities. While the Muslim states were too small (Malerkotla and Loharu) or ruled by a minor for extended periods (Bahawalpur), the Hindu states were situated largely in the isolated foothills of the Himalayas.

When Westernization, Christian missionaries, and new Hindu sects such as the Arya Samaj began to challenge the Sikhs, their individual and collective responses assumed a variety of institutional forms. In the 1870s they started to organize Singh Sabhas devoted to the promotion of the Sikh religion, its sacred scriptures, the Panjabi language, and the education of Sikhs. Confined at first to Amritsar and Lahore, the Singh Sabha movement spread to other urban centers during the 1880s. Efforts were made to draw all Singh Sabhas under the control of the Amritsar Singh Sabha in 1883 with the organization of a Khalsa Diwan in that city sacred to the Sikhs. Differences of personality among the leadership and of class origins among the membership of the Amritsar and Lahore groups rendered this attempt abortive. While most Singh Sabhas remained autonomous, they usually entered the orbit of either the Amritsar or the Lahore Khalsa Diwan. Gradually the Singh Sabhas and other local Sikh associations tried to

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implement their goals by founding khalsa high schools and the Khalsa College at Amritsar. In 1908 they established the Sikh Educational Conference to consolidate support for the growing network of Sikh educational institutions.

With the demise of the first-generation leaders and the continuing attacks from communal rivals, politically articulate Sikhs came together in 1901 to form the Chief Khalsa Diwan as a coordinating body. Seeking the purification of ritual and social practices and greater political representation of Sikh interests, the Chief Khalsa Diwan faced initial opposition from conservative elements but soon met resistance from factions with more radical goals. Among the latter were the Panch Khalsa Diwan founded in 1907 and the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) and its militant auxiliary, the Akali Dal, both organized in 1921. The first group wanted far-reaching social reforms such as complete equality between men and women and fundamental ritual and doctrinal reforms such as the deletion of the Rag Mala, a section containing poems by a Muslim, from the Adi Granth. The second group accelerated the struggle to achieve orthodox Sikh control over the management of the gurdwaras, adding tactics of physical seizure of property to those of legal appeals and personal negotiations. The British ultimately accorded legal recognition to the SGPC as the controlling body of most gurdwaras in 1926. The SGPC gradually emerged as a state within a state and has remained a factor in Punjab politics to the present.

The earliest instance of princely participation in this Sikh resurgence was the role of Raja Bikram Singh of Faridkot

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in the Amritsar Singh Sabha. Besides contributing large sums of money to educational projects, he financed the preparation and publication of a new edition of the Adi Granth with a commentary by Sant Badan Singh (Faridkot, 1907). Unfortunately for Sikh unity, his disdain for the low-caste leader, Bhai Ditt Singh of the Lahore Singh Sabha, and his demand for preponderant personal control were factors precipitating the open break between the Amritsar and Lahore groups during the 1880s.

Other Sikh princes such as Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha and Maharaja Rajindar Singh of Patiala entered Sikh communal affairs but did not confine their patronage to one faction. The proliferating Sikh press attracted their early support. Hira Singh helped to sustain financially the Khalsa Akhbar and the Gurmukhi Akhbar, both of which were organs of the Lahore Singh Sabha, while Rajindar Singh assisted the Khalsa Bahadur whose editor was loosely connected with that group and the Finance Minister of Patiala, Colonel Jewan Singh, helped to initiate the Khalsa, the first, though short-lived, Sikh newspaper in English. N. Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace in The Punjab Press, 1880-1905 (East Lansing, 1970) have gathered more detailed information on the princes' involvement with these newspapers. All the Sikh princes contributed to Khalsa College and were rewarded with a substantial block of seats on the Managing Council and the Chancellorship. The authorized publication of Khalsa College, A History of the Khalsa College, Amritsar (Amritsar, 1949), traces the continuing role of the princes in the development and direction of this institution. Though death removed Rajindar Singh

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in 1900, Hira Singh and his heir Ripudaman Singh both took an active part in Sikh efforts to have the Anand form of marriage recognized as legal. Some polemical material on their position is in Hira Singh's English Translation of the Lecture Read at the General Khalsa Conference, Amritsar (Lahore, 1904) and an anonymous pamphlet, Anand Biwah Par Vichar (Amritsar, 1906). D. Petrie, the Assistant Director of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of the Government of India, gives an overall view of princely involvement in "Developments in Sikh Politics, 1900-1911: A Report" reprinted in Gurdwara Gazette (Amritsar, April 1969).

The historian must utilize an array of disparate sources to glean much information on the spread of Sikh institutions within the states themselves. Sikh newspapers and those Punjab newspapers which took an interest in the princely states contain some notices of and reports on the meetings of Singh Sabhas, the establishment of Sikh schools, and the presentations of petitions by Sikh deputations. The Sikh organizations within the states also published their own materials but they are difficult to locate. Some examples are Sardar Bachan Singh's Nabhe de Ishithar da Uttar Ate Khandan (Amritsar, 1905) which comments on the support of the Nabha Singh Sabha for the Anand marriage, Salana Report Karravai Singh Sabha Kanjla Riasat Patiala Babat Dursa Salana Jormel (Lahore, 1899), a report on a Singh Sabha conference held in February 1899; Khalsa Daswand Committee, Report, 1906-1907 (Patiala, 1907), the suggestions of a committee established to encourage tithing among Sikhs; Amdan Kharch Te Report, Salana

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Diwan (Ludhiana, 1907), a summary of the proceedings and finances of an annual meeting of the Malerkotla Khalsa Diwan in January 1907; Khalsa Darwandh Kameti Report (Patiala, 1906), and Nujamin Da Kharara (Damdama, 1916), which are the draft rules for the administration of the local khalsa high schools.

The above list is only impressive when contrasted with the paucity of publications related to the development of Hindu and Muslim reform groups, both neo-orthodox and radical, within the Punjab states. Here the major item is Munshi Rama Jijyasu and Rama Deva's The Arya Samaj and Its Detractors: A Vindication (Gurukul Kangri, 1910) which focuses on the Patiala Sedition Case of 1909. In this episode the Patiala administration alleged that the Arya Samaj was a political organization and that numerous state officials, teachers, and residents who were Arya Samajists were acting disloyally. Munshi Ram, the governor of the Gurukul at Hardwar, and Rama Deva, the editor of the Vedic Magazine, attempt to refute both these allegations and also reproduce the proceedings of the trial and extracts from newspapers, especially the Punjabee, which were critical of Patiala. Though most of the accused were never convicted, their forced exile from Patiala helped to slow the further growth of the Arya Samaj.

During the 1910s and especially in the 1920s as Sikh groups working for religious and social reform became increasingly active in the political arena, two young Sikh princes, ambitious, strong-willed, and bitter rivals, assumed ruling powers within their states and quickly became prominent participants in Sikh politics. They were Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha and

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Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala. Various views on their respective roles and rivalry are in Panth Hithari Maharaja Ripudaman Singh ji Sahib Bahadur Nabha Pati ji Sahib Bahadur Mabha Pati ji Vidya (Lahore, 1918); the Report of Special Commissioner on Disputes between Patiala and Nabha States (Simla, 1923), which was by L. Stuart, an Allahabad judge, and unfavorable to Nabha; and publications by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Truth about Nabha (Amritsar, 1924), The Jaito Affair (Amritsar, 1924), and The Struggle for Freedom of Religious Worship in Jaito (Amritsar, 1924). Barbara Ramusack uses much of this material along with British sources on the Patiala-Nabha conflict in her "Incident at Nabha: Interaction between Indian States and British Indian Politics," Journal of Asian Studies, XXVIII, 3 (May 1969). Two more recent interpretations of the Nabha episode are Harbans Singh's "Maharaja Ripudaman - His Involvement in Popular Causes," The Panjab Past and Present, IV, 2 (October 1970) and Mohinder Singh's "Akali Involvement in the Nabha Affair," Ibid., V, 2 (October 1971). There are also references to the abdication of Ripudaman Singh and the subsequent confrontation between the Akali Dal and the minority administration of Nabha at Jaito in Akali Bhabak (Patiala), Harnam Singh's Angrezon Ne Nabha Kikun Lita Arthat Tarikh Nabha (Amritsar), Jaito De Atyachar (Amritsar, ca. 1922), Bhag Singh's Jaito Vic Khun De Parnale Arthat Sakhti Da Har (Amritsar), Avatar Singh's Kaidi Bir Bhag, Part I (Amritsar, ca. 1924), Ranjit Singh's Kale Te Gore De Saval Javab, Arthat Gora Shahi De Dhol Da Pol (Amritsar), Daya Singh's Nabhe

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De Nazim Gurdialu Buchar Da Siapa (Amritsar, 1925), Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh's Nabhe Ute Zaiiman Da Kabzah Ate Sheran Di Garaj (Amritsar, 1924), Bhag Singh's Sakhti Da Har (Amritsar, 1924) and Shahidi Sakka Jaito (Amritsar).[20] Ripudaman Singh's Na Milvartan Da Khatarnak Vatira... (Nabha, 1921), which condemns non-cooperation with the Government, is curious in light of later Akali and nationalist appeals for his return to the gadi.

Most Sikh princes participated in the movement for gurdwara reform though many SGPC and Akali Dal leaders considered the princely activities to be more obstructionist than supportive. Several contemporary observers analyzed these princely maneuvers. They include V.W. Smith, the Superintendent of Police, CID, in Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee: A Report (Simla, 1922); Ruchi Ram Sahni, a leading Brahmo Samajist in Lahore, in The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening (Jullundur, 1922) and Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines, edited by Ganda Singh (Amritsar, 1956); and Some Confidential Papers of the Akali Movement, edited by Ganda Singh (Amritsar, 1965). The Akali Dal and its supporters issued polemical material in Gurmukhi strongly condemning what it saw as oppressive àctivities by Maharaja Bhupinder Singh. Patiala Di Sikhi Da Namunda Parje Ghatak Master Patiala Samjhote Di Mitti Palit (Patiala, ca. 1922), a poster on Patiala and the Akali Dal, compares the incumbent Maharaja to Aurangzeb since both oppressed their subjects. Ujagar Singh's Dukhi Parja Patiala Ute Navin Sahar Sati (Amritsar, 1936) claims that the Maharaja attempted to buy off the Akali Dal with funds extracted from his peasants. Patiale Di Sikhi Da Namuna

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(Patiala, 1936) both attacks Patiala and charges that Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal have unduly compromised with the Sikh ruler. Hari Singh's Shahid Sardar Seva Singhji Ashram: Adarsh Unnati No. 1 (Patiala, ca. 1936) eulogizes Seva Singh Thikriwala, an Akali Dal member who died in a Patiala jail. All of the above themes are repeated in Pardhangi Address (Amritsar, ca. 1937), a collection of speeches delivered at a shahidi or martyrs conference held on March 25, 1937. The Agitation Section of the Prime Minister's Office of Patiala is a rich source on the anti-Akali campaign which the Patiala administration launched. One bit of propaganda which survives at the India Office Library is Patiala Vich Akalian Ute Atiyachar, a circular letter issued by the Patiala Home Department contradicting the allegations of the Akali Dal.

As Bhupinder Singh of Patiala and most of the other Punjab princes demonstrated their ultimate loyalty to the British raj and increasingly harrassed popular political leaders within their states, the Akali Dal joined with Hindu activists to form the nucleus of the Punjab Riyasati Praja Mandal, the regional unit of the states' people's movement. Rajendra Lal Handa gives a fragmentary view of this organization in History of the Freedom Struggle in Princely States (Delhi, 1968). More detailed surveys are Sardar Wazir Singh Dardi's "Byan," a Panjabi manuscript at the Punjab State Archives in Patiala, and Ramesh Walia's Praja Mandal Movement in East Punjab States (Patiala, 1972), based on interviews with surviving leaders as well as the resources of the Punjab State Archives. A prime example of the type of attack launched on the princes is the Indictment of Patiala

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(Bombay, 1930) issued by the All-India States' People's Conference, Patiala Enquiry Committee. In relation to this episode one should see the Grievance of an Indian Prince: An Appeal to the British People (London, 1930). Though the British Museum printed catalogue lists this pamphlet under Bhupendra Singh, it is highly unlikely that the Patiala ruler wrote or commissioned it. This tract is an appeal for a second inquiry to clear Bhupinder Singh's name of lingering dishonor because of supposed irregularities in the Fitzpatrick Enquiry which had declared him innocent of the allegations contained in the Indictment of Patiala. The Crown Representative Papers contain files on the incident including a copy of the Fitzpatrick Report. The Princes Welfare League launched an assault on Bhupinder Singh from a different angle in their An Alarm Signal to the Indian Princes (Amritsar, 1931). Here they criticized his proposals for a confederation of princes as a torpedo aimed at the federation of India. Two shots which sought a wider mark than Patiala are Bhai Rattan Singh's Baghi Ki Ki Sarkar (Amritsar) on Sikh politics and the princely states and Riyasat Malerkotla Aur Uska Hukamran (Lahore, 1931), a collection of articles from the Riasati Dúnya.

Contrary to the expectations as well as the desires of most Punjab princes, the Praja Mandal and the Indian National Congress were successful in achieving the end of the states as autonomous political entities. After the end of World War II, the Chamber of Princes tried desperately to improve the image of their order while seeking concessions first from the British and then from their nationalist successors. Indian India, a monthly published by the

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Chamber of Princes from November 1945 to April 1947, is evidence of the former effort and contains many articles on the Punjab states and their rulers as they appeared before integration seemed imminent. In the monumental compilation of documents, Transfer of Power, 1942-7: Constitutional Relations between Britain and India, editor-in-chief, Nicholas Mansergh (London, 1970 onwards), there will be a full, readily accessible record of the princely participation in the negotiations prior to 1947. (Three volumes have been published.) Here Yadavindra Singh of Patiala as a leader of the Chamber of Princes and a member of the National Defence Council is the Punjab ruler who appears most prominently. Urmila Phadnis in Toward the Integration of Indian States, 1919-1947 (London, 1968) delineates some of the institutional movements which prefigured the ultimate absorption of the states into the Indian Union. The basic, first-hand account of the negotiations leading to the assimilation of the states into India is The Story of the Integration of the Indian States (Bombay, 1957) by Vapal P. Menon, the chief deputy of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Minister for the States. Menon discusses most of the Punjab plain states and deals with the hill states as a group, but is fullest on the bargaining with Yadavindra Singh whose territory might form the core for an independent Sikh state. Ganda Singh emphasizes even more the crucial position of Yadavindra in "The Role of Patiala in the Integration of India," The Panjab Past and Present, II, 1 (April 1968). Khazan Singh's Merger of the Sikh States into the Indian Union: the Kapurthala State

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(Kapurthala, 1948) examines another instance in greater detail. In The Report on the Working of Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, Patiala, April 1947-February 1948, Teja Singh Malik, the Committee's President, gives some insight into the terrifying consequences of partition for one Punjab state with a large Muslim minority and a militant Sikh population. As the two way exchange of population between India and West Pakistan began to subside, the Government of India held its first general elections based on universal suffrage. Analyses of this momentous event are in Reports on the Indian General Elections, 1951-52, edited by Sadanand V. Kogekar (Bombay, 1956). Kogekar himself discusses "PEPSU" while Irene Tinker looks at "Himachal Pradesh." In the latter province William H. Newell looks ahead to the possible impact of new governmental structures such as district officers and village panchayats in "A Note on Village Government in the Indian Northern Hill States since Indian Independence," Economic Development and Cultural Change, II (June 1954).

On the Pakistan side, there are three books which relate the impact of partition on those Punjab plain states which joined the new Islamic Republic. Sir Penderel Moon, a former ICS officer serving in Bahawalpur as Revenue Minister in 1947, has drawn a vivid picture of the rending of old social patterns and the breakdown of civil and military authority in that state in Divide and Quit (London, 1961). More recently, Aloys A. Michel has described the herculean program to rationalize the truncated irrigation system, including that of Bahawalpur and Khairpur in The Indus Rivers: A Study of the Effects of Partition. Wayne A. Wilcox traces the integration of the princely states in

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Pakistan: The Consolidation of a Nation (New York, 1963).

The range of sources on the Punjab states is wide and the opportunities for meaningful research are many. Perhaps one example of the direction that research might take will suffice. It is a popular historical truism that communal tensions were partially the conscious or unconscious result of British policies toward the religious communities. Yet there is widespread evidence of communal tensions within the princely states for several decades prior to the holocaust of 1947. Among the Punjab states the Muslim ministers on the Patiala Council of Regency were under attack by Sikh and Hindu rivals in the 1880s while a case of kine-killing in Jind in the 1890s caused a public protest. Scholarly investigation of the evolution of communalism in British Indian provinces has begun but it is nearly absent on this phenomenon in the princely states. The Punjab states provide a particularly challenging area for research on this topic because of their physical dispersion and the wide range of communal groups represented in varying proportions within individual states. An analysis of the impact of different rulers, of longstanding relationships among indigenous religious communities, of outside events, of the penetration of all-India or all-Punjab associations on the development of communalism within the Punjab states would not only extend our knowledge of this problem but would provide a firm basis for comparison with how communalism evolved in British Punjab and in the princely states.

Though this essay concentrates on the Punjab princes, it is not possible to treat them as an isolated group. They shared their origins in an era of political flux, their treaties with a foreign

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paramount power, their efforts to achieve a more defined constitutional relationship with British India in the early decades of the twentieth century, their deepening confrontation with internal and external popular political associations, and their eventual demise with a wide spectrum of other princely rulers scattered throughout the India subcontinent. While we need specialized studies of many facets of the history of the Punjab states, we must look further afield. There is an extensive and growing literature on the princely states which encompasses both studies of particular states and general surveys. Major examples of the latter category are Thompson, Hurd, Phadnis, and Menon. The reader may locate others in both categories in the Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, Volume IV (London, 1937) and the bibliographies of Phadnis's Toward the Integration of Indian States, 1919-1947 and Ramusack's "Indian Princes as Imperial Politicians, 1914-1939." By broadening our perspective, we should be able to be more precise in our generalizations on the Punjab princes and their states as well as more firmly grounded in our comparisons of the varying levels of political, social, and economic change throughout South Asia.

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APPENDIX

PUNJAB STATE GAZETTEERS

The following list, though not definitive, is more comprehensive than existing catalogues. It includes all the state gazetteers listed in Malik, A Bibliography of the Punjab and Its Dependencies (1849-1910) and in Scholberg, The District Gazetteers of British India and provides supplementary material on some items cited by Scholberg. An example is the "B" volume dated 1904 which Scholberg cites as only Hissar though it also contains data on Loharu. The dates given are those of publication, not of compilation.

BAHAWALPUR - "A" volume-1908: "B" volumes-1908, 1913, 1935.

BILASPUR - "A" volume in Simla Hill States-1911: "B" volume-1935.

CHAMBA - "A" volume-1910: "B" volumes-1909, 1913, 1934.

DUJANA - "A" volume-1908: "B" volumes bound with those of Rohtak District-1904, 1911*, 1913, 1915*, "B" volume bound separately-1936.

FARIDKOT - "A" volume-1909: "B" volumes bound with those of Ferozepore District-1908 and 1913, "B" volume bound separately-1935. Professor W. Eric Gustafson has a manuscript copy of a gazetteer in Urdu on Faridkot.

JIND - "A" volume bound with Patiala and Nabha under Phulkian States-1909: "B" volumes bound similarly under Phulkian States-1908 and 1913, "B" volume bound separately-1933. There is a copy of a gazetteer in Urdu on Jind dating from the 1940s at the University of Missouri Library.

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KALSIA - "A" volume-1908: "B" volumes bound with those of Ambala District-1909 and 1913, "B" volume bound separately-1935.

KAPURTHALA - "A" and "B" volumes bound with those of Jullundur District-1908: "B" volume bound with that of Jullundur District-1913, "B" volumes bound separately-1917, 1934.

LOHARU - "A" volumes bound with those of Hissar District-1907, 1916: "B" volumes bound with those of Hissar District-1904, 1912, "B" volume bound separately-1937.

MALERKOTLA - "A" volume bound with that of Ludhiana District-1907: "B" volumes bound with those of Ludhiana District-1906, 1913, "B" volume bound separately-1937.

MANDI - "A" volume bound with that of Suket State-1908, "A" volume bound separately-1920: "B" volumes bound with those of Suket State-1907, 1913, "B" volume bound separately-1936.

NABHA - "A" volume bound with Jind and Patiala under Phulkian States-1909: "B" volumes bound similarly under Phulkian States-1908, 1913, "B" volume bound separately-1936.

PATAUDI - "A" volume bound with that of Gurgaon District-1908: "B" volumes bound with those of Gurgaon District, 1908, 1913*, "B" volume bound separately-1937.

PATIALA - "A" volume bound with Jind and Nabha under Phulkian States-1909: "B" volumes bound similarly under Phulkian States-1908, 1913: "B" volume bound separately-1937.

SIMLA HILL STATES - "A" volume-1911 includes Baghal, Bija, Bhagat, Balsam, Bashahr, Bhajji, Bilaspur, Darkoti, Bhami, Jubbal, Keonthal, Keonthal Zaildars, Kumharsain, Kunahair, Kuthar, Mahlog, Mangal, Nalagarh, Sangri, and Tharhoch, "A" volume-

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1935 includes Baghal, Bhajji, Dhami, Nalagarh, Rawingarh, and Theog. Rawingarh was a feudatory of Jubbal and Theog was one of Keonthal.

SIRMUR - "A" volumes-1907, 1939: "B" volumes-1907, 1913, 1935.

SUKET - "A" volume bound with that of Mandi-1908, "A" volume bound separately-1927*: "B" volume bound with those of Mandi State-1907, 1913, "B" volume bound separately-1934.

* indicates a volume cited by Scholberg but not available at the India Office Records. All other volumes cited above are available at the India Office Records.

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NOTES

1. The Punjab States Agency, formed in 1921, included the following plain states: Bahawalpur, Faridkot, Jind, Kapurthala, Loharu, Nabha, and Patiala and the hill states of Bilaspur, Chamba, Mandi, Sirmur, and Suket with Khairpur transferred from the jurisdiction of the Bombay government in 1933 and Dujana and Pataudi from that of the Punjab government in 1936.

2. The Punjab Hill States Agency, formed in 1936 and placed under the Resident for the Punjab States, included the plain state of Kalsia, the hill states of Bilaspur and Sirmur (transferred from the Punjab States Agency) Tehri Garhwal (detached from the United Provinces government), and the remaining hill states.

3. The author has not visited the Pakistan Government Record Office in Lahore and has relied on reports from Professor N. Gerald Barrier of the University of Missouri, Columbia, and on Government Archives in South Asia: A Guide to National and State Archives in Ceylon, India and Pakistan, edited by D.A. Low, J.C. Iltis and M.D. Wainwright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 348-353.

4. The India Office Records, housed in London in the same quarters as the India Office Library, holds the printed and manuscript records of the Home Government of India. Nearly all the items

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cited in this essay are in the Records and in particular in the Political and Secret Department Library in the collection of official publications. There are also a number of official publications in the Library most of which are duplicates except that in a few instances the Library may hold an item which is not in the Records. Most of the official publications catalogues, along with the lists covering other sections of the Records, are available in the Catalogue Hall. There is in addition a card catalogue, available for consultation through the staff, which is usually necessary to use for post 1900 material.

5. For information on how the estimate of population in the Punjab states was obtained for the 1855 census, see "Report on the Census, taken on the 1st January 1855, of the Population of the Punjab Territories: in Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Foreign Department), No. XI, available at the India Office Records.

6. Though some of the smaller states have their "A" and sometimes "B" volumes bound with and numbered in the Punjab District Gazetteer series, most gazetteers of the Punjab states have the title Punjab States Gazetteers on the inner title page of "A" and "B" volumes. The numbering system of the Punjab State Gazetteers is not based on an easily discernible pattern. Bibliographical references to these works are further complicated by the fact that the titles of most "A" volumes and early "B" volumes carry the date of compilation which usually preceded the date of

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publication by one to six years. See the appendix for one list of Punjab State Gazetteers and Henry Scholberg, The District Gazetteers of British India: A Bibliography (Zug: Inter Documentation Company, 1970), pp. 38-41 and 80-86. (Bibliotheca Asiatica, No. 3).

7. For further publication information on the assessment reports, see Ikram Ali Malik, A Bibliography of the Punjab and its Dependencies (1849-1910), (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1968), pp. 126-168.

8. The India Office Records has reports for scattered years from Baghal, Baghat, Bahawalpur, Bashahr, Bilaspur, Chamba, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Khairpur, Mandi, Nabha, Pataudi, Patiala, Sirmur, Suket, Tehri Garhwal. All are available under the heading "Indian States Administration Reports" except for the pre-1900 ones from Bahawalpur, Chamba, and Pataudi which are in printed Selections from the Records of the Punjab Government, New Series No. 4.

9. Many of the data on newspapers in this essay have been extracted from an indispensable tool for any scholar working on Punjab history: N. Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace, The Punjab Press, 1880-1905 (East Lansing, 1970). (Michigan. State University, East Lansing. Asian Studies Center. Occasional Paper. South Asia Series, 14.)

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10. Much of this information has been culled from the Annual Statements on Newspapers for 1925 and 1930 in the National Archives of India, Government of India, Home-Political, 1926, File No. 261, and 1931, File No. 81.

11. The Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers for Punjab underwent several title changes. Until 1887 they were included with Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and Central Provinces. In the 1890s they were separated from the North-Western Provinces and by the 1910s they were known as Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in Punjab and by 1920 as the Punjab Press Abstracts.

12. Many of the data on these manuscripts have been extracted from Malik, A Bibliography of the Punjab and its Dependencies (1849-1910), Ganda Singh, A Bibliography of the Punjab (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1966) and A Bibliography of the Patiala and EPS Union (Patiala: Archives Department, PEPSU, 1954), and N. Gerald Barrier, The Sikhs and their Literature (A Guide to Books, Tracts & Periodicals 1849-1919) (Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1970).

13. The following definition of misals is from McKim Marriott, "Village Structure and the Punjab Government: A Restatement," American Anthropologist, LV, 1 (January-March 1953), p. 142.

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Misals were voluntary, free-booting armies, each ultimately comprising from 5,000 to 20,000 cavalry which were raised selectively by religious-cum-military propaganda from among the Sikh yeomanry of areas populated by a total of about seven million people. Each of the twelve misals had its home area for recruiting. A recruiting area of one misal included thousands of villages, hundreds of village-groups and varying numbers of taluqas, each taluqa being loosely controlled by the chiefs who had emerged with greatest power after the Muslim collapse. The loose structure of a misal, with its emphasis on equality, mobility and inspired warfare, was a radical departure from the settled structure of peasant society: it was rather the structure of a tribal militia. The misals gained dominion over several hundred cis-Sutlej villages from the Muslims. Their members divided up the revenue rights of those conquered villages into some 60,000 shares--shares which could have borne no relation to village groups in that region. The misals thus ended their corporate existence by dissolving into a class of British Indian overlords.

Marriott's article was in response to Marian W. Smith's

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"The Misal: A Structural Village Group of Indian and Pakistan," American Anthropologist, LIV, 1 (January-March 1954), pp. 41-56.

14. In his preface, he declares

> The conclusion to which I am convinced that any honest mind will arrive after reading this history, in which the single endeavour has been to record the truth, is that the policy of the British Government, so far as the Sikh States are concerned, has been uniformly liberal, enlightened and just: that in no single instance has it abused its strength to oppress its weaker neighbours, but that, on the contrary, it has taken less than its undoubted right and has decided disputed questions with a generosity and disinterestedness which will be looked for in vain in the administration of any other country.

Sir Lepel H. Griffin, The Rajas of the Panjab being the History of the Principal States in the Panjab and their Political Relations with the British Government (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1870), p. iv.

15. These volumes include chapters on Bandralta, Basohli, Bhadrawath, Bhadu, Bhimber, Chanehni, Jammu, Kashtwar, Punch,

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and Rajauri which Raja Gulab Singh had formed into Jammu state by 1847; on Bangahal, Kangra, Kulu, and Nurpur which the British annexed to their province of Punjab by 1857; and on Bilaspur, Chamba, Mandi, and Suket which remained as autonomous states until 1948.

16. Other books by Mohindar Singh Randhawa which illustrate various themes and literary works through the medium of paintings from the Kangra school are The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting (New Delhi, 1956), Kangra Paintings of the Bhagavata Purana (New Delhi, 1960), Kangra Paintings on Love (New Delhi, 1962), Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda (New Delhi, 1963), and Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai (New Delhi, 1966).

17. The revisions are (1) The Panjab Chiefs, Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families in the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions of the Panjab by Lepel Griffin, new edition bringing the histories down to date by Charles Francis Massy, 2 volumes (Lahore, 1890). These two volumes are an updated version of Griffin's original one-volume work. Massy then completed Griffin's initial plan with the publication of Charles Francis Massy, Chiefs and Families of Note in the Delhi, Jalandhar, Peshawar and Derajat Divisions of the Panjab (Allahabad, 1890). This volume also includes short accounts of the Punjab princes which are abstracts from Griffin's Rajas of the Panjab. The Government finished this revision with the publication of Appendix. Revised

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Pedigree Tables of the Families Mentioned in Griffin's Punjab Chiefs and Massy's Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab (Lahore, 1899). This appendix contains the pedigrees of the rulers of the hill states but not of the plain states. (2) Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab, a revised edition of The Punjab Chiefs by Sir Lepel Griffin and of Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab by Colonel Charles Francis Massy, revised and corrected by W. D. Conran and H. D. Craik, 2 volumes (Lahore, 1909-1910). The Government again published separately the Appendix. Revised Pedigree Tables of the Families Mentioned in the Revised Edition of Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab (Lahore, 1911). (3) Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab, revised and corrected up to July 1, 1939, by G.L. Chopra, 2 volumes (Lahore, 1940). Again there was a separate Appendix. Revised Pedigree. Tables of the Families Mentioned in the Revised Edition of Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab (Lahore, 1940). In this instance the Appendix contains pedigrees of both plain and hill princes.

18. Griffin, The Rajas of the Panjab, 0. 50.

19. Ibid ., p. 67.

20. I am indebted for most of these references to vernacular materials to Professor N. Gerald Barrier of the University of Missouri at Columbia.

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