

THE HISTORIAN

VOL. 09

WINTER

2011

A BI-ANNUAL RESEARCH JOURNAL

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GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE

The Historian

Volume 09 Winter 2011

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GC University, Katchehry Road, 54000 Lahore, Pakistan.

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ISSN 2074-5672

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PRICE: 250 PKR

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to analyze Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan's political transition from Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam through Pakistan Muslim League to the Awami League. It explains why did he opt for the League and no other political parties and why did he leave the League eventually. It also assesses the nature of his politics in the Awami League and how did this politics evolve him into a leader of opposition under the political tutelage of Hussain Shaheed Sohrwardy till the imposition of Martial Law in the country in 1958.

KEY WORDS

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Pakistan Muslim League, Martial Law, Awami League.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, Pakistan Muslim League, Anti-Qadyani Movement, Hussain Shaheed Sohrwardy, Iskander Mirza, Mumtaz Daultana, Mian Iftikhar Hussain Mamdoot, Qayyum Khan, Azad Peoples Party, Azad Pakistan Party

This study attempts to take into account the politics of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan in the first decade of Pakistan's history from 1947 to '58. This period witnessed his political transition from the religion based politics of Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam to first the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) and later the Awami League. During this academic enquiry, efforts are made to answer several questions related to his political sojourn. One, why did he leave the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam? Two, why did he prefer to join the Pakistan Muslim League when he had the option to join the secular Azad Peoples Party and socialism inclined Azad Pakistan Party? Three, what were the circumstances of his ouster from the PML and joining of the Awami League? Four, did he play any significant role in the anti-Qadiyani Movement that rocked Lahore in the early 1950s? Five, how did he grow in the Awami League's party hierarchy? Six, what were his standpoints on the political issues confronted by the Awami League? And lastly, how did Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy's leadership of the Awami League shaped Nasrullah Khan's political style and substance as a leader of opposition in the then West Pakistan?

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan remained associated with the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam even after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. This association kept him out of the mainstream politics till the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam itself decided to quit politics in 1949 to concentrate only on religious issues. The Ahrar leadership had suggested to its leaders and workers that if they wanted to continue politics, they could join the Muslim League, the very party that they had opposed before Partition. With this

announcement, Nasrullah Khan's political career was at a political crossroad. How he negotiated with the emerging challenge is an interesting story because by pursuing his political career, there will be opportunity to study different aspects of the political history of the country as well.

On the advice of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (as president of the All-India Muslim League), Liaquat Ali Khan convened a meeting of the League's Council at Karachi on 15 December 1947 and it was decided that as two independent states of India and Pakistan had been created so the All-India Muslim League stood redundant, therefore, two separate Muslim Leagues be formed for each of the two states.¹ Hussain Shaheed Sohrwardy strongly argued that League's membership be made open to the non-Muslims in Pakistan as well if it were to represent all sections of the country's population, and therefore, the new name of the party should be Pakistan League but Jinnah rejected his proposal.² The continuing communal character of the Muslim League created room for the creation of another party. The Azad Peoples Party came into being on May 8, 1948 with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as its President, G M Syed as the Secretary General and Abdus Samad Achakzai as the Vice President.³ The non-communal and secular objectives of the party promised full autonomy to all linguistic groups and stressed on making Pakistan a socialist democracy with masses as the fountain head of political power but the party could not survive long due to the imprisonment of its top leadership by the government of the day.⁴ This was a bad omen for the opposition in Pakistan.

The next political party of some considerable strength and longevity was the Azad Pakistan Party. It was formed on November 10, 1950 in Lahore with Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Sheikh Muhammad Rasheed and Khawaja Afzal as members of its Convening Committee and Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri as its Convener.⁵ It promised a progressive party programme that included: withdrawal from the British Commonwealth; elimination of jagirs (big feudal landholdings) and leaving only chunks of lands to the feudals for bare sustenance; distribution of state's cultivable land among farmers and tenants; a comprehensive plan on an emergency basis for basic industries and those under control of foreigners with a view to ensure prosperity to the industrial labour; all businesses, factories, etc left by the non-Muslims to be brought under the state control but agricultural lands in control of the refugees to be transferred to them on a permanent basis; civil rights denied by the ruling Muslim League's government be restored and draconian laws like the Public Safety Act be cancelled; general elections on the basis of adult franchise be held throughout the country and the unrepresentative Constituent Assembly be dissolved; royal states be disbanded; and foreigners in the civil service be replaced by the Pakistanis.⁶ After working for about six years, it evolved into Pakistan National Party in 1955 after merger with other like-minded parties of the country.⁷ Due to factionalism and in-fighting in the Punjab Muslim League, Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdoot separated from the League and formed his own party Jinnah Muslim League in October 1950.⁸ Two months later, Hussain Shaheed Sohrawardy joined hands with Mamdoot and founded a new political

party named Jinnah Awami Muslim League and those who were not accommodated in the allotment of tickets by the Muslim League in the provincial assembly elections were adjusted by this party.⁹

It is not clear which political party was joined by Nasrullah Khan after he left the Ahrar party. One opinion is that he joined the Sohrawardy led Jinnah Awami Muslim League in 1950.¹⁰ The other opinion is that he joined the Muslim League in 1951.¹¹ The latter information seems correct because in the 1951 provincial elections in the Punjab, he contested on the Muslim League ticket. The district of Muzaffargarh had eight provincial assembly seats.¹² Four seats were given by League's leadership for further distribution each to Sardar Abdul Hameed Dasti and Malik Qadir Bukhsh.¹³ In their discretion, Dasti kept one for himself and awarded the other three to Ghulam Jillani Gurmani, Nazar Hussain Shah and Nasrullah Khan Jatoti whereas Malik Qadir Bukhsh decided to contest himself on one ticket and awarded the other three to Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Nawab Khan Bhopang and Hafiz Karim Buksh.¹⁴ At least one election review states that Nasrullah Khan contested on one provincial assembly seat and got elected unopposed.¹⁵ However, when he contested the provincial elections of 1955 again from his hometown, he lost.¹⁶

Nasrullah's association with the Muslim League did not last very long. Although he got elected in 1951 provincial elections on League's ticket yet he was quite critical of the ways, those elections were conducted by the government of Prime Minister Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan. He believed that the state machinery employed Machiavellian tactics to violate the sanctity of the ballot

box and the democratic spirit, particularly in the Punjab, NWFP (now Khyber Pukhtoon Kha--KPK) and Bahawalpur¹⁷ to such an extent that not only Liaquat was forced to order re-election in Bahawalpur¹⁸ but the massive rigging and manipulation in the electoral process led to the use of the term "Jhurlo" for the first time in the national electoral politics.¹⁹ Moreover, Nasrullah blamed Liaquat Ali Khan for creating a culture of intolerance and repression of political opposition by branding the politicians in the opposition as 'traitors' and 'mad dogs.'²⁰ These were his hindsight criticisms; the fact is that he did not show this moral high ground at that time as he continued to sit as a League's legislator in the very legislature, which he well knew was a product of rigging.

Facts need sifting from fiction interspersed in his chequered political career. It is generally said that he resigned from the Muslim League against the oppressive and domineering attitude of the then Punjab Chief Minister Mumtaz Daultana²¹ and because of differences in League's policies between what it preached and practised.²² This is not entirely true. In October 1951, the Daultana Ministry introduced agrarian reforms fixing the share of owner and tenant in the agriculture produce in the ratio of 40:60 respectively and limited the self-cultivated irrigated holdings to 50 acres and non-irrigated holdings to 100 acres.²³ In January 1952, the Working Committee of the Muslim League ratified the proposed agrarian reforms in the Punjab cancelling all jagirs without compensation except those awarded for military service or religious endowments.²⁴ These reforms were opposed by the big landlords and Naubahar Shah and Nasrullah Khan among others

spearheaded the anti-land reforms opposition by forming “Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Huqooq-i-Zamindaran Thet al-Sharia”²⁵ whose objective was to save the big land holdings under Islamic principles. When this opposition from within the Punjab Muslim League lingered on, the Working Committee of the League under Daultana expelled Nasrullah Khan, Naubahar Shah, Syed Abid Hussain and several others on December 1, 1952.²⁶ In an interview at the far end of his life, , Nasrullah proudly disclosed that the government had allotted a plot in his name in the newly started housing scheme in Gulberg, when he was a member of the Punjab Assembly in 1951 but he had refused to take it.²⁷ He added that he was proud of being an Ahrari, the party being anti-imperialists and anti-feudals, however at the crucial time of Daultana’s land reforms, he proved more loyal to his class interests than to his Ahrari idealism and proved the saying of the renowned progressive intellectual Eqbal Ahmed correct, who had said that the bond of class could be much stronger than the blood relations or other loyalties and affiliations.²⁸

It is said that Nawabzada Nasrullah played an important role in the anti-Qadyani “Khatam-i-Nabowat” Movement in 1953.²⁹ To ascertain what ‘important’ role did he play, a review of the newspapers and books was required. To curb the Qadyani menace, the anti-Qadyani “Khatam-i-Nabowat” Movement was launched throughout the then West Pakistan at the convention of the religious parties held in Lahore on May 9, 1951.³⁰ It gained momentum when Foreign Minister Zafarullah Khan, against the instructions of the Prime Minister delivered a speech at the two-day, 17-18 May, 1952 annual meeting of the Qadyanis (also called ‘Ahmedis’,

and 'Mirzais') at Jehangir Park, Karachi.³¹ On June 2, 1952, the All Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention at Karachi demanded that 'Qadyanis' be declared a non-Muslim minority and also be removed from the key posts including the removal of Zafarullah Khan from the post of Foreign Minister.³² Later, on July 13, 1952, this convention appointed a 20-member "Majlis-i-Amal' in Lahore under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Hasnat Muhammad Ahmed Qadri of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan to ensure the implementation of the demands made by the convention to the government.³³ This Majlis included only two Ahrars namely Master Tajuddin Ansari and Sheikh Hussamuddin whereas the rest of the ulema were a mix of Jamat-i-Islami, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, Jamiat-i-Ahle Hadith, Idara Tahafuz-i-Huqooq-i-Shia, Anjuman-i-Sajjada Nashinnan (Punjab), Tanzeem-i-Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamat, etc.³⁴ Its members after meeting with the premier on January 23, 1953 gave a month's ultimatum for the acceptance of its demands after which it threatened to resort to direct action.³⁵ The Majlis-i-Amal appointed Sahibzada Faizul Hassan as its 'Dictator' and launched the "Direct Action Programme" from February 27, 1953.³⁶ In the wee hours of the morning of 27th February, the government arrested the top leaders of the Khatam-e-Nabowat Movement including Maulana Abul Hasnat, Ataullah Shah Bokhari, Sahibzada Faizul Hassan, Tajuddin, etc.³⁷ The next day, the government banned for one year the Ahrar's mouthpiece the daily 'Azad' under section 6 of the Punjab Public Safety Act.³⁸ The situation grew alarming and on March 1, 1953, initially, section 144 was imposed in Lahore and when the law and order situation got out of hand of the Punjab administration, martial law was imposed in

Lahore on March 6, 1953.³⁹ The martial law government condemned Maulana Abul A'ala Maudoodi, Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi and Maulana Khalil Ahmed Qadri to death for their instigative and provocative role in this movement.⁴⁰ Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri legally defended a large number of imprisoned ulema and secured the release of about a hundred of them including their important leaders such as Ataullah Shah Bokhari, Abul Hasnat, Tajuddin, Hussamuddin, etc.⁴¹

A quick rundown of this movement brought to fore all those religio-political personalities who played a prominent role in it. Nasrullah Khan being an old Ahrar may not have remained unaffected by it owing to its long, deep and widespread nature but he did not figure at all in the crucial and decisive moments of this movement. It is possible that he might have addressed or attended some of its local meetings but there were leaders of greater political stature which probably did not leave much room for him to play an 'important' role in this movement.

After having lived through the Ahrar politics, having tasted the flavor of the Muslim League politics and having witnessed the melodrama of the anti-Qadyani Movement, Nasrullah's career was at political crossroads, again. After being dumped by the biggest as well as the ruling party—the Muslim League—he took a plunge in the opposite direction by joining the Awami League because this party under the charismatic Suhrawardy had emerged as a strong opposition party since 1949 with roots in both wings of Pakistan than the other existing political and religio-political parties such as the Azad Pakistan Party, the Red Shirts, the Communist Party of Pakistan and the Jamat-i-Islami, who

were minor in nature and limited in scope.⁴² This move brought him on the canvas of national politics and there was room to grow and establish oneself. The leaders who got prominence during the movement for Pakistan were either still associated with the Muslim League or those who developed differences with its central command had formed separate parties such as Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdoot (Jinnah Muslim League), Sohrawardy (Awami League), A K Fazlul Haq, A H Sarkar and Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani banded together in the United Front were limited only to Bengal, the socialist minded were in the Azad Pakistan Party and the likes of G M Syed, Ghaffar Khan and Abdus Samad Achakzai had decided to carve out a niche for themselves in the politics of Sindh, NWFP (KPK) and Balochistan respectively.⁴³

Nasrullah's association with the Awami League was to affect his political career in different ways. Contrary to his feudal credentials, the Awami League was basically non-feudal and drew its strength from the growing urban middle classes in both the wings of Pakistan.⁴⁴ He must have felt comfortable with this party because Sohrawardy had nothing to do with socialism and was overtly pro-West in his inclinations.⁴⁵ Moreover, it initiated and gradually polished him in the art of politics of opposition within the parameters of democracy.⁴⁶ However, all this added to increasing his distance from the corridors of power as the major planks of the Awami League's politics rested on secularism, provincial autonomy, joint electorates for all religious groups and elimination of regional inequalities—exactly the opposite to which the vested Punjabi political

interest stood for thus shunting him out of the political current in his home province.⁴⁷

Nasrullah achieved importance in the party hierarchy, when the long-awaited convention of the West Pakistan Awami League held at Lahore in May 1958 elected him as its president in the western wing and his ascendancy to this high office was also due to the fact that some of the more important leaders of the party in West Pakistan had left the party because for eight years Sohrawardy had held the party organization hostage to his whims by not organizing its central machinery in West Pakistan.⁴⁸ Earlier on, Maulana Bhashani and his supporters had left the Awami League in February 1957, when Sohrawardy as Prime Minister had refused to support Egypt over the nationalization of the Suez Canal crisis against the UK, France and Israel whereas Abdul Ghaffar Khan and G M Syed bade farewell to the Awami League over Sohrawardy's support to the One Unit Scheme.⁴⁹

In 1958, Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon convened an election conference attended by Nasrullah as the representative of the Awami League (AL) along with forty other attendants from different political parties.⁵⁰ In spite of Chief Election Commissioner F M Khan's vehement opposition to the holding of the general elections at the behest of President Iskander Mirza, the conference unanimously decided to hold elections in February 1959.⁵¹

In the last days of Premier Noon's government, Ahmed Nawaz Shah Gardezi, a legislator from Bahawalpur, on being appointed as Deputy Minister held a feast attended among others by Nawab Mamdoot, Nawab Muzzafar Qizilbash, Makhdoomzada Hassan

Mahmood, President Iskander Mirza and Nasrullah Khan.⁵² The two last mentioned entered into a heated argument. Iskander Mirza while derisively commenting on the political situation observed that though Qayyum Khan was demanding the holding of free elections yet in his days in power he had himself set the tradition of violating the sanctity of the ballot box to ensure the defeat of the Muslim League's General Secretary and a member of the Working Committee namely Yusuf Khattak and Ibrahim Jhagra respectively but Nasrullah checked him by saying that his government should not follow a bad example otherwise people would lose trust in the ballot and would start looking for undemocratic means to bring a change in government.⁵³ This incensed Mirza who continued that though Qayyum Khan was threatening to herald a bloody revolution predicting a tragic fate for the ruling elite in Pakistan similar to the one meted out to Feisal and Abdullah in Iraq but he forgot that unlike Iraq's conscripted army, Pakistan had a regular army, which crushed the anti-Qadyani Movement in few hours.⁵⁴ To this Nasrullah nonchalantly replied that unarmed people were fired upon to quell the movement and that is why neither the central nor the provincial governments could last after the action and warned Mirza that if he relied on the army for unconstitutional means then not only the military would take over the political authority but would also remove him from the political scene.⁵⁵

In a yet another meeting, Iskander Mirza while criticizing the politicians told Nasrullah and others that martial law was the best solution of the political malaise to which Nasrullah retorted, "Sorry! It would finish you as well within a month."⁵⁶ By then Nasrullah had rightly

realized that Mirza was thinking in terms of some unconstitutional means to subvert the scheduled general elections. Nasrullah held a detailed meeting with Qayyum Khan and proposed that in spite of latter's severe differences with Sohrawardy, they should get together to chalk out a political strategy in the greater national interest and also suggested that leaders of all political parties should assemble at the residence of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah and under her presidentship openly declare not to accept any action that might obstruct the general elections, in vain.⁵⁷ Even after the imposition of martial law by President Iskander Mirza in 1958, he tried unsuccessfully to convince the politicians to jointly resist the martial law government.⁵⁸ He later recounted that a few days after the martial law, an industrialist Naseer A Sheikh (Colony Group) revealed to him that a few days before the imposition of martial law, he had met Mirza and apprised him of the poor economic situation, to which Mirza had calmly said, "There is no need to worry as martial law will be imposed in a few days and situation will improve because I shall end the martial law and will form a civilian government."⁵⁹ Nasrullah further disclosed that a few days after the martial law, he called on the deposed Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon and after giving an appraisal of his talks with Naseer A Sheikh enquired if his intelligence agencies had given him prior warning about Mirza's plans to which Noon frankly admitted that he was totally unaware.⁶⁰

All this shows that at the end of the first decade of his post-Ahrar politics, Nasrullah Khan had not only grown into a well-informed and well-connected politician but had also established a rapport with the

politicians of the national level. Moreover, at the same time, he began to exhibit the tendency to develop a political consensus at the national level in view of the likely threat to the democratic system. In addition, he was not overwhelmed by the awful nature of the military coup and showed early signs of resistance to the unconstitutional government though without success.

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**PUNJAB DISRUPTIONS: AN ACCOUNT OF MASSIVE DISORDER IN
PUNJAB, JANUARY-AUGUST 1947**

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ABSTRACT

The partition of India in 1947 resulted in the partition of Punjab into two; East and West. Socio-economic and political issues among the three indulged communities Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs brought the Punjab to chaos. The leaderships propagated the violence in respective communities subjecting to their political gains in the name of religion and creed. They created gigantic law and order situations in urban and rural localities of the Punjab. Various militant Organizations like RSS, MLNG, SAD, etc. gravely indulged in horrifying blood-shed that resulted in the world's huge migration from one state to another. The Governments of both India and Pakistan were not able to maintain, rehabilitate and settle such large number of refugees. It was the dilemma that on Independence Day, the leaders and politicians were celebrating the independence amid the miseries of homeless refugees.

KEY WORDS

Punjab, Politics, Partition, Violence, Migration.

Socio-political and communal disruption ensued in Punjab when British adept the Policy¹ of 'Divide and Rule'. The Policy, devised by Sir John Lawrence (1811-1879) and his companions, was mostly practised in the Indian Army after the Mutiny of 1857 in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, etc. respectively. The policy was "towards the people and the army, it means an emphasis and difference to castes and creeds in order to prevent" as Sir John Lawrence wrote "the growth of any dangerous identity of feeling from community of race, religion, caste or local feelings", "the existence side by side of the hostile creeds is one of the strongest points in our political position in India"².

As a result, Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs stood against each other. Even their common socio-political objectives could not bring them on the same page, and it was all "for power and dominance"³. But Sikhs were supremacy seekers, so Indian National Congress (INC) took the advantage of Sikhs' strains. *Pundit Jawahir Lal Nehru* (1889-1964) INC leader, by using its platform on July 6, 1946, appreciated the Sikhs to take advantage of their esteem calling them "the brave Sikhs of the Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set-up in the North where the Sikhs can also freely experience the glow of freedom"⁴. Hitherto, Congress was not in favour of the Partition considering it insupportable. Even earlier in an interview with the New York Times in 1942, Pundit Nehru stated, "there is now demand on the part of some Muslims for partition of

India - few take it seriously - the few had become a multitude, and Jinnah was now able to repeat, no power on earth can prevent Pakistan"⁵. He, "initially not in favour of the partition, during his visit to Punjab in 1945, clearly said that "Federations were better than partition"⁶.

But gradually the demand of the partition stimulated intensely, Pundit Nehru suggested that:

Some sort of partition was inevitable, but it must be made within the framework of the present constitution and by methods which could be established by convention and not by legislation. He thought a Muslim area, a central area and a non-Muslim area should be recognized and that ministers should be so appointed that each area was for certain purposes autonomous. The ministers of all three areas should sit jointly for other purposes. That is to say for a matter of common concern.

The governor of Punjab agreed and stated that he also had the same idea⁷, thus bringing up the fact that the Congress and the British administration were on the same page. Moreover, *Bhim Sen Sachar* (1894-1978), the Finance Minister of the Punjab, told the press on June 9, 1946⁸:

The Congress will lend full support to the Sikhs in safeguarding their legitimate rights... The Congress Sikh representatives to the Constituent Assembly will be free to act in collaboration with the *Panthic* representatives onto communal issues affecting

the Sikh community. Further, he will not countenance the League-Congress parity in any form or shape. If and when the occasion arises for negotiation with the Muslim League, it will have to enter into parleys not with the Congress Party but with the Punjab coalition party with *Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana* as its leader. As for the freedom of the provinces to join or not to join any group, our struggle continues unabated.

Particularly in case of Sikhs, the growth rate of Sikhs was the highest in India, 70% of the Sikh population of India were living in Punjab⁹. They were only 4% of the Indian population as well as 14% of the Punjab's population but not a clear majority in any of the 29 districts¹⁰. Therefore, they started depending on other factors to get maximum benefits and advantages, like their "substantial role in agricultural life of Canal Colonies, high ratio of land revenue paid by them", which was 46% of only the Lahore division area¹¹. They remained loyal to British and served British Indian Army with sincerity. Hindus of the Punjab were in need of Sikhs to confront the socio-political skirmishes in Punjab. So far, the Congress was responsible for the rupture between the Sikhs and the Muslims of the Punjab¹².

From 1937-1946, in spite of the alliance with Hindus, the Sikh leaders' strived to constitute an independent community and political entity for them. They assumed the need to accomplish a consideration with Punjabi Muslims and their leaders because of the diverse communities, thoughts, ideologies and demands making it impossible to run the province by a single community. Stephan Orens considered *the Sikandar-*

Baldev Pact "as the keystone of this strategy"¹³, which also indicated Sikhs preliminary desire for the United Punjab. As the Muslims in Punjab were majority, it was the political need of the time to have a coalition with them so as to achieve future demands. It was more about strengthening the Unionists in Punjab; the *Khizer's* collative Ministry was its example. But later in 1947, the Muslim League became the reason for bringing the collative rule to an end that gave birth to a sense of revenge emerged against the Muslim League.

Formerly, according to HMG's announcement of February 20, 1947 India was going to divide and the large communities Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were trying to get best parts. On the other hand, Muslim League under Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) favoured the affiliation of United Punjab with Pakistan but it was not acceptable to Hindus and Sikhs¹⁴. Essentially, all three communities were not in favour of the partition of the Punjab. The agro-economic worth of Punjab was attracting the Hindus and as well as the Sikhs, so they also wanted the complete or the maximum part of the Province with India. Louis Mountbatten (1900-1979), the Last Viceroy of India, forced Mr. Jinnah for the partition of Punjab. He pleaded that India had to divide on communal basis, so "by the same logic" Punjab must also be divided¹⁵ between India and Pakistan because non-Muslims did not want to be the part of a Muslim State. He conditioned the partition of India with the partition of Punjab. These issues flared up the socio-political crisis among these three large communities.

Punjab Administration also favoured the collation of Hindus and Sikhs with anti AIML political groups like Unionist Party. So far after the Elections of Provincial Assembly in 1946, Governor Punjab Sir Evan Meredith Jenkins (1896-1985) invited *Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana* (1900-1975) of Unionist Party of Punjab, with collative partners to form the Ministry. Either the Muslim League was a majority Party in the Provincial Assembly. Muslim League started agitation as a response to form the Ministry; Muslim League started agitation in various parts of Punjab against non-Muslims and the Unionists. It was to pressurize the British Administration and Unionist to form League Ministry in Punjab. Steadily, League led agitation forced the Unionist Ministry of *Khizar Hayat Tiwana* to resign in early March 1947.

As a reaction, the non-Muslim collative communities of the Unionist ministry¹⁶ stood inimically against the Muslim League. Because the agitation of the Muslim League was the chief reason of Khizer's resignation. Particularly before *Khizer's* resignation, the Sikh community had grieved amply in the form of bloodshed exclusively in Rawalpindi division at the hand of Muslim League. It was the definite reason that "Tara Singh¹⁷ raised his war cry before the *Akal Takhat*, 'kill or get killed'. The Sikh plan was scientifically prepared and was kept in readiness until the Unionist Ministry resigned"¹⁸. He began to organize the resilience in the form of *Akal Fauj* (Army). On March 3, 1947 in Lahore, he said, "we may be cut to pieces, but we will never concede Pakistan"¹⁹ that makes obvious the purpose of formation of *Akal Fauj*; to threaten the Muslim League not to include the Punjab into Pakistan²⁰.

Master Tara Singh (1885-1967) of *Shiromani Akali Dal* (SAD) was the Chief Commander of *Akal Fauj*, as commander he issued the following general instructions to patronize them more, as follows²¹: “Village, *zail*²² and *thana* (Police Station) regiments are to be raised and affiliated to the *Akal Fauj*”; “The uniform is to consist of a dark blue *pugree* (Turban) with a yellow under *pugree*, khaki *kachhas* (shorts) and a foot long *kirpan* (Small Sword)”; “No member of the *Fauj* is to contest any elections except with the Chief Commander’s permission”; “Each Sikh on enrolment is to sign a pledge to sacrifice his all for the *Panth* and to obey his officer’s orders”.

On March 3, 1947, an outsized meeting of non-Muslims held in Lahore in which their leaderships delivered fierce speeches resulting in a situation of outrage. Consequently, violence arose the very next day in Lahore on March 4, 1947, and it spread through *Multan, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, and Jullundur* on March 5. In *Multan*, violence stemmed from a procession of Muslim Students. Only within three hours, 120 Hindus were massacred. Periodically, on March 6 and 7, the violence stretched out to the rural localities of the District Multan and Rawalpindi Division. In these areas, the Sikh community damaged heavily²³. Solely, RSS (*Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh*), SAD (*Shiromani Akali Dal*)²⁴ and MLNG (Muslim League National Guards) were brutally involved in the bloodshed and hostility²⁵. To comprehend the situation, *Khizer Govt.* in February 1947 banned the RSS and MLNG²⁶. However, later because of massive agitation by the Muslim League, Govt. lifted the ban in March 1947²⁷.

Religious and political leaders instigated their respective communities and used them for their own socio-political and communal purposes²⁸. Many speeches and statements were delivered to public meetings and the press. For example, Dr. *Gopi Chand Bhargwa* (1889-1966), later the first Chief Minister of East Punjab after the partition, said on March 4, 1947²⁹:

During these days, they stage many demonstrations that the renegades amongst us may find it impossible to reach any settlement whatever with the Muslim League.

Krishan Gopal Datt on March 4, 1947, said:³⁰

Is there a man who dare snatch us from our mother and place us in the lap of *Mamdot*? Create such an atmosphere that the League may find it impossible to form a ministry.

Different dispositions regarding instigation and violence like communal, motherland, socio-political, economic, etc.³¹ were practiced by the leaders of the indulged communities. This violence gradually swelled during the partition process³². But the violence during the last days of the British rule was not because of the partition but only for the settlement of the core principles of the mechanism of the partition. Political leaders were behind the violence and aggression. Mainly, there was no tolerance for the Sikh leadership on the partition of the Punjab, which was against the interests of Sikh Community³³. Ian Talbot declared it as the "largest uprooting of people in the Twentieth Century"³⁴ and "the launch of a mass civil disobedience campaign"³⁵.

Pandered groups and the British had their own agendas; this embodied the partition, which emerged as a goriest episode in India's History. Particularly the

leaders of the Indian National Congress (INC) and All India Muslim League (AIML) had lust for power with no will to compromise or to be united³⁶. Gradually, horrifying situations became out of control. Mr. Jinnah and Pundit Nehru both started to demand the martial law in Punjab to contain the situations. But E. Jenkins was not in favour of the martial law to control the events. "Given the charged political atmosphere and the furore that had been whipped up following a previous incarnation (during the Punjab disturbance of 1919), E. Jenkins was reluctant to bring martial law was understandable"³⁷.

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Mamdot (1906-1969), the President of the Punjab Muslim League, had desired to form the Ministry in Punjab and frustrated abundantly. However, according to the Governor of Punjab, "...personal belief is that any government which does not command the confidence of Punjabis generally cannot solve our present problems". He decided and implemented Section 93 of the Indian Act of 1935³⁸ on March 5, 1947. Mr. Jinnah was also willing for the League's Ministry in Punjab and the elimination of the Governor Rule because until April 26, 1947, *Nawab Mamdot* had got the favour of 93 out of 175 members of the Punjab Assembly to form Ministry. But the Viceroy did not agree because of Sikhs' certain reservations. Even he shared his views with Jinnah, as in the case of the rule in Punjab for any specific community; it will result in immense armed retaliation by Sikhs³⁹.

Sardar Baldev Singh (1902-1961), the Sikh leader and Defence Minister of India wrote to Viceroy⁴⁰:

I would like at the very start to make it clear that, though the demand for a division is none of our seeking, it is not that we have now concluded on its being the only way out of our difficulties. We Sikhs made no secret of our determination not to allow ourselves to be dominated in any communal separatist scheme of the division of India. So, as soon as we became aware of the drift of the Muslim League opinion in that direction... Sikhs will under no circumstances, agree to remain in the Pakistan area and that if Pakistan was to be conceded to the Muslim League, the Punjab must be divided.

Sardar Baldev Singh further emphasised that the partition of India was planned at Mr. Jinnah determination. But "he cannot be allowed to impose his will on the minorities". The partition of Punjab necessitated by Sikhs, and only they will not bear the Muslim domination⁴¹. The Sikh leaders wanted the division of the Punjab by Sikhs' Holy shrines⁴² and landowning property. But the Viceroy informed Sikhs that world opinion would be against this attempt "to put Muslim majority population of the West Punjab under Sikh/Hindu/Congress domination merely on ownership of land and religious grounds"⁴³. Moreover, earlier, E. Jenkins had warned Lord Wavell (1883-1950), the predecessor of the last Viceroy that ignoring the Sikhs would "seriously obstruct any agreed arrangement in Punjab"⁴⁴.

The *Maharaja of Patiala State, Yadvindra Singh* (1913-1974), put his reservations⁴⁵ in front of the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten that Sikhs will resist and will

fight for their demands. In response, the Viceroy informed the *Maharaja* that "if they do, Maharaja *Sahib* will have to fight the Central Government; for I and my Government are determined to put down any attempts at communal war with a ruthless iron hand. They will be opposed not only by tanks, armoured cars and artillery but they will also be bombed and shot down from the air. You can tell your Sikhs that if they start a war, they will not be fighting the Muslim League alone but the whole might of the armed forces"⁴⁶. These were the immediate reasons so that Lord Mountbatten decided on the partitioning as the only solution to the crisis. He outlined that⁴⁷: united India was now impossible because according to him Jinnah and the League had the ability to make it unworkable; according to Lord Mountbatten, the British administration and Army "could no longer forestall civil war in North India"; Congress leaders except for Mr. M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948), had decided to cut off the Muslim majority areas from an independent state of India.

Non-Muslims were threatening of agitation in Punjab in case of League's Ministry in the Province. Steadily, the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims became strained due to the huge agitation by the Muslim League for Pakistan. Non-Muslims of Punjab had no sentiments for fair dealing with the Muslim League in future⁴⁸. Particularly, the Sikhs did not want to be treated as slaves under the Muslim rule and "they were strong enough to defend themselves". In Punjab, gradually the behaviour of non-Muslims was becoming fierce against the Muslim League⁴⁹.

Hugh Tinker (1921-2000)⁵⁰, explained his political analysis in reference to Sikh-Muslim issues as "...Jinnah

had put all his strength into smashing the Unionist Party, and by 1947 it was in ruins. Jinnah's triumph had been achieved by making the Punjabi *Mussulmen* aware of their identity with Muslims throughout India as a separate 'nation', in the process, their sense of Punjabi loyalties was extinguished. All this made the Sikh-*Mussulmen* understanding in Punjab impossible. Consequently, the Sikhs had no option but to throw in their lot with Congress India"⁵¹. Moreover, being a Punjab Muslim majority Province, Mr. Jinnah also wanted to have an accord with the Sikhs. After consulting his companions, Jinnah tried severally but Master Tara Singh rejected the "Muslim majority rule"⁵².

The socio-political support of the Sikhs was the need at the time for the Congress and was in favour of the INC. "Apart from other considerations, if the Congress loses the support of the Sikh community, Hindus in the Punjab will not be able to stand up to the Muslims by themselves ..." "⁵³ After the March Resolution, the Congress openly started to project and highlight the Sikhs' demands. The Congress Working Committee passed the said Resolution on March 8, 1947. Regarding the division of the Punjab Resolution, it stated that⁵⁴:

...These tragic events have demonstrated that there can be no settlement of the problem of Punjab by violence and coercion and no arrangement based on coercion can last. Therefore, it is necessary to find a way out which involves the least amount of compulsion. This would necessitate the division of Punjab into two provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim parts may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim parts.

On March 11, 1947, *Akalis* and the Congress held the 'Anti-Pakistan Day'. On the same day, the members

of *Guru Nanak Sahib Gurdwara* Committee declared the Muslims as trust-less saying "all Muslims are the enemy of Sikhs. The Muslims have made all preparations to fight with the Sikhs. As you know, more than 1233 gun cartridges were recently captured in *Sacha Sauda*. They were manufactured only to kill us. You must not trust the Muslims even though they are pious ones. As we know, Muslims of Rawalpindi assured the Sikhs that they would help them. They swore hundred times that they would help the Sikhs, but the ruthlessly killed our men, sisters and mothers. When a mad dog cuts a person, the victim is given an immediate and readymade injection for the cure. You [Sikhs] should always be ready for such injections. You should never trust the Muslims; they are traditional rivals. Whenever and wherever they get the chance; they would revenge against the Sikhs"⁵⁵.

On April 16, 1947, SAD Working Committee passed a Resolution entertaining the demand for the partition of the Punjab and required a Boundary Commission to set the Provincial boundaries⁵⁶. Now the Anti-Pakistan campaign was a joint venture for Hindus and Sikhs. In a statement certain members from both communities⁵⁷ clarified that "we have come to the conclusion that the only way out of the present deadlock is to partition the Punjab into two Provinces. That and that alone, in our view, can ease the tension in the Province which may increase at any moment"⁵⁸.

Sikhs' preparations for war and violence were at its peak in Punjab. The migrated Sikhs from West Punjab were narrating the horrible situation of the West Punjab with enough potential to instigate the Sikhs in Eastern Punjab. A War Fund of Rs. 5 million by a pamphlet with the signatures of 18 eminent Sikh leaders⁵⁹ including

Sardar Baldev Singh was announced⁶⁰. Notably, *Master Tara Singh* and *Giani Kartar Singh* (1921-1974) were much active in this regard⁶¹. They were instigating the rulers of *Patiala, Faridkot, Nabha*, etc.⁶² states and delivering harmful speeches openly in public meetings⁶³. They were increasing the breaches between Muslims and Sikhs and upholding the violence⁶⁴. Actually, Tara Singh was ambitious to play the role of 'King-Maker' of the Punjabi Sikh States⁶⁵. He was also heading 280 *Shahidi jathedars* with the oath in front of *Akal Takhat* on April 13, 1947, including one woman and two Hindus⁶⁶. According to Paul R. Brass⁶⁷:

The Sikhs and its leading political origination, the Akali Dal and its leaders, particularly Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh, have come in for a very great share of the blame, for the mass migration and violence that occurred in its Central locks, namely, the Punjab.

Tara Singh became more aggressive and put the whole responsibility for peace in Amritsar on the Muslim League and Government officials⁶⁸. He emphasised that the Muslim officials of Amritsar instigated European Officers against non-Muslims because they are close to them⁶⁹. Even in 1967, in an interview, Tara Singh admitted and revealed his actual strategy; that "we took the decision to turn the Muslims out"⁷⁰. He deliberated that the Muslim League fighting a communal war but not a political campaign and compared it with a civil war⁷¹. On the other hand, British were also worried about the massive blood-shed in form of agitation by Muslim League in the Province.

Moreover, Jenkins also asked *Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan* (1895-1963), an eminent Muslim League politician,

“...that the first task now was to restore order. I could not prevent the League making further blunders, they had already fooled away a kingdom, and it would in my judgment be futile now to attempt any final solution of the Punjab problem until feelings had settled down...”⁷². Jenkins considered the Muslim League’s a foolish leadership responsible for the hostility in Punjab⁷³. “The League had given the impression that the Muslims were a kind of ruling race in Punjab and would be good enough to treat with generosity their fellow Punjabis, such as the Sikhs, when their rule was established. They could not explain what they meant by ‘Pakistan’ and unless they were prepared to deal with other Punjabis as equals, they would make no progress at all”⁷⁴.

At *Kapur Thala House*⁷⁵ in March 1947, *Tara Singh* delivered the following instigating and hateful speech⁷⁶:

O’ Hindus and Sikhs! Be ready for self-detrition like the Japanese and the *Nazis*. Our motherland is calling for blood and we shall satiate the thirst of our motherland with blood. By crushing *Afghanistan* we shall trample Pakistan... The Sikhs ruled over the Muslims with their might and the Sikhs shall even now rule over them. We shall rule over them and get the Government fighting. I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League.

On April 4, 1947 in a meeting with Governor *Giani Kartar Singh*⁷⁷, he said that “the Sikhs were now convinced that there must be an immediate partition of the Punjab”⁷⁸. He portrayed the partition of Punjab as the only solution to the agony of Punjab “which could not be solved in any other way”. He “had only to put the two Governments into office and they would see to the

rest. The British had taken Punjab from the Sikhs, and it would be logical enough to return it to them"⁷⁹. But with the time British Administration had different solutions to the Punjab enigma. In a meeting on April 14, 1947, with Lord Ismay (1887-1965) and Sir O. Caroe (1892-1981), Sir E. Jenkins, Sir E. Mievile (1896-1971), Mr. Wightman, Mr. Abell (1904-1989) and Captain Las Cells on the alternatives of the partition of Punjab, E. Jenkins shared three options which were; a.) Reversion to unionism, b.) Partition and c.) Civil war.

"If we were unable to get (a) or (b) then there is no option but to withdraw and leave both sides to fight it out,"⁸⁰

But Viceroy Lord Mountbatten sought to oblige the Sikhs, after a meeting with the Sikh leader *Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh*, in his report, Viceroy wrote "I welcomed the Sikhs and told them what a warm place they had in my heart, since the Sikh units had fought with such magnificent gallantry in S. E. Asia"⁸¹. In this meeting, Viceroy also assured the Sikhs that "...if I was reluctantly driven to accept Pakistan, I certainly would agree to the partition of Punjab however difficult it may be. E. Jenkins also believed in the possibility of helping the Sikh community because they had a large population in Punjab, "so they could not be overlooked"⁸².

Gradually, political issues brought on the edge of violence to the indulged communities throughout Punjab, gradually, the situations became critical. At Multan, the disturbance started on March 5, 1947, when a procession of non-Muslims students shouted the slogans "*Quaid-i-Azam Murdabad*" in Rawalpindi and Lahore "rioting seemed to have followed the pattern of

earlier communal riots. In Rawalpindi, many buildings were burnt and heavy casualties were reported. Jullundur and Ludhiana were affected". Disturbance in rural areas was serious than the urban areas. The districts of Rawalpindi division suffered a lot. But under Maj. Gen. Lorett, the 7th Indian Division was operational to contain the situation⁸³.

Furthermore, in Rawalpindi Division particularly, the police had become partial. People were disturbed, even the commander of the 7th Division verified this allegation⁸⁴. In three districts of *Rawalpindi; Attock, Rawalpindi* and *Jhelum*, the property losses rose from Rs. 40 crore to 50 crore⁸⁵. From March 4 - 15, 1947, the casualties in Punjab were as follows⁸⁶:

Death reports:

Muslims	110	
Sikhs		78
Hindus		158
Indian Christians	01	
Religion not given		699

Seriously injured:

Muslims	135	
Sikhs		105
Hindus		193
Religion not given		677

Overall in all cities and towns in the districts of Punjab, the casualties during March 4 - 14, 1947, were to be closely observed⁸⁷:

Forcible religious conversion in all three communities was an entire contemporary issue. The Governor of Punjab demanded the legislation for the forcible conversion and the destruction of religious places of the minorities. He demanded that “the military should be given a warrant to search and arrest”⁸⁸. Sir Francis Mudie (1890-1976) later the first Governor of West Punjab, also visited disturbed areas like *Multan* on March 10, 1947, *Jullundur* and *Ambala* March 11, 1947, *Amritsar* March 12, 1947, *Rohtak* and *Delhi* March 13, 1947, *Sargodha*, *Lyallpur* and *Mianwali* March 15, 1947 and *Attock* and *Rawalpindi* on March 16, 1947 to investigate the tangible situations of troubled areas⁸⁹.

Som Anand, a writer drew it out his analysis as⁹⁰:

Communal riots became more intense after March 1947 and it seemed that the Muslim leadership was due to clear the city of its non-Muslim inhabitants. That is not to say that every Muslim in Lahore liked what was happening. There were some who dreaded the prospect of the Hindus and Sikh leaving the city for good. But such people could not speak out their feelings.

Muslim League leadership was also worried on the horrible events and Muslims’ aggression against the non-Muslims. This was abating the political version of the Muslim League leadership. In reference to violence in Rawalpindi, Justice *Muhammad Munir* (1895-1979), the Judge of Lahore High Court and later the Member of Punjab Boundary Commission, shared this “I spoke to *Quaid-i-Azam* telling him that it was a bad augur and that he should either go himself to *Pindi* or send some responsible member of the Muslim League to assure the

minorities that in Pakistan, if it ever was established, they will have equal rights with the Muslim as free citizen of the new states. He agreed with me..." he ordered *Iftikhar Mamdot* to visit the Rawalpindi personally in this regard⁹¹. After the Rawalpindi violence, Sikhs started to prepare themselves "called the Sikh Plan" with the support of Hindus to crush the Muslims⁹².

In July 1947 to more pamper the Sikhs, a joint meeting of the Hindus and Sikhs, members of the Punjab Assembly mutually passed a Resolution in favour of partition as well. This strengthens and clarified the standings of the Hindus and Sikhs. It was also decided that after partition in Indian Punjab, special constitutional measures will be taken in favour of the rights of the Sikhs of Eastern Punjab⁹³. INC and its leadership finally accepted the Pakistan demand of the Muslims with the condition that non-Muslim parts of Bengal and Punjab would be separated from the Muslim majority⁹⁴.

Sikhs had the multiple issues like "Solidarity and integrity of Sikh community", "Retention of Sikh-owned land in the rich agricultural tracts that their ancestors had settled", "...The retention on the part of Punjab to be awarded to India for their most important *gurdwaras* and shrines"⁹⁵. These demands and issues were alarming for them and they were not ready to compromise over them till the last drop of blood.

The important Sikh *zamindars* (landlords) of the Province passed a statement and put their reservations and demands in front of Viceroy through Sir George Abel on June 23, 1947 as follows⁹⁶:

- The two most important political parties Indian National Congress (INC) and All India Muslim League (AIML) were keen to give some special attention to Sikh demands and issues but finally their claims had no consideration at all.

- They (Sikhs) served and sacrificed for India; they played a vital role in the development of the Indian defence, industry, business, and agriculture sectors. But “we have not done all this to earn slavery and domination”. Moreover, they were not ready to agree on any decision of Punjab “unless it is so planned as to maintain Sikh solidarity”.

Sikhs more demanded⁹⁷:

- “That the landed property and population of the Sikhs should be transferred to the Canal Colonies’ districts⁹⁸ and join the Eastern Punjab as included in this political unit”.

- “That the landed property of Sikhs and non-Muslims be assessed in quality and area and the same be allotted in the adjoining districts as explained above...”

- “That the Boundary line of Punjab and Pakistan be fixed at river *Chenab* as the predominantly Muslim area lies beyond this river...”.

Actually, in 1947, it was decided, and Sikhs were agreed with INC and British Administration that they wanted an area where they would live freely and according to the teachings of Sikhism. It was the reason they joined India to fulfil their dream of freedom and sovereign land⁹⁹.

On the other hand, the Muslim League's members and officials of Punjab responded vigorously to any case of injustice in the partitioning of Punjab. For example, the president of Muslim League of *Ferozpur* wires as¹⁰⁰: It will be a sheer injustice not to include Muslim majority areas of *Ferozpur*, *Zira*, *Muktsar* and *Fazilka* in Pakistan. The *Ferozpur* Muslims will shed their last drop of blood for their inclusion.

Through a Resolution on July 15, 1947, a working committee of *Sialkot* Muslim League demanded the inclusion of *Jullundur*, *Ferozpur*, *Amritsar*, *Hoshiarpur*, *Gurdaspur*, *Ludhiana* and *Ambala* etc. in Pakistan. "Any deviation from this principle will be resisted to the utmost of our capacity."

Secretary-General of *Anjuman-e-Moglia*, *Tarn Taran*, on behalf of *Anjuman* said that: "Every inch of Muslim majority areas...must go to Pakistan. Punjab Muslims are determined to resist with all power at their command any encroachment on the Muslim majority areas - their rightful territory. Let the labour Govt. be aware of it."

British Administration was not prepared and fully proficient to meet with these alarming conditions in the Punjab. Even E. Jenkins also admitted that the Punjab Police and magistrates' training was only designed to deal with normal conditions. "The average rural police station - dealing perhaps with 100 villages scattered over 100 square miles of country - has not much more than a dozen men..."¹⁰¹. Especially after March 4, 1947, the Govt. official had been biased, communal and conscious about their respective communities. Both Muslim and particularly non-Muslim communities demanded the appointment of their respective Govt. officials in their

localities¹⁰². "But the critics themselves have encouraged communalism for their political ends, and no reasonable man will go out of his way to be unpopular with new masters"¹⁰³.

Jenkins also admitted that the British Officials were incompetent. Proper resources were not utilized to contain the situation. According to him, martial law should be declared particularly in Lahore "and possibly elsewhere." Political leaders were visiting the affected areas not as the member of the legislature but as the communal representatives. Somehow they had no worries for other communities¹⁰⁴. Minorities particularly Hindus and Sikhs became more active in Punjab, Mr. *Bhim Sen Sachar* asked the Governor to engage the non-Muslims. In response, Governor Sir E. Jenkins responded that I. G. Punjab Police "had 2000 or more vacancies and would be only too glad if suitable non-Muslims would present themselves for enlistment"¹⁰⁵. 70% to 80% of the Punjab Police was Muslim and disarmed with the orders of the non-Muslim officials before August 15, 1947. This multiplied the sufferings of the Muslims in Punjab. Contrariwise, in East Punjab Muslim policemen and refused to serve in West Punjab. They wished to get appoint in their respective part of Punjab. On the other hand, Amritsar and Lahore required a proper police force to contain terrible situations¹⁰⁶.

Generally, the role of the Police during the partition violence also had a question mark. At *Taggart* in Dist. Multan Hindu residents were attacked by Muslims for 11 hours on March 10, 1947, but they received no Police help. Moreover, "a police contingent in the city of Multan stood by while a prominent Sikh leader and the president of Minority Board, *Sardar*

Nanak Singh was done to death"¹⁰⁷. Wholly in Punjab people were taking the situation in their hands. Ayesha Jalal also sketched out as "by the time the June 3 Plan was announced there was organized and semi-organized incendiarism, stabbing and bomb blasts in both Lahore and Amritsar"¹⁰⁸.

According to a statement of an ex-member of INA (Indian National Army) disclosed that Master Tara Singh is involved in the production of bombs. In the statement of another member, Master Tara Singh is involved and planning "to wreck the trains carrying the Pakistan Governmental staff from Delhi to Karachi". Most dangerously, Tara Singh was also planning to attack Mr. Jinnah during the independence celebrations in Karachi. On August 5, 1947, the Governor of Punjab informed the Governor General through Captain Savage of the CID Punjab about the Sikh Plan to assassinate Mr. Jinnah on August 14 or 15. A few days later, August 8, 1947, Viceroy through a communication informed the secretary of the State¹⁰⁹. "The evidence produced was so incriminating that Jenkins was likely to arrest Tara Singh and his hot-headed confederates before August 15"¹¹⁰. A person M. G. Chopra who lived near *Gawal Mandi*, Lahore, recalled the event of June 21, 1947¹¹¹:

The Muslims sprayed petrol in the area with a petrol tanker and set it on fire. I was sixteen years old and would normally hide in the house for protection. We had *lathis* (wooden sticks) for protection but they were not enough... I personally never witnessed any violence because we were all hiding in our houses but I have seen a lot of dead bodies... Nobody came to our rescue.

According to the reports of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore¹¹², from April 14 - July 14, 1947, the figures of five horrific incidents were as follows¹¹³:

While the religious composition in Lahore was as follows¹¹⁴:

Census	Total Population	Muslims	Non-Muslims
1911	228,714	129,301	99,413
1921	281,781	149,044	132,737
1931	429,747	249,315	180,432
1941	671,659	433,170	238,489

Overall, from March to August 4, 1947, more than 4500 people were killed and about 2500 were wounded in March 1947 alone¹¹⁵. Since March 1947, the rate of violence was more frequent, especially when the important Muslim League leaders like *Iftikhar Husain Mamdot*, the president of Punjab Muslim League, *Amir Husain*, the head of MLNG Punjab, *Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan* (1915-1998), *Malik Feroz Khan Noon* (1893-1970), *Begum Shah Nawaz* (1896-1979), *Mumtaz Doltana* (1916-1995) and *Mian Iftikhar Din* (1907-1962) were arrested on January 24, 1947. This was as a result of the police discovery of 1000 helmets, a huge number of volunteer badges with the sign of sword, revolver and dagger¹¹⁶.

A meeting of SAD also held on July 8, 1947, a Resolution was passed as¹¹⁷:

"The Sikhs in unequivocal terms stated that the partition of Punjab should be effected in a manner whereby their integrity and solidarity are maintained and they get an adequate share in the Canals and Canal Colonies and their sacred shrines are included in Eastern Punjab. Any partition which does not secure this for the Sikhs will be unacceptable to them".

Western Punjab's fertile tracts of land *Gujranwala*, *Sheikhupura*, *Lyallpur* and *Montgomery* also termed as the "*Shahidi Bar*", were locations where the Sikhs had their landed properties and their holy places. *Giani Kartar Singh* was given the responsibility to protect the Sikhs and their rights in "*Shahidi Bar*" area. During his visit to this area, he instigated the Sikh to fight. Sikhs also wanted to include "*Shahidi Bar*" area in Eastern Punjab¹¹⁸.

Furthermore, the partitioning of Punjab caused the division of their community; *Azad Punjab*, *Punjabistan*, *Sikhistan*, economic loses and the loss of their holy places in Western Punjab¹¹⁹. They also had lack of leadership and proper political vision¹²⁰. For example, Major Short Billy suggested that Lt Col. *Nirinjan Singh* Ex-INA became the leader of the violent Sikhs and his aim was "*Sikhistan*", and he had the ability to do so¹²¹. Sikhs made the *jathas* and *jathedars*, give *Nihang* training to common Sikhs included in *jathas*¹²². These activities, violent trends and aggressive leadership increased the hostility among the Sikhs with the support of INC. The Governor of Punjab in a memorandum on August 4, 1947, divided the violence in Punjab into the following three phases: March 4 - 20, 1947, this started

with riots in Lahore and stretched to other parts of the Province including the rural areas; Second phase was between March 21 and May 9, 1947; this phase was considered as a series of small events but with heavy incidents occurring at particular parts of *Amritsar*, *Gurgaon* districts and *Mewat* in *Goregaon*¹²³ district; The Third phase was from May 10, 1947, onwards, this was basically a communal war. Mostly Amritsar and Lahore were disturbed¹²⁴. Arson, stabbing, loot, killing, bombing etc. incidents have happened. *Gujranwala*, *Hoshiarpur*, *Lahore*, *Ferozpur*, *Amritsar*, *Goregaon* and *Jullunder* were badly affected areas. In this phase, Jenkins also noticed that the 'urban riots' was rare¹²⁵.

Tahir Kamran sketched out in details the situations as follows¹²⁶:

Communal disturbances were not confined only to the North Western or central districts. The violence also erupted towards the end of March and continued well into April in the South Eastern districts of Gurgaon. Initially, the trouble began at Hodal, a small town at the Southern end of the district but it soon spread into other parts of *Gurgaon*. A dispute over the theft of the buffalo led to a pitched battle between Ahirs and *Meos* on communal lines, a large area on the border of the *Gurgaon* district and *Alwar* State was badly affected and many villages, both Hindu and Muslim, were burnt to ashes.

SAD also sent delegates to England on August 1, 1947, to express the feelings and the demands of the Sikh community. But the British Prime Minister refused to see them. They only had a meeting with the assistant under the Secretary, Sir Paul Patrick. Mr. Listowel, the

Secretary of State (1906-1997), also saw them tentatively but was not convinced. It was a failed venture of the Sikhs¹²⁷. *Maharaja Yadvindra Singh of Patiala* (1914-1974), *Raja Hari Indar Singh of Faridkot* and *Maharaja Partap Singh of Nabha* (1919-1995) wrote to Lord Mountbatten on August 7, 8 and 9, 1947, respectively to get favours regarding the Sikh Cause but Lord Mountbatten refused blatantly¹²⁸.

In August 1947, the number of killings per day reached about 100 in Punjab¹²⁹. In the village of a witness named *Mangal Singh*, "they [the villagers under attack] collected about fifteen quintals [5000 pounds] of firewood in the centre of the village and they built a huge fire and threw all the children into it. Some children escaped early but all the other children who were in the village at that time were burnt alive. They did not want them to be converted so they burnt them. The parents threw in their own sons, and also burnt themselves in the same fire. They said they didn't want to disgrace their own village"¹³⁰.

According to the Partition Plan, the provocative Boundary Awarded by Cyril Radcliff (1899-1977)¹³¹, also put unexpected effects on the socio-political fabric of India particularly on Punjab. This also provoked the tension, fear and hostility among the three indulged communities of Punjab, and they were ready for a war¹³². Gigantic violence produced migration and settlement issues in both states. From July 28 - August 31, 1947, there were many incidents of firing, killing, loot, arson, burning that occurred which involved the police and military. In *Ambala, Jullunder, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Lahore, Kangra, Patiala, Hoshiarpur, Bikaner State, Dera Baba Nanak* and *Faridkot* these

incidents were impartially held. About 2900 people were killed and more than 10000 were injured¹³³.

Besides, from August 11 - 30, 1947, *Lahore, Badami Bah, between Walton and Lahore, Pindi (Kolyan), between Daultana and Sukho (Pindi), near Golra (Pindi), Khanewal, Shahmal (Multan), Shujaabad (Multan), between Kasuwal and Iqbal Nagar, near Jassar (Sialkot), between Hasanabdal and Burhan, Paikhel (Mianwali), Lodhran (Kasur)* were locations where these attacks by Muslim mobs and raiders were executed on non-Muslim refugee trains. In these attacks, more than 52 people were killed and 28 more were injured¹³⁴. In *Delhi, Kapurthala, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Amritsar, Doraha (Patiala State), Maur Railway station, Sirhind (Railway Station), near Koti and Guman Railway Station (Kalka), Bhiwani Railway Station (Hissar)*, are locations where Muslim refugee trains were attacked by non-Muslims between August 6 and 29, 1947 in which bombs, swords, spears, hatchets, and guns were used. About 932 Muslims were killed including children and women and 177 were injured¹³⁵.

RSS was particularly involved in violence and launched many training centres in Nagpur to give horse riding, dagger and drilling trainings. Members from all over Punjab came to attend the course of training. But "their real purpose was to prepare and train the Hindu community for an onslaught against the local Muslims"¹³⁶. Even till May 1947 the Hindu Community was fully relying on RSS to crush the Muslim community. In June, RSS increased rapidly to 59,200 members¹³⁷.

In the border districts, the situation was very bad and gloomy, and minorities suffered. The movement of the refugees became affected. Furthermore, to deal with

the possible classes regarding partition, particularly in the border districts of the Punjab Partition, the Council as a plan of action formed the Punjab Boundary Force (PBF)¹³⁸. Furthermore, "...E. Jenkins has aptly stated that the war of succession has broken out in full fury in the land of five rivers"¹³⁹. Claude Auchinleck (1184-1981)¹⁴⁰ gave the terrifying report of the situation in Punjab. This Report later caused the immediate establishment of the reinforcement for the Punjab Boundary Force¹⁴¹. Force started to function under Major General Rees (1898-1959)¹⁴², on July 31, 1947, with the support of two Indian officers, Brigadier *Ayub Khan* and Brigadier *Brar* as advisors¹⁴³. With only 23000 men, it was quite impossible for PBF to control accurately the situations, guard the trains and maintain law and order.

Gen. Pete Rees wrote¹⁴⁴:

In the rural areas, the Sikh *Jathas*... in Eastern Punjab were the first to take to the field. Later, the Muslims retaliated. But during the month of August, it was evident to the PBF that as opposed to their enemies, the Sikhs were thoroughly organized and prepared for such events as took place.

PBF remained busy to maintain law and order situations but failed to preserve peace properly in border districts particularly because of biased troops. Consequently, PBF dissolved on the midnight of September 12, 1947, according to the decision of the Joint Defence Council. Maj. General Pete Rees also gave the tribute to the whole force regarding the services as a member of PBF¹⁴⁵.

During the first furious impact of the struggle, the P. B. F. stood firm, rock-like, in a welter of confusion and

anarchy. Indeed during the second half of August 1947, the Civil Administration for the time being having broken down, the only effective organization in Punjab was the Army; and to carry on, it had to muster every officer and man that it could; even cooks and mess orderlies etc. were sent on escort duty, and the strain on Commanders and staff was very heavy. A prodigious amount of work fell on all ranks, who accepted it with commendable cheerfulness and willingness. The troops were out day and night, often with very little rest in the notoriously trying Punjab hot weather of 1947; and at various Headquarters several staff overworked to such an extent that the doctors had to enforce rest to avoid complete breakdown in the case of some British officers. Extra officers and experienced officers would have been welcome; but with demobilization in progress, they were hard to find.

There was ample evidence of the courage, steadfastness, and impartiality of the troops. Only one case will be mentioned, that of a Sikh Major, the O. C. of a trained escort on a Muslim refugee train. He suffered nine wounds (three gunshot wounds and six spear wounds) in repelling attacks on the train by people of his own religion. The casualties of the Army numbered forty-four killed and wounded in August. And about the same number during the first half of September.

It was the P. B. F. alone that prevented the slaughter from getting completely out of hand; that enabled the new Governments of the newly created Provinces gradually to get into the saddle, however precariously; and that saved the refugees of both communities from extermination, and started to cope with the problems of their movement and

administration. These three big achievements stand to the credit of the Force, also one less likely to be appreciated by the Public - between the Governments of the two new Provinces, the P. B. F. was the only satisfactory go - between, and as the day-to-day administration of both undoubtedly would have broken down without this service of liaison. And, when tempers have cooled, and men are able to get affairs into their right perspective, it is reasonably certain that credit for these very real achievements will be given to the Punjab Boundary Force, who, held together by their officers, carried out the task with relatively few exceptions, in a manner worthy of the great tradition of the old Indian Army in conditions of communal trial and strain well-nigh unprecedented in the world's history.

The Military Evacuation Organization (MEO) also established under Gen. Chimini, was responsible for the safe movement of the refugees between India and Pakistan¹⁴⁶. It's both parties MEO India and MEO Pakistan that worked under the Central MEO were meticulously busy to shift refugees under proper military protection. Mr. H. M. *Mohit* representing India and Mr. F. H. Staves representing Pakistan were responsible for finalizing all the plans and strategies¹⁴⁷. Finally, until November 26, 1947, MEO completed its responsibilities of the shifting of thousands of refugees by lorries, carts, trains, trucks and on foot¹⁴⁸.

The rural population was more affected than the urban. Aggression against minorities was at its peak among rural communities. The frequent visits of political and religious leaders were sufficient to temper the common masses. "But prosperous farmers, who migrated from the Western Punjab Canal Colonies, were

well organized and armed. They were thus a more difficult target to attack. Wealthier localities could be more easily defended than poor slum areas”¹⁴⁹. Furthermore, loot, arson, bomb attacks, killings and kidnappings, etc. were also underwent in urban areas. It was all because of the partition of Punjab willingly or unwillingly. These were the leaders who were responsible for the frightening environment and bloodshed but not the people. This separation increased the suffering and put the fierce socio-political impact on both Eastern and Western Punjab.

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¹ According to the Census 1941 the total population of the Province was 34.3 million which was living in 29 districts of the British Punjab and 43 Princely States. Punjab was consisted on 52,047 villages and 283 towns scattered on area of 138,105 square miles¹. Only 10% Muslim population of the Punjab was living in urban areas and the rest was the rural dweller. "Yet they comprised more than of the urban population of entire Punjab"

Asad Ali Khan, "A Temporal View of Socio-Political Change in Punjab", *South Asian Studies*, (Vol. 24, July-December, 2009), 307.

² Sir John Strachey, *India*, Sighted in Niel Stewart, "Divide and Rule: British Policy in Indian History", *Science and Society*, (Vol. 15, No. 1, Winter, 1951), 49.

³ Gurudarshan Singh Dhillon, "Evaluation of the demand for a Sikh Homeland", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, (Vol. 35, No. 4, October-December, 1974), 363.

⁴ The Statesman Calcutta, 7/7/1946, sighted in Gurudarshan Singh Dhillon, *Evaluation of the demand for a Sikh Homeland*, 367.

⁵ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 143.

⁶ Ayesha Jalal, "Nation, Reason and Religion: Punjab's Role in the Partition of India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (Vol. 33, No. 32, Aug. 8-14, 1998), 2186.

⁷ Record of the meeting between Pundit Nehru and E. Jenkins 14/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁸ Tribune 9/6/1946, sighted in Waheed Ahmad, *The Punjab Story 1940-47: The Muslim and the Unionists Towards Partition and Pakistan*, [edited], (Islamabad: National Documentation Center, 2009), 435.

⁹ Hugh Tinker, "Pressure, Persuasion, Decision: Factors in the Partition of the Punjab, August 1947", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (Vol.36, No. 4, Aug, 1977), 697.

¹⁰ Dominantly Sikhs were 25% of Ludhiana, Amritsar, Ferozpur, Jullunder and 10% to 20% of the total population of Gurdaspur, Sheikhpura, Lyallpur, Ambala, Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Montgomery, Sialkot and Gujranwala.

¹¹ Ian Talbot and Guruharpal Singh, *Region and Partition*, [edited], (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 206.

¹² Mrs. K. L. Ralia Ram to Mr. Jinnah 7/9/1947, sighted in Waheed Ahmad, *The Punjab Story 1940-47: The Muslim and the Unionists Towards Partition and Pakistan* 462.

¹³ Stephan Orens, "The Sikhs, Congress, and the Unionists in British Punjab, 1937-1945", *Modern Asian Studies*, (Vol. 8, No. 3, 1974), 418.

¹⁴ Ayesha Jalal, *Nation, Reason and Religion: Punjab's Role in the Partition of India*, 2186.

¹⁵ John R. Wood, "Dividing the Jewel: Mountbatten and the Transfer of Power to India and Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs*, (Vol. 58, No. 4, Winter, 1985-1986), 656.

¹⁶ Particularly Akali Dal and Congress.

¹⁷ Master Tara Singh by birth was a Hindu and a converted Sikh.

Hugh Tinker, "Pressure, Persuasion, Decision: Factors in the Partition of the Punjab, August 1947", 697.

¹⁸ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, 2nd Edition, (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1980), 17.

¹⁹ Ian Copland, "The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947", *Modern Asian Studies*, (Vol. 36, No. 3, Jul 2002), 679.

²⁰ *Note on the Sikh Plan*, Superintend of Punjab Printing Press, 5.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Zail was a small administrative unite during the British Colonial rule In India, mostly consisted of 2 to 40 village.

²³ Note by Sir E. Jenkins R/3/1/90: ff 12-16, 16/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 282.

²⁴ Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) emerged after World War I for the religious reforms, "'agitating for Community' control of the gurdwaras endowments...".

David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam*, (London: I.B. TAURIS & CO. LTD., 1988), 154.

²⁵ The militant organizations even started the recruitment of the volunteers and the collection of funding as the war preparations. "The enrolment of Sikh volunteers continued apace to the backdrop of the mushrooming of private armies". Till the end of 1946, RSSS swelled to 28000 and MLNG to 10,000 members.

Punjab FR 2nd Half of July 1946, L/P&J/5/250, sighted in Ian Talbot, *The Deadly Embrace*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.

²⁶ When these militant organizations were banned by Khizar ministry, in Punjab 50 lathis were recovered in Rawalpindi; 38 wooden of axes and 77 axes blade from Hoshiarpur recovered. According to the report of Chief Secretary 1000 membership of RSSS increased.

Note on the Sikh Plan, Superintendent of the Punjab Printing Press, 3.

²⁷ Later the strength of militant groups reached at RSSS 58000, MLNG 39000 and Akal Fauj 8000 members.

Ian Talbot, Raj and Punjab, sighted in Paul R. Brass, "The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes", *Journal of Genocide Research*, (2003), 86.

²⁸ Religion was the most important reason of the Punjab crisis during the partition process.

Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan a Nation in the Making*, (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1986), 19.

²⁹ Note on the Sikh Plan, xiix.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Overall and in Central Punjab particularly in Lahore district non-Muslims played a vital role in the development of trade. Only in the district of Lahore Muslims had 78 registered factories out of 186. In the Lahore city, the share of Muslims in insurance and banking was tiny while non-Muslims were paying about eight times more sales tax than the Muslims. Sikhs were very much influential in the economy and agriculture sector, particularly in canal colonies.

O. H. K. Spate "The Partition of Punjab and of Bengal", *The Geographical Journal*, (Vol. 110, No. 4/6, Oct-Dec 1947), 208.

³² Hindus and the Sikhs carried out the attacks on the Muslims. RSSS and other non-Muslim militant groups were severely involved in these horrible attacks on Muslim Community.

Som Anand, Lahore: Patriot of a Lost City, in Ian Talbot and Shinder Tahandi [edited], *People on the Move*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 104.

³³ Paul R. Brass, "The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes", *Journal of Genocide Research*, (2003), 76-77.

³⁴ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan A New History*, (New Delhi: AMARYLLIS, 2013), 26

³⁵ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan A Modern History*, (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2009), 74.

³⁶ Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, Harsh V. Pant, A Bloody Mess [reviewed], "The Review of Politics", (Vol. 70, No. 4, Fall, 2008), 673.

³⁷ Ian Talbot, *The Independence of India and Pakistan*, [edited], (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 225.

³⁸ E. Jenkins to Nawab Iftikhar Husain Mamdot, 5/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176. National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

³⁹ Record of Interview between Rear Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and MR. Jinnah, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No, 100, 26/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 451.

⁴⁰ Sardar Baldev Singh to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, Part I (b), 27/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 466.

⁴¹ Sardar Baldev Singh to Lord Mountbatten, R/3/1/178: ff 47-8, 1/5/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 521.

⁴² There were about 700 holy places of the Sikhs scattered in the entire province of the Punjab. This was also a reason of stress among the Sikh community. The Central place at Nankana Sahib in Dist. Sheikhupura was also in Muslim majority area. O. H. K. Spate, "The Partition of Punjab and of Bengal", *The Geographical Journal*, 209.

⁴³ Viceroy's Personal Report No. 6, L/PO/6/123: ff 90-9, TOP, Vol. X, 686.

⁴⁴ Ayesha Jalal, *Nation, Reason and Religion: Punjab's Role in the Partition of India*, 2187.

⁴⁵ Sikhs could not find a proper secure place within Pakistan. So some explorations would do, which followed their safe and realistic future with India.

W. H. Morris-Jones, "Thirty-Six Years Later: The Mixed Legacies of Mountbatten's Transfer of Power, International Affairs", *Royal Institute of International Affairs* (1944), 626.

⁴⁶ Viceroy's Personal Report No. 6, L/PO/6/123: ff 90-9, TOP, Vol. X, 686.

⁴⁷ John R. Wood, *Dividing the Jewel: Mountbatten and the Transfer of Power to India and Pakistan*, 655.

⁴⁸ Certain members of the Indian Legislature from the Punjab to Pandit Nehru for Viceroy and British Govt., R/3/1/157: f 213, 2/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 88.

⁴⁹ The violent crowds of Hindus and Sikhs tear down the flags and badges of Muslim League, even the attacks on police parties and offices also started.

Lord Wavell to Secretary of State, 5/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁵⁰ Hugh Tinker was a historian from Britain. He had command over South Asia and South East Asia regions.

⁵¹ Hugh Tinker, *Pressure, Persuasion, Decision: Factors in the Partition of the Punjab, August 1947*, 697.

⁵² Gurudarshan Singh Dhillon, "Evaluation of the demand for a Sikh Homeland", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, (Vol. 35, No. 4, October-December 1974), 367.

⁵³ V. P. Menon to George Abell, 29/3/1947, R/3/1/130: f 203, TOP, Vol. X, 44.

⁵⁴ Resolution adopted by Congress Working Committee on 8/3/1947, New Delhi, MB1/D.267, sighted in Tahir Kamran, "The Unfolding Crisis in Punjab, March-August 1947: Key Turning Points and British Responses", (JPS: 14:2), 192-194.

⁵⁵ Ian Talbot, *The Independence of India and Pakistan*, [edited], (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 102.

⁵⁶ Copy of the Resolution No. IX adopted by the Working Committee of Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), its meeting held in Amritsar on 16/4/1947, MB1/D259, sighted in Tahir Kamran, "The Unfolding Crisis in Punjab, March-August 1947: Key Turning Points and British Responses", 194-195.

⁵⁷ Pundit Thakur Das Bhargava MLA, Pirzada Hasan Raj MLA, Diwan Chaman Lal MLA, Sardar Mangal Singh MLA, Sardar Sampuran Singh MLA, Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia MLA, S. B. Capt. Harindra Singh MLA, S. B. Sir Sobha Singh M. C. S, Ch. Sri Chand MLA, Sir Buta Singh M. C. S., Ft. Lt. Rup Chand M. C. S.

⁵⁸ Certain members of the Indian Legislature from the Punjab to Pundit Nehru for Viceroy and British Govt., R/3/1/157: f 213, 2/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 88.

⁵⁹ Tara Singh, Harkishan Singh, Bagh Singh, Sardar Mangal Singh Mann, Gurubachan Singh, Indar Singh, Mohan Singh Jathedar, Buta Singh, Udham Singh Nagoke, Jagjit Singh Mann, Paritam Singh Gujran, Santokh Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Baldev Singh, Jaswant Singh Duggal, Ujjal Singh, Narotam Singh, Hukam Singh.

TOP, Vol. X, 175-176.

⁶⁰ E. Jenkins to Lord Mountbatten. R/3/1/176: ff 100-7, 9/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 172.

⁶¹ Through a letter, Giani Kartar Singh and Tara Singh instigated Maharaja of Farid Kot Harindar Singh to attack and captured the entire district of Ferozpur and Ludhiana and saved parts of district of Lahore.

Viceroy's Personal Report No. 4, L/P/O/6/123: ff 51-9, 24/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 406.

⁶² In Nabha Patiala and Faridkot the Sikh population was 36%, 46% and 57% respectively according to the Census Report of 1941. In August 1947 the Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department reported that the Sikh States like Nabha, Kapurthala, Patiala, Faridkot "had divided the Eastern and Central districts of the Punjab". Even in August 1947 Sardar Patel requested Maharaja Hariandar Singh for 800 rifles for East Punjab.

Ian Copland, *The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947*, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, (Jul., 2002), 664, 681, 703.

⁶³ In a meeting Maharaja of Patiala Yadavindra Singh informed Viceroy that he ever tried to control Master Tara Singh and Kartar Singh but they ever "opt to be inflammatory".

Record of the interview between Rear Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and Maharaja of Patiala, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 78, 20/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 346.

⁶⁴ E. Jenkins to Lord Mountbatten R/3/1/176: ff 100-7, 9/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 172.

⁶⁵ Maharaja of Kapurthala to resdt., Punjab States, 17 Apr. 1940, IDR R/1/1/3554, sighted in Ian Copland, *The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947*, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, (Jul., 2002), 675.

⁶⁶ *Note on the Sikh Plan*, Superintend of Punjab Printing Press, 14.

⁶⁷ Paul R. Brass, *The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes*, 74.

⁶⁸ In Amritsar the destruction and the devastation was high more than an air strike in a war zone.

Report on the recent disturbances in the Punjab (March-April 1947), All India Congress Committee File (AILL), No. G-10/1947, sighted in Ian Talbot and Guruharpal Singh, *The Partition of India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 75.

⁶⁹ Master Tara Singh to MR. Abbot, R/3/1/176: ff 157-159, TOP, Vol. X, 803.

⁷⁰ Paul R. Brass, *The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes*, 77.

⁷¹ Punjab FR 2nd Half of February 1947, L/P&J/5/250, sighted in Ian Talbot, *The Deadly Embrace*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.

⁷² Record of the interview between Raja Ghazanfar Ali and E. Jenkins, 20/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176, 130, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁷³ Even before the elections of 1946 E. Jenkins observed that Muslim League would obtained 90 seats and emerge as majority party in the Assembly but another issue will raise that Hindus and Sikhs mutually refuse the Muslim Ministry and will go towards agitation.

Mr. Abbot to Mr. Abell, Note by Sir E. Jenkins, R/3/1/189:ff 165-6, 4/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 119.

⁷⁴ Record of the interview between Raja Ghazanfar Ali and E. Jenkins, 20/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176, 129, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁷⁵ Kapur Thala House is the residence of the Maharaja of Kapur Thala in Delhi.

⁷⁶ Robin Jeffery, "The Punjab Boundary Force and Problem of Order, August 1947", *Modern Asian Studies*, (Vol. 8, No. 4, 1974), 494.

⁷⁷ Malik Feroz Khan Noon shared in his book "From Memory" that Sardar Sampuran Singh from Lyallpur advocate by profession and later Deputy High Commission in Lahore, that

Master Tara Singh also sent Giani Kartar Singh to convince the Sikhs of the Lyallpur "to leave peacefully as they would be able to return in six months to cut their crops".

Malik Froz Khan Noon, *From Memory*, sighted in *Firoz Khan Noon on Partition and Pakistan*, Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 19, No. 4, (Fourth Quarter, 1966), 340.

⁷⁸ Note by Sir E. Jenkins R/3/1/176: ff 130-4, 10/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 183.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Record of the meeting of above said 14/4/1947, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's miscellaneous meetings, TOP, Vol. X, 231-232.

⁸¹ Record of the interview between Rear Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's interview No. 76, 18/4/1947, TOP, Vol. X, 321.

⁸² Ian Talbot, *The Independence of India and Pakistan*, 212.

⁸³ E. Jenkins to Lord Wavell, 17/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176, 116.117.118, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 119.

⁸⁵ Ian Talbot, *The Deadly Embrace*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 4.

⁸⁶ Report of Governor Punjab 15/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176. National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ IOR, R/3/176, 16/3/1947, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan, 110-111.

⁸⁹ Sir E. Jenkins to Lord Wavel 17/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176, 115, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁹⁰ Som Anand, Lahore: Patriot of a Lost City, sighted in Ian Talbot and Shinder Tahandi [edited], *People On the Move*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 104.

⁹¹ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, 2nd Edition, (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1980), 17.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Kapoor Singh, *Betrayal of the Sikhs*, sighted in Gurudarshan Singh Dhillon, *Evaluation of the demand for a Sikh Homeland*, 368.

⁹⁴ Ian Copland, *The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947*, 679.

⁹⁵ Paul R. Brass, *The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes*, 81.

⁹⁶ Sardar Santokh Singh of Shahkot to Sir George Abell, IOR R/3/1/157, 23/6/1947 Official Documents on the Partition of Punjab, Vol. 1, 51-52.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁹⁸ "The waters of the region's five rivers harnessed in an ambitious irrigation development which was to reach fruition in the opening of the Canal Colonies in the West Punjab. The transformation of 6 million Acres of desert into one of the richest agricultural regions in Asia was a stupendous engineering feat that was seen as the colonial states greater achievement. It was an attempt to remake both the natural environment and its people".

Ian Talbot, "Punjab Under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British India", (JPS:14:1), 7.

⁹⁹ Robin Jeffery, "Grappling with History: Sikh Politicians and the Past", *Pacific Affairs*, (Vol. 60, No. 1, Spring 1987), 60.

¹⁰⁰ Clippings from the Daily Dawn, New Delhi 19/7/1947, sighted in *Documentation of the Partition of the Punjab*, Vol. I, (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1995), 187-195.

¹⁰¹ IOR MSS EUR D-807, Memorandum on Punjab Disturbance by E. Jenkins, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹⁰² Non-Muslims were demanding the appointment of non-Muslim officers in minority areas as well as the recruitment of Hindus and Sikhs in Police 50% in their areas.

C. Dass Dutt, The Punjab Riots and their Lessons, sighted in Ian Talbot and Guruharpal Singh, *The Partition of India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 76

¹⁰³ IOR MSS EUR D-807, Memorandum on Punjab Disturbance by E. Jenkins, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹⁰⁴ IOR MSS EUR D-807, Memorandum on Punjab Disturbance by E. Jenkins, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹⁰⁵ Record of the meeting Bhém Sen Sachar and E. Jenkins, 12/3/1947, IOR R/3/1/176, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹⁰⁶ IOR MSS EUR D-807, Memorandum on Punjab Disturbance by E. Jenkins, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹⁰⁷ Ian Talbot, *The Deadly Embrace*, 6.

¹⁰⁸ Ayesha Jalal, *Nation, Reason and Religion: Punjab's Role in the Partition of India*, 2188.

¹⁰⁹ Hugh Tinker, *Pressure, Persuasion, Decision: Factors in the Partition of the Punjab, August 1947*, 699.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Interview with M. G. Chopra, Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi, sighted in Ian Talbot, *The Deadly Embrace*, 8.

¹¹² While according to the Census Report of Dist. Lahore 1941, Muslims were 60.62%, and non-Muslims were 39.38% of the population. Muslims paid Rs 581,235 as land revenue and non-Muslims paid 1,263,830. Muslims owned land 511,867 Acres and non-Muslims had 1,150,450 Acres of land.

¹¹³ IOR MSS EUR D-807, Memorandum on Punjab Disturbance by E. Jenkins, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹¹⁴ Ishtiaq Ahmad, The 1947 Partition of Punjab: Arguments put Forth Before the Punjab Boundary Commission by the Parties Involved, in Ian Talbot and Shinder Tahandi [edited],

People on the Move, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 106

¹¹⁵ Only in the month of March 1947, 2090 people and killed and 1142 were seriously injured.

Ravindar Kaur, "The Last Journey: Exploiting Social Classes in the 1947 Partition Migration", *Economic and Political Weekly*, (3/6/2006), 2222.

¹¹⁶ Riaz Ahmad, "Muslim Punjab's Fight for Pakistan: League Agitation Against the Coalition Ministry of Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana, January-March 1947", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, (Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, 2007), 3-4.

¹¹⁷ *Sikhs in Action*, Superintendent Punjab Printing Press, Lahore, 3.

¹¹⁸ Police abstract of Intelligence 7/6/1947 & 12/7/1947, sighted in Ian Talbot, *The Independence of India and Pakistan*, [edited], (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 103-104.

¹¹⁹ "Sikhs under Master Tara Singh's direction were angling for an 'Azad Punjab' or an independent Province where they might have controlling hand".

Ayesha Jalal, *Nation, Reason and Religion: Punjab's Role in the Partition of India*, 2186.

¹²⁰ "Its leadership was understandably divided in the crisis which partition presented its character as a community was adequately understand by neither Jinnah nor the Congress leaders. It has no powerful friends at Mountbatten's court or in London".

W. H. Morris-Jones, *Thirty-Six Years Later: The Mixed Legacies of Mountbatten's Transfer of Power*, 625-626.

¹²¹ Rees Papers (RP), Interview with Major Short, sighted in Robin Jeffery, *The Punjab Boundary Force and Problem of Order, August 1947*, 507.

¹²² Akali Jathas were using modern weapons in riots like light machine guns, rifles, Tommy guns etc. The Sikh States were badly involved in violence. The vigorously swelled their militant groups at the time of partition were to close.

Maharaja of Faridkot provided 2 battalions of the army, 20 trucks, and 45 jeeps; Jind State added 'motorized units' in forces.

Ian Copland, *The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947*, 681.

¹²³ Because of gigantic violence and counter violence during May 1947 in Gurgaon District between Meos and Hindus an area of 800 square miles was disturbed and about 50 villages were devastated.

Report of E. Jenkins Governor of the Punjab, Paul R. Brass, *The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes*, 83.

¹²⁴ Amritsar, Lahore, Sialkot, Gurdaspur and Bist Doab the 'heartland of the Punjab'. Here the population density was highest of the Punjab 500 to 900 persons per square mile.

Gopal Krishan, "Demography of the Punjab (1849-1947)", (JPS: 11:1), 78.

¹²⁵ Paul R. Brass, *The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes*, 85.

¹²⁶ Tahir Kamran, "The Unfolding Crisis in Punjab, March-August 1947: Key Turning Points and British Responses", (JPS: 14:2), 192-193.

¹²⁷ Master Tara Singh to Mr. Attlee, L/P&J/7/12465:75, 25/7/47, TOP, Vol. XI, 340-341.

¹²⁸ The Official Documents on the Partition of Punjab, Vol. I, 241,242,244,250,251,256,257.

¹²⁹ TOP Vol. XII, Doc. 432, note by Major Gen. D. C. Hawthorn, 11/8/1947, 667, sighted in Paul R. Brass, *The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes*, 87.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 89.

¹³¹ Cyril Radcliff was a lawyer by profession from the UK and the Chairman of the Boundary Commission. This Boundary Commission was responsible for determining the boundaries

of Punjab and Bengal in reference of the Partition of India 1947.

¹³² Michael Breacher, *Nehru: A Political Biography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 362.

¹³³ Sikhs in Action, i-viii.

¹³⁴ Ibid., xviii-xix.

¹³⁵ Ibid., xi-xii.

¹³⁶ *RSSS in the Punjab*, 15.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 16.

¹³⁸ Report of the PBF, MSS EUR, D-807, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹³⁹ Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, (London: A HAMISH HAILTON PAPERBACK, 1985), 167.

¹⁴⁰ Auchinleck was the Commander-In-Chief of the Indian troops at the time of Indian partition in 1947.

¹⁴¹ Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, 167.

¹⁴² To contain the violence in the border districts of the Punjab PBF was created as the neutral body of the force. Auchinleck selected Maj. Gen. T. W. Pete Rees as the Command of PBF. This force consisted on 2 brigades of 4th Indian Division. A total number of the soldiers was 2300 in 40% Hindus, 35% Muslims, 20% non-castes Hindus and 5% to 10% Sikhs. It was covering 37500 SQM of 12 districts.

Robin Jeffery, *The Punjab Boundary Force and Problem of Order, August 1947*, 496,498,499,501.

¹⁴³ Report of the PBF, MSS EUR, D-807, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹⁴⁴ Robin Jeffery, *The Punjab Boundary Force and Problem of Order, August 1947*, 505-506.

¹⁴⁵ H. V. Hudson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, Jubilee Series Ed. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 409-410.

¹⁴⁶ Meeting of the Cabinet, held on 4/9/1947, Case No. 251/43/47, IOR R/3/1/172, National Documentation Center Islamabad, Pakistan.

¹⁴⁷ Ravindar Kaur, *The Last Journey: Exploring Social Classes / the 1947 Partition Migration*, 2223.

¹⁴⁸ Nandi Bhatia and Anjali Gera Roy, *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement and Settlement*, [edited], (India: Pearson Education, 2008), 157-158.

¹⁴⁹ C. Dass Dutt, The Punjab Riots and their Lessons, sighted in Ian Talbot and Guruharpal Singh, *The Partition of India*, 78.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH'S THEORY OF EDUCATION IN *THE PRELUDE*

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ABSTRACT

This research paper examines Wordsworth's theory of education as expounded in *The Prelude*. In order to expand my argument, I will bring into discussion the other closely related aspects to his broader subject of education: his concept of growing up, the role of Nature, the perils of modernity, the power of the imagination, the importance of what he terms 'spots of time' and a pattern of humanitarian values he develops in *The Prelude*. He calls variously but to the same effect this process of education 'the education of the heart', 'natural education', 'experiential education', and 'the education of circumstances'. It is argued that Wordsworth articulates a notion of education and of the self which is not dependent on the state and its institutions. Therefore, he does not envisage the institutional mode of education as a totally reliable means of educating an individual. He challenges the assumptions underlying the institutional mode of education. The institutional mode of education ironically represses an individual's inner capacity for growth and development. Nature – associated with inner potentialities – and nurture – associated

with academic culture – fail to correspond here in an interchange of intellectual give and take. He instead wishes to reinstate the power of knowledge which has a unique potential to transfigure an individual from simply a product of the coercive social, political and religious forces into a unique being. The Wordsworthian model of growth is an answer to the void created by modernity's lack of emphasis on inner development.

KEY WORDS

Education, 'Spots of time', Knowledge, Modernity, Nature, Values.

The purpose of this study is to bring out the contemporary significance of Wordsworth's *The Prelude* as a fundamental model of the growth of an individual. The poem which was initially intended to pay a poetic tribute to a fellow poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, became a classic study of the growth of an individual. *The Prelude* is an epic study of 'the Growth of a Poet's Mind'. Wordsworth called it "the poem on the growth of my own mind."¹ It is an autobiographical poem. He never published the poem during his life time. It was published posthumously in 1850. It consists of fourteen books. Apart from the 1850 version of *The Prelude*, there are two earlier versions of the poem as well. Wordsworth first composed the poem in 1798-99; it is called the *Two-Part Prelude*. He completed the second version of the poem in 1805. It consists of thirteen books.² Wordsworth never titled the poem except that he called it "Poem to Coleridge."³ Since *The Prelude* concerns the growth of an

individual, so it is taken to be the first major English *Bildungsroman* in poetry.⁴ The poem is profoundly original in its technique and subject-matter as it narrates the story of the uniqueness of an individual on an unprecedented scale. Indeed, the new form of autobiography Wordsworth develops also contributes greatly to the modern idea of literature itself: autonomous, philosophical, the reflection of unique individuality and the product of the creative imagination.

Wordsworth is a key figure in the English literary tradition.⁵ Stephen Gill positions Wordsworth as a writer fundamental to English literary history. He explains the cultural significance of Wordsworth during his last twenty-five years to the beginning of the modern era. He calls Wordsworth a “cultural icon.”⁶ The Victorian understanding sees Wordsworth as “a source of spiritual power.”⁷ His poetry gave “an inner spiritual assurance” to a number of writers including John Keats, J. S. Mill and Matthew Arnold.⁸ Apart from that, the other notable nineteenth-century Wordsworthians are John Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, George Eliot, Charles Dickens, and Walter Pater.⁹ As Gill argues, Wordsworth’s influence works both ways, whether directly from the source or indirectly through the cultural spread of his ideas. His poetry appeals to both kinds of sensibility whether religious or secular.¹⁰ *Wordsworth and the Victorians* invites further research: “A case could be made for pursuing the theme to the end of the Great War, during which Wordsworth’s virtue as a specifically *English* poet was fervently promoted. But why stop there?”¹¹ My present study, though in a different way, extends the line of his inquiry.

This research paper examines Wordsworth's theory of education as expounded in *The Prelude*.¹² In order to expand my argument, I will bring into discussion the other closely related aspects to his broader subject of education: his concept of growing up, the role of Nature, the perils of modernity, the power of the imagination, the importance of what he terms 'spots of time' and a pattern of humanitarian values he develops in *The Prelude*. Wordsworth articulates a notion of education and of the self which is not dependent on the state and its institutions. Therefore, he does not envisage the institutional mode of education as a totally reliable means of educating an individual. As Pointon states, "By 'education' he [Wordsworth] always meant much more than what might be learned through books or in a classroom".¹³ Wordsworth endorses a "whole-life view of education."¹⁴ He challenges the assumptions underlying the institutional mode of education. His criticism of the institutional mode of education is embodied in the description of his undergraduate years at Cambridge University. Wordsworth attended St John's College, Cambridge from October 30, 1787 to January 21, 1791. He received his B.A. degree from there. He describes his personal experience of Cambridge in two of the fourteen books of *The Prelude*. He records his very first reaction to one of the world's leading educational institutions as if he were trapped in the "eddy's force."¹⁵ Any average intelligent person may regard his response as intellectually unsound. Or one may extend this unreasonableness to the point of raising questions about the authenticity of Wordsworth's initial response. Why does Wordsworth criticise and discard the institutional mode of education? What is the alternative model of education he proposes?

What is the nature of knowledge he endorses? Is it simply a Romantic poet's view of education? How would students of science approach this subject? Does education mean skills-based learning, handling tools and operating machines in a skilful manner? Is it possible to earn the benefits of living in a technological-rationalistic age by rebelling against cultural institutions? Is it at all possible to bring the institutional mode of education closer to the Wordsworthian model of growth? In order to answer these questions, it is first necessary to chart out Wordsworth's reasons of dissatisfaction at Cambridge.

Wordsworth's critique of the institutional mode of education is based on discrediting all those influences which damage "the mind's simplicity."¹⁶ In Book III, he describes his academic experience at Cambridge as intellectually limited and limiting. He is thoroughly critical of the academic environment he finds there. As Pointon states, "education [for Wordsworth] meant primarily the cultivation of the heart as distinct from the instruction of the mind."¹⁷ He feels his vital powers – inner capacity for growth and development – choked under the oppressive pressure of work-routine and the pursuits it sets for him. As Pointon argues, "The caverns in Wordsworth's mind were those contemplative spaces that Cambridge was almost powerless to nourish."¹⁸ He gives an analogy of a shepherd who leads his flock to a pool for which they have very little taste. He longs to go back to his native place which offers him what he wishes for, "simplicity and power."¹⁹ He is all set to remain closest to his vital powers which are denied liberal expression at Cambridge and offered instead an inferior substitute in the form of the artificial colours of life. As Pointon states, "His discomfort was with an ethos that actually sapped mental energy,

devitalized imaginative powers and encouraged vanity and pretentiousness.”²⁰ Nature – associated with inner potentialities – and nurture – associated with academic culture – fail to correspond here in an interchange of intellectual give and take.

Wordsworth does not simply regard the mode of education at Cambridge as inadequate but also questions the very basis of the institutional mode of education. He positions himself antithetically to the contemporary theories of educationists; his intent is obvious in discarding their methods. As he writes in *The Prelude*: “Be wise, / Ye Presidents and Deans...to your bells / Give seasonable rest, for ‘tis a sound / Hollow as ever vexed the tranquil air.”²¹ He expresses dissatisfaction at the institutional academic discipline as it inculcates mental conformity to the existing standards of education which do not tend to cultivate taste for knowledge for its own sake. He raises serious doubts about the nature of knowledge which is limited to the external world alone, “reared upon the base of outward things.”²² It ironically represses an individual’s inner capacity for growth and development: “Knowledge not purchased by the loss of power.”²³ He instead wishes to reinstate the power of knowledge which has a unique potential to transfigure an individual from simply a product of the coercive social, political and religious forces into a unique being. He seems to be resisting all those influences which stand in the way of realizing his faculties of head and heart, and instead inhibit “understanding’s natural growth.”²⁴ Raymond Williams concludes his study of English culture on the Wordsworthian note: “The idea of culture rests on a metaphor: the tending of natural growth.”²⁵ Wordsworth calls variously but to the same effect this process of

education “the education of the heart”, “natural education”, “experiential education”, and “the education of circumstances.”²⁶

Wordsworth’s disillusionment at the mode of education at Cambridge sets before him the alternative choice “to exalt the mind / By solitary study.”²⁷ The Wordsworthian mode of education does not exclude the study of books: “Not that I slighted books – that were to lack / All sense.”²⁸ Books enrich the mind and enlarge the worldview, but they are really helpful if they are selected in connection with one’s internal tendencies which come to the fore by the “self-sufficing power of Solitude.”²⁹ Instead of conforming to the curriculum, he prefers private study. He regards his own studies as “the vague reading of a truant youth.”³⁰

Wordsworth’s emphasis falls on the cultivation and expansion of a massively rich inner life by means of creative imagination. Inner life expands with the engagement of human faculties with their own operations: “the mind as artist presents to itself the consciousness of itself.”³¹ He states clearly “my theme has been / What passed within me.”³² He explores his inner resources to find “a privileged world / Within a world.”³³ He draws on subjective knowledge as a means of self-transformation. He traces the history of his growth from childhood innocence to maturity in youth. Wordsworth is striving toward “maintaining in adult life the magnanimous spiritual outlook of childhood.”³⁴ Childhood innocence is a significant feature of experience in *The Prelude*. As Pointon states, “Wordsworth’s way of describing childhood is unmistakably his own but carries with it Rousseau’s view of the innocence of the child and the corruption imposed on it by society’s false values.”³⁵

He keeps referring to it throughout *The Prelude* as a touchstone of his values, and he is in search of that lost joy associated with it.³⁶ He looks back in time to recollect impressions received as a child. As Jay argues, "The poet's 'reduplication' of himself in *The Prelude* is enacted in a retrospective journey whose topography is inward knowledge. The contents of Wordsworth's art, which are to become 'spiritualized' in their 'passage' through his mind, are the recollected contents of his own past."³⁷ He has already experienced the events he is about to unfold; it is not an actual scene or event that is significant but the memory of it in his mind, which brings out fresh meanings from that remembered experience. As Ashton Nichols argues, "The identity that the poet forges on paper is a textual creation out of emotional memory, not a literal remembering of a past self."³⁸

Most scholars argue that the originality of *The Prelude* lies in the investigation and articulation of the constructions of memory.³⁹ There is the interplay of positive and of negative memories; the former are restorative, and the latter are linked with death and fear but they do not surpass the former. The restorative memories are of the earliest-formed bond with Nature and the natural world, with the nurturing figure of his mother, and with place; they provide a reservoir from which Wordsworth draws at a later stage of his life. This is the reason why Nature is so important to him. In the process of growing up, becoming conscious and self-conscious, he seems to have been severed from this earliest-formed unconscious connectedness with Nature.

Wordsworth's scheme of educating an individual rests primarily on an interaction of the child with the beautiful forms of Nature. In the first two books of *The*

Prelude in particular, young Wordsworth describes himself wandering among the beautiful forms of Nature; he develops a sense of communion with the objects of Nature, and the consequent joy he traces in them. As he writes, "Wonder not / If high the transport, great the joy I felt, / Communing in this sort through earth and heaven / With every form of creature."⁴⁰ He regards Nature as a great school in itself; Nature is a great teacher. As Pointon states, "The education that nature provided had a subtlety and comprehensiveness that no textbook, catechism or human tutor could match."⁴¹ He unfolds before us the process whereby we can prepare ourselves fittingly to receive what Nature can give through imagination. As Pointon states, "Wordsworth's child experiences natural joy, shared by animals and plants, by all that lives, in being a part of the beauty of creation, unselfconscious and, therefore, innocent of competitive material ambitions."⁴² The beauty of natural forms leaves impressions of lasting value upon the nascent state of the child's mind.⁴³ Wordsworth believes that a child is highly impressionable and sensitive to a highest degree in terms of his response to the external stimuli in the environment in which he is placed. Wordsworth endorses Hartley's doctrine of Vibrations and Associations: "a complex of vibrations occurs in the infant brain 'almost in the same manner as in a concert of music the air is agitated by vibrations of a very complex kind.'"⁴⁴ The earliest-formed association with Nature sets before the child the possibilities of his protean self just beginning to catch a glimpse of itself in the outer world. He, in his blossoming time, does not tend to discern separation from but identifies himself with Nature. This bond is reinforced by his mother's tender influence and love. As Wordsworth writes: "I held mute

dialogues with my Mother's heart."⁴⁵ She appears in a traditional domestic relationship with the child to inculcate in him the fundamental values of life. As Pointon states, "Besides the moral sense she inculcated – more by example than precept – she taught him to read."⁴⁶ Wordsworth refers to the role of a mother as "the heart / And hinge of all our learnings and our loves."⁴⁷

Wordsworth describes his mother only briefly in *The Prelude* but she is the touchstone of values for him. As Pointon states, "she embodied the stable values of that 'better time' – a happier Britain than the restless, aggressive and quarrelsome present."⁴⁸ As he writes about his mother, "she was pure / From anxious fear of error and mishap / And evil...A heart that found benignity and hope, / Being itself benign."⁴⁹ The significant aspect of her character is the retaining of innocence and purity from 'anxious fear of error and mishap / And evil'. She tends to draw her strength from the past: "she, not falsely taught, / Fetching her goodness rather from times past / Than shaping novelties from those to come."⁵⁰

Wordsworth's effort to retrieve childhood innocence finds an equivalent expression in moments of intense emotional and mental states. He attaches great value to these moments by virtue of their visionary nature: "Those recollected hours that have the charm / Of visionary things."⁵¹ He names them as 'spots of time', which bring about "the power of truth / Coming in revelation."⁵² His theory of personal growth is explained by his concept of 'spots of time'. They tend to illuminate a significant part of his memory, and this particular chunk of memory is linked with a very intense emotional association in the past. As he writes, "Emotions which best foresight need not fear, / Most worthy then of trust when

most intense.”⁵³ As ‘spots of time’ occur in the emotional state of an individual, that is why the experience is made meaningful by “subjective, creative consciousness”; Anthony Easthope sees “subjective experience as a domain of transcendence.”⁵⁴ Wordsworth believes that a ‘spot of time’ holds in its wake an incredible potential to set before him a whole new range of meanings and significance of his experience of life; it has also an incredible potential to reveal the hitherto unexplored aspects of the nature of things. There is the interplay of the creative powers of his mind and the external objects of Nature in that minimum unit of time. Wordsworth sees his whole existence microscopically focused into those transitory moments. The nature of these moments is ambiguous and problematic because there are no fixed criteria or established tradition or institutional support which can legitimize and determine their authenticity. As Paul Maltby argues from the post-modernist perspective, “The case for a literary visionary moment is that it is enmeshed in metaphysical and ideological assumptions...the premises that underlie it may be construed as politically suspect and epistemologically unsound.”⁵⁵

There are two kinds of ‘spots of time’ recorded in *The Prelude* – those moments which come from memory, and those which happen in response to a powerful immediate perception. In the former, the experience has already taken place in the past, and it is the force of the present moment which brings it back. The very reason why the moment is brought back to consciousness speaks of its significance in terms of its intense nature. In the latter category, Wordsworth feels the power of the immediate imaginative perception which engenders a

special insight into the reality of things. Wordsworth experiences 'spots of time' by "chance collisions and quaint accidents."⁵⁶ What they do is to quicken the sensibility of the poet and rouse his senses from the habitual way of seeing things.⁵⁷ The eye that sees the object is not the common eye but "the intellectual eye."⁵⁸ The experiencing self receives generously the torrent of impressions coming from his intense observation of the objects of Nature, and suddenly he is struck by the lightning flash which benumbs his senses and his consciousness is eclipsed for a while; he realizes the totality of his faculties in that moment which lasts for a little while: "objects recognized / In flashes"; "when the light of sense / Goes out, but with a flash that has revealed / The invisible world."⁵⁹ Wordsworth experiences the defamiliarization of the familiar in that minimum unit of time. As Easthope states, "Wordsworth mostly welcomes and enjoys this disturbing and potentially uncanny perceptual effect"⁶⁰ Wordsworth believes that when we observe something too deeply to remember anything else, then all of a sudden our faculties pause for a while, and this is the moment which spans over the remotest regions of the universe. It is a steadily intensifying meditative mood of 'blank desertion' where the observer's identity dissolves into infinite spaces of vastness.

In Book V of *The Prelude*, Wordsworth narrates the incident of a ten year old boy who used to mimic hootings to the silent owls while standing in the heart of Nature. The owls would first respond to his hootings, the sounds of these birds would resound in the valley; it would continue for some time with ever increasing communication of the boy with the owls and their

corresponding loud echoes. Suddenly, it would stop completely; in that profound silence of hypnotic trance, he would wait eagerly listening in that pause: "a gentle shock of mild surprise / Has carried far in his heart the voice / Of mountain torrents; or the visible scene / Would enter unawares into his mind, / With all its solemn imagery, its rocks, / Its woods, and that uncertain heaven, received / into the bosom of the steady lake."⁶¹ In Book VIII, Wordsworth offers another analogy to throw light on the creative potential of 'spots of time'. He goes on to say that when a traveller moves from a bright day into some sort of cave beneath the earth with torches to assist his sight, the inside of the cave seems to grow or shrink on all sides, even the roof does not seem to stand on its solid structure; the interplay of light and dark, substance and shadow begin to spin around in his head. Shapes and forms begin to appear and reappear, forming and re-forming. The rapidly shifting panorama finally settles into a complete view and becomes still. When the traveller regains his sight in the ensuing pause, a slow quickening of the senses give way to a lightning rapidity; an endless spectacle ensues torrentially: "Strange congregation! Yet not slow to meet / Eyes that perceive through minds that can inspire."⁶² Easthope names it as "unconscious effect", "the features of a subjective fantasy as though it were a spectacle."⁶³

There is a certain kind of predisposition on Wordsworth's part to receive liberally and generously what Nature can give. He explains this mood of receptivity by offering an analogy of a lute: "in a kindred mood / Of passion, was obedient as a lute / That waits upon the touches of the wind."⁶⁴ Once the meditative mood is triggered after experiencing 'spots of time', he tends to

capture the essence of these transitional moments by recording them in his poem: "Nor should this, perchance, / Pass unrecorded."⁶⁵ The implications of this experience go far deeper into his personality and reconfigure his psyche in accordance with the intensity of the moment. The moment, at the time of happening, brings along with it a momentary leap of understanding into the deep nature of things. It expands the boundaries of his existing state of the self, and he comes out as a much expanded and magnanimous being. The act of transformation is a new kind of adjustment in the total experience of his life. The whole experience liberates him from the oppressive pressures of existence; it is accompanied by joy, stillness and a special kind of pleasure. The cumulative effect of this experience is restorative as it hopes to preserve and justify his life and work.

Wordsworth's discovery of 'spots of time' occurs at the crucial period of his life; it is not only the climactic moment in *The Prelude* but also the climactic moment of the growth of his mind. As James P. Davis argues, "The spots have come to be viewed as an organizing principle with nearly infinite flexibility, describing and re-enacting the most significant moments in *The Prelude*, providing a macro-structure to connect these moments, and embodying the processes of imagination itself."⁶⁶ As he formulates clearly the ethos of his theory of personal growth: "There are in our existence spots of time, / That with distinct pre-eminence retain / A renovating virtue."⁶⁷ He is clear that such significant moments do exist in our lives; the oppressive pressures of existence and ordinary concerns may have suppressed them to the point of forgetfulness but once they are brought back to consciousness, they tend to 'renovate' our experience.

They not only 'nourish' and 'repair' our minds to lift us from a fallen state but also yield a great amount of pleasure. The discovery of 'spots of time' uplifts him from the condition of "utter loss of hope itself / And things to hope for" to the condition of being assured of his creative powers.⁶⁸ In the first half of the Book XII, he regrets having lost contact with his creative powers in the face of the crises of contemporary times. His earlier excitement about the French Revolution, the lofty hopes and ideals associated with it at last crumble in the wake of large scale chaos, violence, anarchy and bloodshed.⁶⁹ He experiences a moral crisis at the degeneracy of the lofty hopes and ideals associated with the Revolution.⁷⁰ He realizes that it is against the grain of his personality to lose hope utterly. It must be sought elsewhere in the world of poetry and Nature. He opens up to receive the bounties of Nature by allowing his sensibility to regain lost responsiveness and vitality. He recognizes the power of mind above his outward senses; formerly he was only deriving sensuous delight from the objects of Nature: "The mind is lord and master – outward sense / The obedient servant of her will."⁷¹ He assures himself of his creative powers by calling to mind the sweet remembrances of those beloved objects of Nature which arrested his faculties "taking their date / From our first childhood."⁷² These sweet remembrances restore him to health when the sources of his strength are depleted by the crises of contemporary times. As he writes, "Substance and life to what I feel, enshrining, / Such is my hope, the spirit of the Past / For future restoration."⁷³ On one level, these memories give him sensual delight and concomitant joy; on another level, they uplift him to the profounder

regions of the mind under the benign and guiding influence of Nature.

The Wordsworthian model of growth establishes a pattern of humanitarian values through 'a retrospective journey whose topography is inward knowledge'. He undertakes this inward journey to retrieve his origins and lost poetic language by "listening to notes that are / The ghostly language of the ancient earth."⁷⁴ The exploration of his personal past links him with the past of humankind – preserved in the spirit of the place. As Ian Baucom defines 'place', "Place here is not a mere expanse but something that contains and communicates a certain type of tradition."⁷⁵ He endorses the view of the continuity of self and personal memory across time. Therefore, he does not abstract himself from his environment but attempts to connect himself to a long continuous tradition preserved in the 'resonant English locales.'⁷⁶ Therefore, the Wordsworthian mode of educating an individual tends to strengthen the community in which that individual is firmly rooted.⁷⁷ His model of such community is based on the pre-industrial English society of the second half of the eighteenth century rural England. He attempts to retrieve an English identity that is organic, stable and agrarian. As Pointon argues, "No doubt Wordsworth idealised the villages of his childhood...the interdependence of their dwellers, their routines of agreed husbandry, their village officers, the stability and security afforded, for all their tyrannies, by the lord of the manor and the parson."⁷⁸ He is writing at a time when this organic, rural society is threatened by the changing forms of English society. Rapid industrialization, urbanization, the introduction of mechanical means of living as against natural may have promised to uplift the life of common humanity but they

bring about a whole new set of problems. As Pointon states, "War taxes, bad harvests, soaring food prices, loss of trade leading to unemployment in the spinning and weaving industries, as well as on the land, the forced march of labour into the factory shift, all created the circumstances for Wordsworth's lifelong grief over a dying cultural and social structure."⁷⁹ Therefore, he stands up for the continuation of old ways of life. Since he rebels against the newly emerging forms of the industrial-capitalist society, he looks back to the past and formulates his identity in accordance with the ideals of the past. He resists any such self-formulation which is superimposed by the cultural institutions of his times. While doing so, he experiences "a crisis of identity" in the process of composing his poem.⁸⁰

However, there is another view suggesting that revisiting past time enables Wordsworth to transcend his past, which, consequently, transforms him in the process of composing his poem. As Jay argues, "Wordsworth's journey back to wholeness and poetic power is coincident with the activity of composing his poem."⁸¹ The distance of time between the immediate present and the earliest past generates a possibility for Wordsworth to re-make himself; it enables him to stand above his narration as a detached spectator. He refers to this gap between the present and the past as creating two different identities: "so wide appears / The vacancy between me and those days / Which yet have such self-presence in my mind, / That musing on them, often do I seem / Two consciousnesses, conscious of myself / And of some other Being."⁸² As Jay explains, "Seeking restoration from his past, the poet inevitably faces its absence, and with that absence, he faces the gulf between his past and his

present selves.”⁸³ The intensity of this division drives him to seek unity in the refashioning of his self-accumulated from the data of his past selves. He expresses a desire, which is a lack, and this lack is recompensed imaginatively by re-creating a world of his own: “I had a world about me – ‘t was my own; / I made it.”⁸⁴ Wordsworth compensates through an act of literary self-representation the common sense of loss, or of the precariousness of our sense of stability and identity: “the justification of the narrator’s experience of pain and loss and suffering, which has been implicit throughout *The Prelude*.”⁸⁵

Wordsworth in *The Prelude* evolves a pattern of humanitarian values independent of traditional religious morality. As Pointon argues in favour of Wordsworth’s distrust of religion in the moral training of an individual: “nothing in Wordsworth’s writings on education, whether poetry or prose, contradicts his fundamental antipathy to enforcing religion and to teaching morality by precept.”⁸⁶ Wordsworth believes that “moral education leading to happiness is a natural process. It does not depend upon tutorial instruction or precept.”⁸⁷ Wordsworth’s dissatisfaction with the institutional mode of education is founded on the fact that it is controlled by the Church. Though he became devoutly Anglican in his middle years, he continued to offer resistance to the idea of the Church as the educator of the individual. It transcends the narrow boundaries of specific political programmes and ideologies, race, class, gender, and colour: “The earth is all before me.”⁸⁸ He opens the book with an invocation to his muse of inspiration, namely “gentle breeze.”⁸⁹ He chooses “a wandering cloud” as his guide.⁹⁰ He anticipates the time when he could be able to dedicate himself to his major purpose of life; he is preparing himself creatively to

see whether he is fit enough for this arduous task.⁹¹ He regards it as holy: "A renovated spirit singled out, / Such hope was mine, for holy services."⁹² He believes that he is "endowed with holy powers / And faculties."⁹³ He seems to be using religious terminology for purposes quite other than religious. Jay builds on Geoffrey Hartman's reading of *The Prelude* as a secular text: "Romanticism can be seen reformulating 'divinity' itself. In this reformulation, art's task remains 'religious', but only in the sense that it seeks *itself* – as art – to relocate, and re-articulate, what is true in a transcendent sense."⁹⁴ His props are not those of a common believer but the props of imagination. Wordsworth's imagination has been described as that of an "orphan" because he lost both his parents at a very young age; his mother died when he was eight, and his father died when he was thirteen. It is an actual loss in the real sense of the word but he retrieves through memory the absent father and the absent mother. The Romantics are concerned with expressing the consequences of being parentless (not just biologically but culturally and socially); they are concerned with self-creation, with making themselves their own fathers, their own begetters.⁹⁵ He derives strength and power from "the life / In common things."⁹⁶

Wordsworth opens the poem with a sense of welcome release at having 'escaped' the tyranny of city life: "escaped / From the vast city, where I long had pined / A discontented sojourner: now free / Free as a bird to settle where I will."⁹⁷ The 'vast city' he refers to is identified as London and Goslar. He is preparing his mood to get in touch with his potentialities by liberating himself from a "servile yoke."⁹⁸ The longing for release is from the burden of the "unnatural self" the city life constantly

threatens to impose upon him.⁹⁹ It is typical of the Romantics to regard the 'city' as symbol of a 'servile yoke'. Aimlessness, depression or insincerity are usually associated with modern urban life. Later in the poem, the theme of the 'unnatural self' is carried forward in his depiction of London. He feels thoroughly disillusioned at seeing London life, especially the theatres and fairs he visits. He compares his life lived in Grasmere with what he experiences in London. There is little sense of proportion and regard for the higher virtues of life; low and vulgar aims and occupations keep the Londoners busy: "Oh, blank confusion! true epitome / Of what the mighty City is herself / To thousands upon thousands of her sons, / Living amid the same perpetual whirl / Of trivial objects, melted and reduced / to one identity, by differences / That have no law, no meaning, and no end."¹⁰⁰ What he finds in London is the exaltation of the mechanical and the artificial means of life over the natural: "A shadow, a delusion, ye who pore / On the dead letter, miss the spirit of things; / Whose truth is not a motion or a shape / Instinct with vital functions, but a block / Or waxen image which yourselves have made, / And ye adore."¹⁰¹ However, it appears from Wordsworth's description of London that London is not entirely antithetical to his poetic sensibility. He records a couple of "individual sights / Of courage, or integrity, or truth, / Or tenderness" when he finds himself moved by what he sees in London.¹⁰² It is evident in his acknowledgment in the text that there are some such 'sights' he sees in London but he limits their number while describing London life. The first of these is a sight of 'tenderness' when he sees "love unutterable" between a father and his little child.¹⁰³ The second of these is a sight of a blind beggar "wearing a written paper,

to explain / His story, whence he came, and who he was."¹⁰⁴ As Williams points out the usually perceived dichotomy between the country and the city, "On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light."¹⁰⁵ However, "Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation."¹⁰⁶

Wordsworth's love of Nature is not simply a source of joy and corporeal pleasures but it cultivates sympathy and empathy toward others: "Thus were my sympathies enlarged."¹⁰⁷ Nature purifies him of the mean and petty aspects of existence; it safeguards him from cherishing negative emotions. Love of Nature is so fundamental to Wordsworth's sensibility that this love leads him to love for humankind: "From Nature doth emotion come."¹⁰⁸ Wordsworth's love of shepherds inspires him to appreciate humankind in general: "And thus my heart was early introduced / To an unconscious love and reverence / Of human nature."¹⁰⁹ He is very fond of shepherds because they are pure, and represent for him the true measure of human form: "hence the human form / To me was like an index of delight, / Of grace and honour, power and worthiness."¹¹⁰ His reason for undertaking the introspective journey accords with his faith in the good of human nature: "the inner frame is good, / And graciously composed."¹¹¹ The most reliable connection that allows for such ideas to take firm root is love: "To love as prime and chief, for there fear ends."¹¹² He sets standards for love to grow within a human being: "its growth requires / Retirement, leisure, language purified / By manners

studied and elaborate.”¹¹³ Love, for Wordsworth, is the centre of all values: “By love subsists / All lasting grandeur, by pervading love; / That gone, we are as dust.”¹¹⁴ The Wordsworthian model of growth follows from simple love of Nature and humans to higher love which he associates with “the Almighty’s Throne.”¹¹⁵ He draws a relation between spiritual love and imagination: “This spiritual Love acts not nor can exist / Without Imagination, which, in truth, / Is but another name for absolute power / And clearest insight, amplitude of mind, / And Reason in her most exalted mood.”¹¹⁶ Finally, what follows from the cultivation of spiritual love is “Faith in life endless, the sustaining thought / of human Being, Eternity, and God.”¹¹⁷ Wordsworth, now assured of his gifts, once again denounces the institutional mode of education: “And – now convinced at heart / How little those formalities, to which / With overweening trust alone we give / The name of Education, hath to do / With real feeling and just sense.”¹¹⁸ The Wordsworthian model of growth finds, as we have seen, an equivalent expression in the reinstatement of ‘knowledge not purchased by the loss of power’, ‘the mind’s simplicity’, ‘simplicity and power’, ‘real feeling’, ‘just sense’ and a pattern of humanitarian values.

REFERENCES

¹ Cited in M. H. Abrams, "The Design of *The Prelude*: Wordsworth's Long Journey Home" in "Recent Critical Essays" to *The Prelude* (1979), 586.

² See Sally Bushell, "Wordsworthian Composition: The Micro-'Prelude,'" *Studies in Romanticism* 44, no. 3 (2005): 399-421.

³ See Ronald A. Sharp, "Romanticism and the Zone of Friendship," *New England Review* 28, no. 4 (2007): 165-173.

⁴ There is a tradition of novel writing known as *Bildungsroman* or the novels of self-development, a type of novel whose origins lie in the eighteenth-century Germany. The term *Bildungsroman* since then has acquired a common currency in continental literature often used to denote any novel which portrays the development of a character. See Charles Altieri, "Organic and Humanist models in Some English Bildungsroman," *The Journal of General Education* 23, no. 3 (1971): 220-240. According to Abrams, *The Prelude* "far surpassed all German examples". See Abrams, "The *Prelude* as a Portrait of the Artist" in Jonathan Wordsworth, (ed.), *Bicentenary Wordsworth Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 180.

⁵ James Benziger raises the point that the poets of the nineteenth-century England have not been understood properly on their own terms as they raised "eternal questions" for which they sought answers in their poetry. Benziger, *Images of Eternity: Studies in the Poetry of Religious Vision from Wordsworth to T. S. Eliot* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962), 3. He argues that they are not rightly valued because "the dominant voice in the literary world is the untranscendental criticism of the secular critics" who tend to ignore these poets' major preoccupation with the 'eternal questions, *ibid.*, 9. The common tendency among these critics is

to view the romantic poets as “de-Platonized” and “de-Christianised, *ibid*” 9. His study shows that the repeated occurrence of the word ‘soul’ and ‘life after death’ in their poetry survives even after the loss of traditional faith. He places Wordsworth ahead of these nineteenth-century poets in terms of his major preoccupation to find answers to these ‘eternal questions’ which concern “the existence of God and immortality, *ibid*” 4. Before that it was within the province of the established authority of religion and tradition to provide answers to these questions but the educated men of the last three centuries began to challenge this authority. Benziger locates the shift of emphasis from traditional Christianity to ‘the education of the heart’ and ‘experience itself’. Bornstein emphasises that “the essential idea of romanticism...is...the doctrine of experience – the doctrine that the imaginative apprehension gained through immediate experience is primary and certain, whereas the analytic reflection that follows is secondary and problematical,” *ibid.*, 24-5. His study is based on the premise that “something of the old imaginative preoccupations have persisted even into our time under altered conditions and in different modes,” *ibid.*, 7.

⁶ Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 3. In order to pay homage to Wordsworth and his poetry, the Wordsworth Society was established in Grasmere in 1880. Apart from that, the cultural significance of Wordsworth and the Lake District led to “the formation of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty – formally inaugurated on 12 January, 1895,” *ibid.*, 259. See for details, Gill, “The Last Decade: From Wordsworth Society to National Trust,” *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 235-260.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸ Benziger, *Images of Eternity*, 6.

⁹ See for details, Gill, “England’s Samuel: Wordsworth as Spiritual Power, *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 40-80.

¹⁰ Since Wordsworth’s poetry substitutes traditional Christianity, the new religion he substitutes is the religion of nature, “natural

religion". Barry Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education* (Lewes: Hornbook Press, 1998), 12.

¹¹ Gill, *Wordsworth and the Victorians*, 8.

¹² The decision to use the 1850 edition of *The Prelude* is based on the fact that the 1805 edition was not available to the writers under discussion in this thesis. The 1805 edition of *The Prelude* was first published by Professor Ernest de Selincourt in 1926.

¹³ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 22.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 53.

¹⁵ William Wordsworth, *The Prelude: 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams, and Stephen Gill (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), Book III, Line 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Book III, Line 216.

¹⁷ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁹ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book VII, Line 744. Wordsworth was born on 7 April 1770 in Cockermouth, Cumberland. He was living at Hawkshead when he left for Cambridge in 1787. He moved to Dove Cottage, Grasmere, in the Lake District in 1799 and lived there until 1808. See James A. Butler, "Tourist or Native Son: Wordsworth's Homecomings of 1799-1800," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51, no. 1 (1996): 1-15.

²⁰ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 31.

²¹ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book III, Lines 412-13 & 415-17.

²² *Ibid.*, Book VII, Line 650.

²³ *Ibid.*, Book V, Line 425. See Henry Weinfield, "'Knowledge Not Purchased by the Loss of Power': Wordsworth's Meditation on Books and Death in Book 5 of *The Prelude*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 43, no. 3 (2001): 334-363.

²⁴ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book XI, Line 200.

²⁵ Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (London: Hogarth Press, 1990), 335.

²⁶ Cited in Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 9, 27, 36, 53.

²⁷ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book IV, Lines 304-305.

²⁸ Ibid., Book III, Lines 367-368.

²⁹ Ibid., Book II, Line 77.

³⁰ Ibid., Book VI, Line 95.

³¹ Paul Jay, *Being in the Text: Self-Representation from Wordsworth to Roland Barthes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 44.

³² Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book III. 175-176. See Scott Hess, "William Wordsworth and Photographic Subjectivity," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 63, no. 3 (2008): 283-320.

³³ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book III, Lines 523-524.

³⁴ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 35.

³⁵ Ibid., 24.

³⁶ There are frequent references to childhood innocence in *The Prelude*. See for example, "that calm delight / Which, if I err not, surely must belong / To those first-born affinities that fit / Our new existence to existing things, / And, in our dawn of being, constitute / The bond of union betwixt life and joy" (Book I, Lines 553-558); "Blessed the infant babe" (Book II, Line 233); "infant sensibility, / Great birthright of our being" (Book II, Lines 271-272); "I still retained / My first creative sensibility" (Book II, Lines 359-360); "Oh! mystery of man, from what a depth / Proceed thy honours! I am lost, but see / In simple childhood something of the base / On which thy greatness stands" (Book XII, Lines 272-275).

³⁷ Jay, *Being in the Text*, 55-56.

³⁸ Nichols, *The Revolutionary 'I': Wordsworth and the Politics of Self-presentation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 7.

³⁹ See Beth Lau, "Wordsworth and Current Memory Research," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 42, no. 4 (2002): 675-692.

⁴⁰ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book II, Lines 409-412. See James Phillips, "Wordsworth and the Fraternity of Joy," *New Literary History* 41, no. 3 (2010): 613-632.

⁴¹ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 29.

⁴² Ibid., 24.

⁴³ See Howard Cannatella, "Is Beauty an Archaic Spirit in Education?" *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 40, no. 1 (2006): 94-103.

⁴⁴ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 26.

⁴⁵ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book II, Line 268. Wordsworth's mother died when he was eight years old.

⁴⁶ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 22.

⁴⁷ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book V, Lines 257-258. See James A. W. Heffernan, "The Presence of the Absent Mother in Wordsworth's *Prelude*," *Studies in Romanticism* 27.2 (1988): 253-272.

⁴⁸ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 22-23.

⁴⁹ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book V, Lines 279-80 & 292-293.

⁵⁰ Ibid., Book V, Lines 266-268. Wordsworth also remembers in loving terms his landlady, Anne Tyson. As Pointon states, "She was 66 years of age when he became her boarder...There is no doubt that she was a formative influence in shaping his knowledge of and his profound regard for true tales of rural life". Wordsworth was nine years old at that time. Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 41.

⁵¹ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book I, Line 632-633.

⁵² Ibid., Book II, Line 392-393. See Eelco Runia, "Spots of Time," *History and Theory* 45, no. 3 (2006): 305-316.

⁵³ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book XIV, Line 122-123.

⁵⁴ Easthope, *Wordsworth Now and Then: Romanticism and Contemporary Culture* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993), 33.

⁵⁵ Maltby, *The Visionary Moment: A Postmodern Critique* (New York: State University of New York, 2002), 3.

⁵⁶ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book I, Line 589.

⁵⁷ There are many references to it in *The Prelude*. For example, "While on the perilous ridge I hung alone, / With what strange utterance did the loud dry wind / Blow through my ears! the sky seemed not a sky / Of earth – and with what motion moved the clouds" (Book I, Lines 336-339). Wordsworth, as a young boy, is skiing with his playmates. It is the time when he is letting

himself slide along the surface of ice, he suddenly stops himself: "yet still the solitary cliffs / Wheeled by me – even as if the earth had rolled / With visible motion her diurnal round" (Book I, Lines 458-460); "and I stood and watched / Till all was tranquil as a dreamless sleep" (Book I, Lines 462-463); "difference / Perceived in things ,where, to the unwatchful eye, / No difference is, and hence, from the same source, / Sublimier joy" (Book II, Lines 299-302); "Oft in these moments such a holy calm / Would overspread my soul, that bodily eyes / Were utterly forgotten, and what I saw / Appeared like something in myself, a dream, / A prospect in the mind" (Book II, Lines 348-352); "Like a lone shepherd on a promontory / Who lacking occupation looks far forth / Into the boundless sea, and rather makes / Than finds what he beholds" (Book III, Lines 516-519); "Yes, I had something of a subtler sense" (Book IV, Line 209); "That in life's every-day appearances / I seemed about this time to gain clear sight / Of a new world...The excellence, pure function, and best power / Both of the object seen, and eye that sees" (Book XIII, Lines 368-370 & 377-378).

⁵⁸ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book XIII, Line 52.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Book V, Line 604-605 & Book VI, Lines 600-602.

⁶⁰ Easthope, *Wordsworth Now and Then: Romanticism and Contemporary Culture*, p. 42.

⁶¹ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book V, Lines 382-388.

⁶² Ibid., Book VIII, Line 588-589.

⁶³ Easthope, *Wordsworth Now and Then*, 42.

⁶⁴ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book III, Lines 140-142.

⁶⁵ Ibid., Book II, Line 377-378.

⁶⁶ Davis, "The 'Spots of Time': Wordsworth's Poetic Debt to Coleridge," *Colby Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (1992): 65.

⁶⁷ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book XII, Lines 209-211.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Book XII, Lines 6-7.

⁶⁹ See Matthew Buckley, "A 'Dream' of 'Murder': 'The Fall of Robespierre' and the Tragic Imagination," *Studies in Romanticism* 44, no. 4 (2005): 515-549.

⁷⁰ See Brian Folker, "Wordsworth's Visionary Imagination: Democracy and War," *ELH* 69, no. 1 (2002): 167-197.

⁷¹ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book XII, Lines 222-223.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Book XII, Lines 224-225.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Book XII, Lines 284-286. See Ann Wierda Rowland, "Wordsworth's Children of the Revolution," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 41, no. 4 (2001): 677-694.

⁷⁴ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book II, Lines 308-309.

⁷⁵ Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 18.

⁷⁶ As Baucom defines Englishness, "Englishness, famously, is not constitutional in the American sense but prescriptive, sternly devoted to custom and tradition," *ibid.*, p. 9. In order to relocate English identity, Baucom goes back to Wordsworth's "redemptive localism" which sees English identity as continuous, *ibid.*, 32. He sees in Wordsworth "an obsessive interest in discovering the principles that would not only connect England's unborn, its living, and its dead but would guarantee that the nation's past, present, and future would fundamentally alike," *ibid.*, 20. Since places have a certain aura about them, so Wordsworth "awarded the resonant English locale the power to preserve Englishness against Enlightenment modernity. England – with only the slightest hyperbole – against France, and in time, Englishness against the British Empire," *ibid.*, 30. Baucom quotes from James Chandler's *Wordsworth's Second Nature: A Study of the Poetry and Politics*: "Wordsworth's election of Englishness over Frenchness as dramatized, and enabled, by his discovery of the famous 'spots of time' – those redemptive locales which, Chandler suggests, are also Burkean 'spots of tradition,'" *ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁷ See Richard Eldridge, "Self-Understanding and Community in Wordsworth's Poetry," *Philosophy and Literature* 10, no. 2 (1986): 273-294.

⁷⁸ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸⁰ Abrams, *The Prelude as a Portrait of the Artist*, 184.

- ⁸¹ Jay, *Being in the Text*, 56.
- ⁸² Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book II, Lines 28-33.
- ⁸³ Jay, *Being in the Text*, 53.
- ⁸⁴ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book III, Lines 144-145.
- ⁸⁵ Abrams, *The Prelude as a Portrait of the Artist*, 184.
- ⁸⁶ Pointon, *Wordsworth and Education*, 35.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.
- ⁸⁸ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book I, Line 14.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Book I, Line 1.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Book I, Line 17.
- ⁹¹ Wordsworth had planned to write the central philosophical section of *The Recluse* in March 1798 but could not do so.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, Book I, Lines 53-54.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, Book III, Lines 88-89.
- ⁹⁴ Jay, *Being in the Text*, 42.
- ⁹⁵ See for details, Guinn Batten, *The Orphaned Imagination: Melancholy and Commodity Culture in English Romanticism* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1998), 149-210.
- ⁹⁶ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book I, Lines 108-109.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book I, Lines 6-9. In the 1805 version of *The Prelude*, these lines are addressed to Coleridge. Coleridge attended Jesus College, Cambridge from 1791 to 1794. He left the college in 1794 without receiving his degree. As Wordsworth writes, "That scarcely had I finally resigned / My rights among those academic bowers / When thou wert thither guided" (Book VI, Lines 286-288). In Book VI, he describes Coleridge's depressing academic experience at Cambridge, and the sickening effects of Coleridge's school days in London.
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Book I, Line 105.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Book I, Line 21.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Book VII, Lines 722-728.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Book VIII, Lines 296-301.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Book VII, Lines 599-601.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Book VII, Line 618.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Book VII, Lines 641-642.

¹⁰⁵ Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1. As Williams further explains, "It is right to stress some continuity from Thomson and the eighteenth-century tradition. There is the use of the country, of 'nature', as a retreat and solace from human society and ordinary human consciousness," *ibid.*, 129. He argues that with Wordsworth, "It is not now the will that is to transform nature; it is the lonely creative imagination; the man driven back from the cold world and in his own natural perception and language seeking to find and recreate man," *ibid.*, 132. He calls this language as "the 'green language' of the new poetry," *ibid.*, 132.

¹⁰⁷ Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book II, Line 175.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Book XIII, Line 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Book VIII, Lines 277-279.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Book VIII, Lines 279-281.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Book XIII, Lines 281-282.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Book XIV, Line 163.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Book XIII, Lines 189-191.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Book XIV, Lines 168-170.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Book XIV, Line 187.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Book XIV, Lines 188-192.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book XIV, Lines 204-205. There are various references to this kind of dependency on the divine being. For example, "A gracious spirit o'er this earth presides, / And o'er the heart of man: invisibly / It comes, to works of unreprieved delight, / And tendency benign, directing those / Who care not, know not, think not what they do" (Book V, Lines 491-495); "our destiny, our being's heart and home, / Is with infinitude, and only there" (Book VI, Lines 604-605); "instinct / With godhead, and, by reason and by will, / Acknowledging dependency sublime" (Book VIII, Lines 492-494); "the universal heart" (Book XIII, Line 220); "To hold fit converse with the spiritual world" (Book XIV, Line 108).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Book XIII, Lines 168-172.

VAR AS HISTORY: AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This article is an attempt to search for the historiographical characteristics of *Var*¹. Considering *Var* as a form of indigenous history within the oral tradition of the Punjab, the present study tries to discover what kind of history it is and, even more importantly, what 'history' is to *Var*. With hermeneutical approach, the textual analysis of available *Vars* is carried out in which basic historiographical elements like time, change, evidence, human value etc. are explored. However, as such analysis runs the risk of evaluating *Var* in comparison to the standards set by modern historiography and thus rejecting or accepting the former as 'proper' history, the emphasize would be to interpret and contextualize the elements of theology, myths, rhetoric etc. in view of the pre-modern context. Therefore, hermeneutical analysis would be aided by an interdisciplinary approach –scuttling across various approaches from the fields of mythology, folklore, anthropology, sociology and culture – in order to delineate upon the historiographical characteristics of *Var*.

KEY WORDS

Var, history, historiography, oral tradition, folklore.

Though the whole of oral tradition of Punjab can be dealt in terms of important historiographical concepts² i.e. time, change, evidence, continuity, memory and preservation etc., *Var*, as a case within oral tradition of the Punjab, presents various points of interest in its narratives, which are most of the time historical³ even in the traditional sense, to be analyzed for the historiographical analysis. Apart from the historical nature of its subject and the etymological references that point to this genre, *Var*, as a form of indigenous history, when going through the preface of *The Legends of Punjab*, it is observed that RC Temple has referred to the historical character of bardic poems of Punjab at various points; though he does not take up the job of evaluating them as historical narratives, his tone remains mixed up as to assigning historical bearings to these verses. The point here is not to consult what historical value Temple assigns to the narrative of *Var*; rather, the emphasis is to bring out the claim of historical narrative which *Var* carries with it and to which Temple had to respond even if it was not his primary concern. When comparing and contrasting bardic poem and folktale, Temple writes,

“Now I hope to show here abundantly that the bardic poem and the folktale are constructed on precisely the same lines as far as the pure story goes, even where the former is fastened on to really historical characters and mixed up with the narrative of *bona fide* historical facts.”⁴

The primary task before Temple was to extract folklore from bardic poem and for that he seems most of the time comparing bardic poem to folktales. That is why, he calls Legends the bona fide folklore of India and accomplishes his job by comparing them to the other folklores as researched, discovered, explained and used by his contemporary folklorist in India. Therefore, he writes, "All that will therefore be attempted here will be to show that the legends are bona fide Indian folklore of the ordinary modern sort, and for this purpose they will be compared with the four chief collections of folktales of the present day, viz.. *Old Deccan Days*, *Indian Fairy Tales*, *Folk Tales of Bengal* and *Wide-Awake Stories*.* These four books cover nearly the whole area of the Indian Aryan population, and contain between them over 120 tales, so that they serve the purposes of comparison very fairly. It should be remarked here that owing to the necessities of the case, no systematic order has been observed in recording the Legends."⁵ Similarly, though Swynnerton's⁶ primary concern remains the folklore of northern India, he cannot help discussing the historical authenticity of the legends. He prefers to trust legends' account by those people and villagers who belonged the same place which would be setting of legend's story. His such preference tells how he had to inevitably believe the historical truth of these legends. Therefore, the archival data related to folklorist of 19th century colonial Punjab clearly shows that the most of the folklorists had to accept, or at least discuss, the historical characters of vars. This acceptance or discussions had roots in two main

facts folklorists had to come across: either the narrative of *Var* itself made claims to be read as history or the common people and *Varis* (bards as Temple calls them) whenever discussed the *Vars*, they did so with reference to established reputation of these *Vars* as historical narratives.

Thus, it can be safely concluded that relationship between *Var* and history or the reputation of *Var* as history was well established in the oral tradition of the Punjab. "If songs [and tales] narrate the stories of lovers and beloveds, the vars' object is to narrate the lives of legends and messengers."⁷ In the first *Vichar*, while narrating the *Var* of Shah Dawood, the vari Ghulam Muhammad Rulia gives this main classification of the oral tradition of Punjab. His exact words are: "*Gaany Aashiqan Maashoqan Dy Ty Varan Dootian Ty Soormian Diyan*". This description is quite helpful in understanding the purpose and scope of *Var* literature in the oral tradition of the Punjab. When he mentions the name of heroes his words and tone invoke respect for heroes because they were the people who, on the basis of chivalry and bravery, earned food and protection for the community. *Soormas* (heroes) are being glorified for their people deeds and actions. So, it is the deeds and actions of those men which form the basic subject of *Var* literature. Therefore, this classification by Ghulam Muhammad Rulia is a key to understand the scope of *Var*. This classification further points to the diversity of forms of knowledge or narratives within the oral tradition that is often reduced to the categories of literature, poetry or folklore. "The

genres of oral tradition in oral societies are as diverse as those of documents in a literate one. Their contents range over all aspects of human activity from demographic data of various sorts to data about art..... range is wider than that of documents in most literate societies and includes the evidence which oral history there unearths.... the quantity and diversity of oral tradition should not be underestimated, nor disdained because most of this traditional wine is young.”⁸ So, the next section is an attempt to distill this ‘young wine’ to the next level of refinement, that is, discussing basic historiographical elements of *Var* as history.

Basic Historiographical Elements and Characterizing *Var* as History:

The *Vars* which have been chosen here for the historiographical analysis are variably the most popular ones, to the date, in the oral tradition of the Punjab. Although a generalized notion of popularity itself becomes problematic for qualifying the criterion for the selection, “the rationale behind the view is that what is art, aesthetic, creative and imaginative, is a matter of value judgments; and the value judgments, which define what ought to be literature, are historically variable and are themselves organically linked with social ideologies.”⁹ So, here the purpose was “to look at popular from the point of view of the people rather than from the prism of those who aim to hegemonize the people.”¹⁰ It is also a point to be made here that popularity of *Vars* might be

historically determined as well as dependent on other various factors¹¹ internal to the dynamics of oral tradition. The *Vars* which are included for reference and evidence include *Dulla Bhatti Di Var*, *Sikhan Di Var*, *Nadir Shar Di Var* also called *Najabat Di Var*, *Chatthian Di Var* etc. The discussion and argument would also refer to the *Vars* which were considerably modified and experimented with in Gurmukh tradition.¹²

As to the debate of popularity touched upon above, there is a hint to begin with the historiographical analysis of *Var*; this is to say that *Var* as historical narratives are popular narratives of the society where they are formed. These are being called popular narratives as they represent the people's reaction to a historical happening.¹³ Instead of being creation or formulation of one person, these narratives are informed by people's response to a particular historical incident. There are *Vars* which are associated with one writer, for example, *Nadir Shah Di Var* was written by Najabat, *Sikhan Di Var* was written by Shah Muhammad etc. It is not the anonymity of *Var* which makes it representative of popular sentiments. It is to assert that the analysis, responses, creativity and conclusion in *Vars* are those of 'many' instead of 'one'. The *Vari* or *Var* singer had always to recite the *Var* in front of many listeners. In the *vichar*¹⁴ section, he would raise various questions that served as the linking or connecting point of the narrative. These questions could be related to the motives of a particular person, to the causes behind a particular action or happening to be taken place afterwards in the

narrative, to the entry of some new agent of action or the cause of action etc. Then of course *Vari* would answer these questions in front of the people who listened to those questions. The purpose of such question/answers interval in the *vichar* section was not merely to win the interest of the audience by providing the connecting points in the narrative; rather, it made the whole of activity, *Var* singing, narrating events, referring to facts etc. a fair deal.¹⁵ Mir's notion of Punjabi literary formation and the context of Punjabi oral tradition project listeners not as passive audience. They would actively participate in the activity; they could make a comment as to a particular event being narrated; sometimes they would add details to the *vichar* part etc. That is why, Swynnerton when mentions the villager from whom he heard the Legend Rasalu, he particularly referred to his origin: the villager belonged to the same village which was the scene of legends major exploits.¹⁶ By pointing to this fact, Swynnerton was probably assigning a comparative authenticity to this narrative. Therefore, the listeners or audience of *Vari* consisted of many who could have actually been witness to a particular event or could have received the information through some other oral source with more authenticity because of proximity of region or lineage. Keeping in mind these characteristics of oral tradition of Punjab and paying attention to the dynamics and uniqueness of Punjabi literary formation it becomes clear that the tradition of *Var* singing, with its historical narrative, "ministered man's knowledge of man"¹⁷ and was not simply like repeating the legend rather carried the tradition of

engaging with audience through questions and answers.

Here, as to popular basis of *Var* narrative, it is point worth mentioning that with the advent of colonialism, the printing press, new modes of productions and colonial forms of knowledge, *Vari* got dissociated from his audience. The transformed modes of production directly and indirectly threatened the performance context which ensured an interactive and live relationship between *Vari* and his audience.¹⁸ It was this relationship that further ensured the objectivity of historical truth in the oral tradition of the Punjab. In the presence of the audience, whose memory would also be host to various historical narratives, the *Vari* acted very cautiously as to the presentation of historical facts, analyzing a social or political situation which would be part of the *Var* narrative or concluding a scene or situation. During *Vichar* he could be interrupted by the audience if he was found twisting or distorting the details. The audience's memory not only possessed the other versions of same narrative but also hosted an Oral history of the incidents and happenings coming through word of mouth from the forefathers. So, it was not a simple prerogative of *Vari* to twist or change the facts and details under the imperative of his own whims.

According to Collingwood, "Greeks' historical consciousness emerged in response to the temporality and transitory nature of things which would materially manifest in natural catastrophes and war."¹⁹ This reference may help us in understanding the historical consciousness

embedded in *Var* tradition. Those explaining the origin of *Var* have often referred to the political history of the Punjab. Being the gateway to subcontinent, Punjab had to face various incursion and attacks from the north-west side. These incursions met severe resistance from the local tribes and warfare became a routine matter of common people who had to take part in the fights and battles for the survival and defense against these incursions. It is at this point that *Var* literature became part of the oral tradition. Therefore, the historical conscious of *Var* is informed by catastrophes of wars and the ideals of resistance and rebellion.²⁰ Muhammad Asif Khan, when writing about the origin of this genre, holds that one cannot speak with authenticity about the historicity of *Var*. It is quite possible that *Var* is the first and foremost form of expression of oral tradition of Punjab or maybe it was with the incursion of Aryans that *Var* literature originated; and Aryans further adopted this narrative in the composition of Mahabharat.²¹ Whatsoever be the case, it can be safely asserted that the historical conscious that informs the narrative of *Var* is shaped by the human conflict and the scenes of warfare. In almost every famous *Var*, the lifeworld is found to be place of human conflict and tussle. Such view is often put forward in the beginning of various *Var* narratives. Najabat, in *Nadir Shah Di Var*, in the first stanza (*pori*) narrates the context of the conflict: tyranny, lies and conspiracies, the corrupt economy, thieves and looters getting control over justice system, the royal treasury being filled with the taxes levied on poor and, therefore, servants or oppressed

killing the kings.²² The next stanza alludes to Deli (Delhi) as a seat of conflict and war. In a chronological order, Najabat tells us how various rulers, kings and princess have fought to get to the throne of Deli. Interestingly, Deli is presented as a bride and the rulers are referred to as grooms, fighting with each other to marry her. This reminds us of Rome being presented as heroin by Livy. Under the substantialism of Greco-Roman Historiography, for Livy "Rome is the agent whose action he describing. Therefore, Rome is a substance changeless and eternal. From the beginning of the narrative Rome is ready-made and complete. To the end of narrative she has undergone no spiritual change."²³ However, in case of Najabat's Deli, the city is being seen as the seat of conflict though not as changeless and eternal. It is always ready to undergo any change. As a bride, it welcomes those who have power to marry her. Interestingly, when on ruler is killed she does not claim to be a widow; rather becomes a bride again whose *maang* (the parting of hair to be filled by vermillion as sign of married woman) is to be decorated by the blood. Implicit in her warm reception of the new husband is the anger and rage against the whole system built on patriarchy, power and lust. This view of rulers, power, war and politics presents the things in state of flux; nothing seems permanent. Shah Muhammad in the beginning of the *Sikhan Di Var* offers the same worldview. From pharaohs to Akbar, every ruler is seen as nomad in the history of struggle for power.²⁴ Therefore, it is this context and the worldview that informs the historical consciousness of *var*.²⁵

Next to the issue of historical conscious appears the question of time: that is, what is conception of time informing the historical consciousness of *Var*? "Speaking metaphorically, time and space are said to be the warp and woof of history. In India the perception of time includes abstract concepts, such as cyclic time as a component of cosmology, and linear time which is born of human action."²⁶ In the texts like *Mahabharata*, *Dharma-Shastra* and *Vishnu Purana* the conception of time is largely cyclic because the set frame is cosmological, however, sections on genealogies and dynasties also point to linear time. But, the modern studies have ignored this latter aspect and held Indian civilization to be familiar with only cyclic conception of time.²⁷ It is also hard to associate any of these two conceptions of time with the whole of Indian civilization. There can be variations and deviations depending on text and region. "It would seem that cyclic and linear time had various functions and the exploration of their interface as reflected in Indian texts is still in its initial stages."²⁸ In case of *Vars* it is most of the time linear conception of time that provides the immediate context of legends and heroes. Again, in the most of *Vars*, we come across this conception in the beginning stanzas. Shah Muhammad in the first stanza of *Sikhan Di Var* introduces to the image that explains the course of history. History moves as if old ranks are being broken and new ranks are being drawn up or it is like spreading out the mats after mats where old ones are being rolled up and new one are being spread forward.²⁹ Similarly, in Najabat

one also finds a 'weak' chronology in the form of sequence and order of various rulers who ruled Delhi. But, exactly to follow the *Var's* language, they don't rule it, they marry it. And, here marriage is not presented in patriarchal language. It is actually Delhi who chooses the bridegroom: Delhi who claims to feed on the flesh and blood of its own sons. Such language may sound too metaphorical but there is a reason for that too. It is through this imagery and metaphors that what kind of conception of power, change and time the composer of *Var* holds in his mind. The order of rulers (or bridegrooms in this case) suggests linearity. They are coming one after another in course of history yet the start of each reign is not a cyclical continuity. However, there is an interesting aspect to such linearity which both *Vars* points to. In Shah Muhammad the images of course of history as the spreading of mats after mats also suggests a disruption within the otherwise smooth continuity of historical time. In the same wake, Najabat's Delhi as bride chooses to marry those who are the most powerful and her marriage (the social contract manifestation of the process of reproduction) is conditioned by catastrophe, massacre and destruction. So, here again the notion of continuity is tied to the notion of change. However, it would be more convenient to talk about this linearity with respect to the notion of human will and destiny. These notions are discussed in the last section of this chapter when discussing the *Var* in indigenous paradigm of oral tradition.

"If songs [and tales] narrate the stories of lovers and beloveds, the vars' object is to narrate the

lives of legends and messengers.”³⁰ This is how Ghulam Muhammad Rulia, a *Vari* from the chack no. 109 of Faisalabad, classifies the oral tradition of the Punjab. This classification points to the scope and purpose of *Var* as history. In the popular basis of *Var*, it is learnt that *Var* narrative was formed within a people based performance context. It is the deeds and actions of folk heroes that were narrated. Above all is the importance of *Var* as history is its regionality. The study of Indians by non-indians or by those Indians who had accepted the historiographical guidelines of mainstream homogenizing histories written by the former, often ignore the regional diversity and the various processes of identity formations in these regions. The problem of periodization, the communal historiographical lens, the nationalist perspectives and other main trends of mainstream history, often fall short of historically explaining the processes of continuity and change when it comes to the regional histories.³¹ That is why, “in oral and part-oral societies, oral tradition gives intimate accounts of populations, or layers of population, that are otherwise apprehended only from outside points of view.”³² In *Vars*, one sees the mention of caste, kinship ties and ethnicity as the primary determiners of one’s identity. It is not religion, as perceived by colonial epistemological categories, which is considered the basic foundation of demographic or social classification. Of course, there are references to one’s religious beliefs but such references mark religion just another element, and perhaps a minor one, of one’s identity.

Myth, Legends and History: Locating *Var* within the Indigenous Paradigm of Punjabi Oral Tradition:

While the above section featured the important historiographical concepts i.e. the perception of time, the notions of change and continuity, the historical consciousness and the scope and value of historical knowledge as to the *Var* tradition, there are aspects of *Var* narrative which cannot be directly dealt in terms of these or other established concepts as part of historiographical analysis. There might be concepts, images and instances of figurative language in the *Var* narrative that could easily be termed as mythological, superstitious, anti-historical and as if contradicting the convictions of 'established' historiography. This section of the chapter is an attempt to come to terms with these aspects within the indigenous paradigm of *Var* narrative, thereby, relating them to other historiographical important concepts such as destiny and human will, course of history and causation, the appeal to truth and theocratic elements etc.

Kaal and *Narid* are two main mythological characters that appear most repetitively in the *Var* narrative. From the literary perspective, they are often seen as the ones who facilitate the plot development of the narrative. They are the catalyst of a story; the fillers as plot proceeds. However, when seeing *Var* as a historical narrative they seem serving various purposes, directly or indirectly linked to its historiography. It is with reference to the concept of causation, the dialectics and problematic of destiny that the role of *Kaal* and *Narid* can be

analyzed as to the historiography of *Var*. Speaking of causation, *Kaal* and *Narid* present a folk interpretation of the historical happenings i.e. fights, battles, incursions etc. There is always a folk perspective that explains why a particular event happens or happened. Both *Kaal* and *Narid* become symbolic tool to explain these events. It is *Kaal* who in guise of Delhi is inviting the kings to be invaded, she is luring them to power, and she is working through their desire. In Najabat's *Nadir Shah Di Var*, it is *Kaal* who goes to Ahmad Shah and provokes him for the incursion. She seduces with her body and also with the power that vest with the throne of Delhi. Again, in case of Nadir Shah, he is so perturbed and haunted by *Kaal*'s apparition and her invitation to attack Delhi that he had to discuss the matter with his minister. So, she reduces the mega events and happening to petty desires and motives. As for Foucault, as he reads Nietzsche, "history is story of petty malice, of violently imposed interpretations, of various intentions, of high-sounding stories masking the little motives."³³ In *Raja Jaimal Di Var*, and in various others³⁴, it is again *Kaal* who is providing the cause of a particular happening in the form of subjective intentions and desires. She discloses how "the claims of objectivity mask the subjective motivations."³⁵ The justifications for wars and battles, which in courtly accounts and archives are found in high moral claims, are found in "lowly origins, catty fights, minor crudeness, ceaseless and nasty clashing of wills."³⁶

Closely connected with this conception of causation is the problematic of destiny. The destiny

is being seen as problematic as in the *Var* narrative it is not simply an opposite binary of human will. In contrast to Greco-Roman historiography³⁷ where the concept of destiny as opposite to human will often prevails or sometimes is overcome by latter, in *Var* narrative *Honi* or destiny always remains embedded in human action. It cannot be separated from human will. Though there are references to destiny as the set course of history as written in some sacred text³⁸ or ordered by god³⁹, there is a full-fledged concept of *Honi* that is treated as an active agent in the course of history. *Honi*, again, thematically refers to inevitability of something that has to happen in future and which cannot be avoided. However, this inevitability comes from within the human will as *Honi* and *Kaal* remain either on the same side or in some *Var* narratives it is *Honi* that appears as wife of *Narid*. In *Raja Jaimal Di Var* it is *Honi* in place of *Kaal* that is deriving the narrative to its conclusive end. Therefore, as seen above, *Honi* is to be treated as disruption of human action or as a force it pushes human actions towards particular ends. But, its origin remains within the human will. It provides the link between human will and the large scale events happening outside. In Foucaultian terms, who were inspired by the phenomenological conception of human body by Merleau-Ponty, *Honi* originates from the human will which is the “place where the most minute and local social practices are linked with large scale organization of power.”⁴⁰

Kaal and *Narid* where signify important historiographical elements like causation, subjectivity and objectivity and the notion of destiny

versus human will, these two mythological characters also point to an indigenous conception of dialectics as the mode of historical movement. However, there is a need to understand the role these characters play in the *Var* narrative in order to excavate this indigenous conception of dialectics associated with them. In the narrative, they appear as an unhappy married couple, complaining and whining aloud against each other. Their relationship represents a complete mismatch (*ajor*); mismatch of perspectives, views, needs, wishes⁴¹ etc. Interestingly, both seem naturalizing this mismatch and attribute it to *Vidh Maata*, the goddess of fortune. It signifies how inevitable this mismatch has become. It is this mismatch and the resultant conflict that derives the events to their conclusive ends in the *Var* narrative.

CONCLUSION

A historiographical analysis brings out some interesting points as to the historiographical characteristics of *Var* as history in the context of the Punjabi oral tradition. The conception of time being the first and foremost elements of history is well laid in the genre of *Var*. There are references to both linear and cyclic conception of time in *Var*. Modern studies have often associated Indian civilization with the cyclic conception; however, *Var* reveals the opposite. It is the linear conception of time that provides the immediate context of legends and heroes. Most of *Vars* start with an appeal to truth. Before going into the details of historical events and happenings, *Vari* assigns himself the duty of

remaining truthful. Therefore, one finds the essential link between the historical knowledge and the notion of truth embedded in the indigenous history writing of pre-colonial Punjab. *Vichar* section of the most of *Vars* also narrates the importance of *Var*, as historical knowledge, for the people. There is an emphasize on the remembering the deeds and services of those who have contributed in any way for the local community. The historical conscious of *Var* is informed by catastrophes of wars and the ideals of resistance and rebellion. Being the gateway to subcontinent, Punjab had to face various incursion and attacks from the north-west side. These incursions met severe resistance from the local tribes and warfare became a routine matter of common people who had to take part in the fights and battles for the survival and defense against these incursions. It is at this point that *Var* literature became part of the oral tradition.

There are aspects of *Var* narrative which cannot be directly dealt in terms of these or other established concepts as part of historiographical analysis. There might be concepts, images and instances of figurative language in the *Var* narrative that could easily be termed as mythological, superstitious, anti-historical and as if contradicting the convictions of 'established' historiography. *Kaal* and *Narid* are two main mythological characters that appear frequently in the *Var* narrative. It is with reference to the concept of causation, the dialectics and problematic of destiny that the role of *Kaal* and *Narid* is analyzed as to the historiography of *Var*. Both *Kaal* and *Narid* becomes symbolic tool to

explain this explanation of events. It is *Kaal*, in *Najabat Di Var*, who in guise of Delhi is inviting the kings to be invaded, she is luring them to power, and, thus, is working through their desire. These two mythological characters also point to an indigenous conception of dialectics as the mode of historical movement. Their relationship represents a complete mismatch (*ajor*); it is this mismatches that and the resultant conflict that derives the events to their conclusive ends in the *var* narrative.

In contrast to Greco-Roman historiography where the concept of destiny as opposite to human will often prevails or sometimes is overcome by latter, in *Var* narrative *Honi* or destiny always remains embedded in human action. In *Raja Jaimal Di Var* it is *Honi* in place of *Kaal* that is deriving the narrative to its conclusive end. Therefore, as seen above, *Honi* is to be treated as disruption of human action or as a force it pushes human actions towards particular ends. But, its origin remains within the human will. It provides the link between human will and the large scale events happening outside.

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¹ Within the oral tradition of the Punjab *Var* is a distinct genre that embodies accounts of legends and important historical happenings within the folk context. However, there have been various variations as to its form and content that are tangentially touched upon in this study.

² Jan Vansina's work *Oral Tradition as History* is a case in point. Vansina analyses the Oral Tradition in terms of historical methodology, thereby providing a guide for the students of history in particular and the students of social sciences in general to look at Oral Tradition as history.

³ In contrast to those Vars which are based on some historical happening and unfold through a historical narrative, Dulla Bhatti di *Var* and Sikhan Di *Var* as points in case, there are Vars, for example Aasa Di *Var* by Guru Nanak, which are not based on such historical happening in the traditional sense and thus lack in what we call the historical narrative. But, instead of seeing it as some 'lack', this case may point to another trend in *Var* writing in the pre-colonial Punjab and, therefore, demand a more careful historiographical analysis. A part of Chap. No. 02 and a portion of this chapter are devoted to the same problematic.

⁴ Captain R. C. Temple, *The Legends of the Punjab* (Bombay: Education Society's Press), v-vi.

⁵ *Ibdi.*, 12.

⁶ Charles Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Punjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment* (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1888), vii.

⁷ Ahmad Saleem, Lok Varan: Ghulam Muhammad Rulia Aur Sathi (Islamabad: National Council of The Arts, Folklore Research Center, 1971), 94.

⁸ Vansina *Oral Tradition as History*, 197.

⁹ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Introduction to Popular Literature and Pre-Modern Societies in South Asia*

(Delhi, Chennai and Chandigarh: Pearson Longman, 2008), 1.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ These factors might be the popularity of the Legend among the community and socio-political importance of the historical happenings which such *Vars* contain.

¹² *Aasa Di Var* by Guru Nanak.

¹³ Sajjad Haider *Varein* (Islamabad: Lok Virsa Publishing House), 5.

¹⁴ *Vichar*, that is often ignored when a textual analysis of *Vars* is carried out, is the connecting narration provided by *Vari* to link the two lyrical parts of *Var*.

¹⁵ Saeed Bhutta, *Des Diyan Varan* (Lahore: Punjab Institute of Language Art and Culture, 2007), 16.

¹⁶ Charles Swynnerton, "Four Legends of King Rasalu of Sialkot," *The Folk-Lore Journal* Vol. 1. (January-December 1883.), 129.

¹⁷ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*:

¹⁸ Temple writes about the dying out number of bards. He says that bards had already started leaving towns and were huddling back to villages.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Serebryakov, *Punjabi Literature* (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1975), 18-22. According to Serebryakov, *Var* literature had fully developed till 8th century and comprised of glorification of local nobles and heroes. He traces a nationalistic inspiration behind the historical consciousness embedded in *Var* tradition. However, other writers like Muhammad Asif Khan agree to the view that *Vars* narrated the stories of local resistance against external incursions, they take *Var* as a historical view of common men instead of praises meant to glorify the local princes and nobles.

²¹ Muhammad Asif Khan, *Niksuk Ty Hor Niksuk* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board), 78-80.

²² Najabat, *Nadir Shah Di Var* (Lahore: Suchaet Kitaab Ghar, 2009), 05-07.

²³ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 42-45. Collingwood considers substantialism as one of the weaknesses of Greco-Roman historiography. The substantialist theory of knowledge implies that only that is knowable which is unchanging.

²⁴ Shah Muhammad, *Jang Hind Punja* (Lahore: Aziz Book Depot, 1972). The fourth stanza.

²⁵ In other vars i.e *Dulleh Bhatti Di Var*, *Shah Dawood Di Var* etc. almost same view is put forward about the ongoing state of affairs.

²⁶ Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of India: From the Origin to AD 1300* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2002), 37.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 37-40.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁹ Shah Muhammad, *Jang Hind Punja*, the first stanza and third line.

³⁰ Ahmad Saleem, *Lok Varan: Ghulam Muhammad Rulia Aur Sathi* (Islamabad: National Council of The Arts, Folklore Research Center, 1971), 94. In the first Vichar, while narrating the *Var* of Shah Dawood, the *Vari* Ghulam Muhammad Rulia gives this main classification of the oral tradition of Punjab. His exact words are: "*Gaany Aashiqan Maashoqan Dy Ty Varan Dootian Ty Soormian Diyan*". This description is quite helpful in understanding the purpose and scope of *var* literature in the oral tradition of the Punjab. When he mentions the name of heroes his words and tone invoke respect for heroes because they were the people who, on the basis of chivalry and bravery, earned food and protection for the community. *Soormas* (heroes) are being glorified for their prop-people deeds and actions. So, it is the deeds and action of those men which form the basic subject of *Var*

literature. Therefore, this classification by Ghulam Muhammad Rulia is a key to understand the scope of *var*.

³¹ Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India*, 21-22.

³² Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, 197.

³³ Herbert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rainbow *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982-83), 108.

³⁴ The appearance of *Kaal* is very common in the *var* narratives. *Nadir Shah Di Var*, *Raja Jaimal Di Var*, *Shah Dawood Di Var* and in many others *kaal* appears frequently to aid the main narrative in a strategic way.

³⁵ Dreyfus and Rainbow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 108-109.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

³⁷ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*,

³⁸ Najabat, in the introductory stanza, says that only that will happen which is written in Quran.

³⁹ Shah Muhammad

⁴⁰ Dreyfus and Rainbow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 111.

⁴¹ This mismatch is well elaborated in *Nadir Shah Di Var*: both *Kaal* and *Narid*, through a dialogue in the narrative, enlist the all those factors that are the basis of their mismatch. The dialogue, however, is presented to find any resolve; rather, the purpose seems to emphasize the mismatch.

BOOK REVIEW

KAMRAN SHAHID, GANDHI AND THE PARTITION OF INDIA: A NEW PERSPECTIVE, LAHORE: FEROZSONS, 2005

Kamran Shahid started his journey from GC University Lahore, and then he went to the University of Westminster and did his Masters there. On his return, he joined GC University as a lecturer. Later, he joined various universities and now working as media person.

Shahid has analyzed the 'phenomenal personality' of 'Mahatma' by rightly calling him a movement, a doctrine, a philosophy, a law in himself. He is believed to be the first Pakistani who had tried to explore Gandhi from this 'new perspective'. This "new perspective" is not new, it is one that the Muslim League articulated. In fact, recently two fascinating books dealing with contradictions of the "great soul" these are *Gandhi: Behind the Mask of Divinity* (2001) and *The Un-Gandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma* (2004). Shahid had tried to answer the important question that why did Muslims rule out India's unity who were coexisting with Hindus for centuries? On one hand he has discussed all the three different schools of thought answering the above mentioned question, on the other, he had developed a thesis by presenting Gandhi, his caste-branded leadership and his desperation of universalization of Hinduism as the root cause of the

partition of India. He has used primary sources for presenting his thesis.

Shahid had rejected different thesis regarding the responsibility of Indian partition; like 'divide and rule' policy, originally an idea of Gandhi; 'two nation theory' of Jinnah who used it when he was disenchanted with Gandhi and Congress policies. He has mentioned that it was only after the totalitarian congress rule of 1937-39 that Jinnah had presented his demand for a separate Muslim state, which he later compromised in 1946 when British had presented the constitutional reforms—last attempt to keep India united.

The British government had tried their best to keep India united till the very end and it was only after the Cabinet Mission Plan that they had decided to divide India on communal basis between Hindus and Muslims. But Congress and the orthodox Hindu leadership of Gandhi stood against all such schemes that could avoid the 'vivisection' of India. Gandhi was even ready to divide 'Mother India' by not acknowledging the Muslims and low caste Hindus as minorities in India. The reason behind was that Gandhi was unwilling to share power with any other party like League or Untouchables or Sikhs, by giving a reason that they all belong to one nation i.e., Indian. This caste-branded leadership of Gandhi ultimately resulted in civil war between Hindus and Muslims. So, Jinnah's demand for Pakistan came up as an alternative to Gandhi's 'nationalism'.

The author supported the British policies throughout his thesis by saying that it was the aim of

the British to 'Indianize the administration'. We may quote various examples to reject the very point by putting the examples of the introduction of Indian Civil Service, Army, Police, Judiciary—'the apparatus of rule' a phrase used by Sekhar Bandyopadhaya in *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. It was only in the beginning of their rule that they used 'Customary Laws' and system of 'Double Government' as tools to rule the indigenous people.

Author argues that India was divided historically. We may counter argument by saying that though there were differences in India, we may also witness clashes/conflicts between them but we cannot point out mass movements related to these communal conflicts.

By the end of 1939, Shahid mentioned, it was only the British who suppressed the civil war. It was basically the need of the time to avoid such circumstances because Great Britain was at the brink of war. Britain was going to be bankrupt and could not use economic resources in one of her colonies like India. Had they been so interested in creating peaceful atmosphere in India, they would not have announced reforms like Rowlett Act of 1919 (which they took only an independent step taken by the General).

We saw the political division only in 1940's before this there was no such concept of India's division on communal basis. The 'mass hysteria' was created in India by the Indian political parties. When they saw lose grip of British in 1947, the Indians started mass mobilization and the reason behind was

they (British and the Indian political parties) never wanted to become unpopular so never stopped people to create communal disturbances. On the other hand, we saw both the Congress and League as the main political parties who had high jacked the masses on the basis of communal differences. Jinnah and Nehru were the main stakeholders and had all the powers of decision-making. We may witness the real losers in the Hindus and Congress who were demanding *Akhand Bharat* (United India) which were never fulfilled because of the policy of appeasement of Jinnah who, on one hand, by supporting British in 1942 against Gandhi's Quit India Movement and on the other by accepting Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946 was able to fulfill his demand of Muslim separate state. In this case, we may not be able to support this theory that Gandhi has not been the only force responsible behind making the partition plan a final outcome only due to his policies which were not based on realism in any sense.

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Notes for Authors

1. Research papers, concept papers, review articles, comments, rejoinders and book reviews (in English) should be sent to historian@gcu.edu.pk
2. Papers will only be accepted for consideration on the understanding that they are original contributions to the existing knowledge in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences.
3. Each paper should be typed and should carry a margin of an inch and a half on the left-hand side of the typed page.
4. The first page of the research article should contain the title of the paper, the name(s), abstract and any acknowledgements.
5. Tables for the main text and each of its appendices should be numbered serially and separately. The title of each table should be given in a footnote immediately below the line at the bottom of the table.
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THE HISTORIAN
is published by
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE