

Source Material in Pakistan on “Muslim-Sikh Relations in the British Punjab: 1940-47”

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Abstract

Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla was a court bulletin of the Mughals which included the provincial reports of the transfers, appointments, promotions, dismissals, and other state matters to update the royal authority. Such a manuscript of the reports from 1708 AD to 1730 AD with gaps has been preserved at Bikaner in Rajasthan (India). These documents reveal the royal campaigns against Banda Singh Bahadur Bairagi and the decrees against the Sikhs by the Mughal emperors Farrukh Siyar and Bahadur Shah. Dr. Ganda Singh worked on these Persian manuscripts and separated with special reference to the Punjab and Sikhs and now the manuscript Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla is preserved in the Punjabi University Library.¹ The British Punjab was the cornerstone for the All-India Muslim League to win Pakistan while this region religiously, economically, politically, culturally and historically was everything to the Sikhs, the followers of Guru Nanak Dev. It was a main focus of the political panorama of the 1940s particularly for the Muslims and Sikhs as both claimed to be the masters of the region. England and India are said to have preserved a huge source material on the British Punjab and many researchers perceive it as nothing has been done in this regard in Pakistan. This article is an endeavour to explore the source material relating to the topic ‘Muslim-Sikh relations in the British Punjab during the period of 1940 to 1947,’ one of the most critical phases of the political history of British India. Many misperceive that the scarcity of the sources in Pakistan has made research impossible on the British Punjab as all the material locates either in the British Library, London or India. This survey undertakes to pinpoint the locations in Pakistan which contain abundant material relating to the subject of Muslim-Sikh relations in the Colonial Punjab.

A researcher undertaking the task to dig out material on the area ‘Muslim-Sikh relations in the British Punjab during the period of 1940 to 1947’ has to deal with the advent of Islam and Sikhism in the Punjab, historical development of these religions in the region, turning points pertaining to their relationship, political and economic interests and the conflicting issues between the communities. The culture of the land of five rivers, which directly or indirectly impressed upon the inhabitants of the Punjabi society, is another vast and interesting field of study. Therefore, the subject apparently ramifies in various domains but provides enormous information about the Muslim-Sikh relations. For convenience, the sources available relating to the subject may be classified as under:

1. Sources on the regional history including geography and cultural diversity of the Punjab
2. Sources on the Muslim history in the Punjab
3. Sources on the Sikh history
4. Sources on the freedom movement
5. Sources on the British administration in the Punjab.

Such sources can be divided into further four categories as mentioned below:

1. Primary Sources

2. Library-oriented sources
3. Archival Sources
4. Journalistic Sources
5. Living Sources or Oral History Accounts.

Primary sources are available in two forms including published and unpublished ones. Research on the topics relating to the discipline of history virtually depends on 'Basic Documents.'² Research aims to 're-conclude the conclusions' or to 'restructure the existing historical structures.' To give a new dimension to any existing conclusion requires support of the relevant primary sources which play crucial and decisive role in proving or disproving hypotheses. The governments of India, Britain and Pakistan have officially published correspondence or other documents to project their national standpoints respectively on the political developments during the freedom struggle. They also desired to facilitate their researchers in providing them opportunities to peep into the past and interpret the historical events and records according to their national stand.

Most of these publications are available in the prominent libraries of Pakistan including the National Documents Wing, Library and National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad and the libraries of the Pakistan Study Centre and Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore. The prominent names of the editors or compilers in this regard are Lionel Carter, Nicholas Mansergh, Penderel Moon, Rizwan Ahmad, V. P. Menon, Z. H. Zaidi, H. N. Mitra, O. P. Ralhan and Suresh K. Sharma, Henry Hayes, P. N. Chopra, S. Qaim Hussain Jafri, S. M. Burke, Sharifuddin Pirzada, and others. They compiled or edited the correspondence related to the government policies and the local leadership under the auspices of the British, Indian and Pakistani governments. Some other writings such as *Disturbances in the Punjab 1947*, *The Partition of Punjab*, *Note on the Sikh Plan*, *RSS in the Punjab*, *The Sikhs in Action* are the books published by the Pakistani government that reveal, how the Muslim migrants were massacred by the Sikhs and Hindus during the gory migrations of 1947. Obviously these sources present the Muslim contention regarding the mass killing of the year 1947.

A researcher obtains library-oriented information mostly from the relevant books, journals, newspapers and magazines which stand very important to review the existing directions, objections or hypotheses pertaining to the area of research. The study of existing literature gives sufficient information about 'gaps' which can be addressed in the research projects if some newly declassified documents are accessed. The Muslim and non-Muslim writers exerted a lot in producing very useful work on the history of the Subcontinent and the communities living in it. However, the area of focus in this article is the British Punjab and the politics of its two major communities, the Muslim and Sikh.

Ancient Punjab

*Mahabhart*a and other Hindi literature preserved the history of this region as the land of five rivers, '*panjnad*.' It was the reign of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar³ when, for the first time, this patch of land got popularity as 'Punjab' with its larger size. Therefore, the sources on the ancient history of the Punjab are an interesting area of study on which many eminent historians have produced valuable work. Joseph Davey Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (1849), R. C. Temple, *Legends of the Punjab*, S. S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, J. Royal Roseberry, *Imperial Rule in Punjab, 1818-1881*, W. H. McLeod, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community*, Fauja Singh, *The History of the Punjab*, Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Punjab under Sultanates*, *Punjab under Mughals* and *Punjab under the British* throw light separately on the Punjab in the ancient times and on Punjab under Muslim, Sikh and the British rule. The work on the spiritual personalities (*Sufi*) is also supportive which depicts the cultural, political and other social aspects of the region. This also tells as to how religion permeated the rural Punjab which was never affected by any of the foreign cultures.

The Sikh history starts with Guru Nanak Dev (1469-1539) who emerged on the scene during the last phase of the Muslim rule of the Lodhis. He had to experience numerous setbacks at the hand of the Muslim ruler Ibrahim Lodhi in the name of religion. When Zaheer-ud-Din Muhammad Babur got foothold in the Subcontinent the Guru was under the custody of the royal authorities on the charge of profanity. Before this, Guru Nanak Dev had been arrested from Saidpur⁴ by the Mughal military general who inflicted corporeal punishments upon the Guru and other *faqees* (saints). So the Muslim-Sikh relations set in with the Mughal advent in the Subcontinent but before they took over the founder of the Sikhism had tasted the wrath of the Muslim rule.⁵

The subsequent Sikh Gurus had engaged in the religio-political activities with the coming Mughal rulers which strained the relations between the Muslims and Sikhs. So, the books on the Mughal rule present all information about the social and political interaction of the two communities with each other.

Turning over the pages of the contemporary work of the eminent writers on the Mughals and the autobiographical accounts provide very important and authentic data on the subject. *Tozk-i-Jahangiri*, *Ma'asar-i-Alamgiri*, Gokal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, W. Croock, *The Popular Religious and Folklore of Northern India*, J. C. Archer, *The Sikhs in Relations to Hindus, Moslems, Christians and Ahmadiyas: A Study in Comparative Religion* (1946), M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Muhammad Latif, *History of Punjab*, George Forster and scholarly work of hundred of writers throw light on the Sikhs, Muslims and their relations in the Punjab.

The Sikh history remained an interesting area of research for the British and other foreign writers who got opportunity to interact with the Sikhs and seemed keen to share their information and analyses on the Sikh history. They, particularly the British, took pains for the Sikhs and their advancement in the political, educational and other social walks of life. Joseph Davey Cunningham's book is a marvelous piece of writing on the Sikh history published in 1849 when the British won the day against the Punjabis particularly the Sikhs by annexing their region. Dr. G. W. Leitner worked on the educational system of the Punjab during the last decades of the 19th century and opined that the indigenous school system was the best one. He also concluded that the Sikh females were at the top in education.⁶ Nevertheless, he hardly highlighted the official supervision or contribution of the government in the educational uplift of the people of the Punjab. By this reason, the Punjabis could not establish any tradition of scholarship and research. Even no record like personal dairies, memoirs, revenue records, letters, or other unofficial documents can be presented as evidence that the people of the Punjab had been benefiting from this impressive system of education. To win over the Sikhs was a top priority for the Britishers who believed that the Deputy Commissioner of district Amritsar was an ambassador to the Sikh community whose military services were much valued by them. Major Short, Penderel Moon and others played impressive role in creating friendly atmosphere for the British and Sikhs to have cordial relations throughout the raj.

Muslim Point of View

One incident in history can be observed from different angles and communitarian approaches which, although contradictory, broaden the scope of the event. One happening in the British Punjab can be interpreted in the perspective of the Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus and the British. Most of the time, a specific incident remained conflicting or contradictory to the Muslims and Sikhs or to other communities. The political and educational reforms introduced by the ruling British, for example, were taken by the locals in the same zeal but resulted in the communalism, a dominating and pestering element in the political history of the Punjab. Therefore, the British have their own point of view while the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims perceive the incidents in their respective perspectives. In Pakistan, A. B. Rajput, Muazaz Punjabi, S. M. Ikram, Khalid Bin Sayeed, Shariful Mujahid, Shaukat Hayat, Ikram Ali Malik, Dr. Qalb-i-Abid, Dr. Sarfraz Khawja, Syed Shabbir Hussain, Dr. Muhammad Azam Chaudhri, Imran Ali, Ch. Khaliqzaman, Ch. Muhammad Ali, Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, Syed Noor Ahmad, Jahanara Shahnawaz, Feroz Khan Noon, A Aziz, Isphahani and other writers of the freedom movement have marvelous contribution to the topic and projected mainly the Muslim point of view in their writings.

Indian Perspective

Nationalism moves writers whether under pressure or thinking it a national responsibility to defend their nation particularly the founding leadership and their struggle. Such Indian writers include Gurmit Singh, Hukam Singh, K. C. Gulati, A. S. Narang, Bhagwan Josh, Dr. J. S. Pakkar, J. S. Grewal, Mohinder Singh, H. S. Bhatia, Khushwant Singh, Harbans Singh, K. C. Yadav, Nina Puri, Anita Inder, B. R. Nanda, Ram Gopal, Abul Kalam Azad, Kirpal Singh, Raghuvendra Tanwar, Prithipal Singh Kapur, Amrik Singh, Sohan Singh Josh, Ajit Singh Sarhaddi, Satya M. Rai, Dr. Padmasha, Ajit Javed, Master Tara Singh and the other eminent scholars who fulfilled the national duty to interpret the Punjab politics in the Indian or Sikh point of view. They have tried to reconcile the communal and nationalist character of the Akali and other Sikh leadership otherwise it is quite difficult to accept any community or nation simultaneously as communalist as well as nationalist.

British Point of View

Leonard Moseley, Campbell, Mansergh, Penderel Moon, Ian Talbot, David Gilmartin, H. V. Hodson, Francis Robinson, Wavell, David Page, H. L. O. Garrett, Barrier and many other writers produced scholarly work addressing the region and historical realities of the British services to the Indian communities and their response to the British in India. It is impossible to name all the authors and their work in this article because it would be a just catalogue that is already accessible to all everywhere in the world.

The individual analysis of all such works would be burdensome here for the readers therefore this article confines to exploring the places in Pakistan where these sources are located.

The Punjab Archives, Lahore

The British government established the Punjab Archives in the building of the Anarkali's Tomb within the vicinity of the Punjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore with abundant material such as the old manuscripts, British government record, official files, original manuscripts, Police Reports, Research Reports, departmental records, Punjab Assembly proceedings, record of Maharaja Ranjit Singh government, Mutiny record, etc. In the successive years, the Governor of the Punjab took personal interest in the affairs of the Punjab Archives that made possible to organize, arrange, classify and up-to-date the records department-wise and year-wise. The record is available in two languages, Persian and English. The Records on the Agencies like Ludhiana namely *Ludhiana Agency Paper, 1809- 1840*, Papers on *jagirs* and *darbars* related to Chiefs of the Punjab, NWFP, Afghanistan, Nepal, etc. are available here in the Punjab Archives. It also contains the Departmental Records of the governments of the Punjab, Police records, Lahore durbar, Sikh Wars, and Revenue Files. Alphabetical list of the Punjabi villages, Civil and Criminal Files of the Punjab and NWFP, Newspapers with departmental comments, Mutiny Service, etc. are the valuable documents pertinent to the Muslim-Sikh relations. The record from 1808 to 1905 is mostly in the Persian language.⁷

After 1849, English got status of official language so all the affairs were reported and recorded in that language. These records pertain mainly to the Politics, Finance, Revenue, Public Health, Commerce and Industry, Local Self Government, Education, Chief Commissioner, Forest, Home, Home General, Police, etc, Home Judicial, and other departments. All these records date from 1809 to 1947 and then to 1952. But it does not mean that all the files mentioned above are available in a complete form rather the records of some Departments are terribly missing. A researcher may be glad to read out the catalogues provided by the Deputy Director but it is disappointing when the required material would not be provided by the personnel concerned because unfortunately this Archives lack the most important Records particularly pertaining to Sikhs, Muslim League, Unionists, and other components of the Freedom Movement in the Punjab. All the files are mentioned in the Index but in the shelves 98 per cent files are not available.

The Files under the Government policy had been classified in THREE categories, A, B, and C. The A category Record was in the published form; B category Files were in original form as official Record while the C category files were perishable and could be destroyed by the officials. Therefore, 99 per cent of the C category files were destroyed by the governments consciously and amazingly and woefully all these files pertain to the Pakistan Scheme, Sikh Question, Muslim League, Shiromani Akali Dal, Unionist Party, etc. Nevertheless, the Files on communal killings in 1946-47 are accessible. All these files were arranged by the Home and Home (Military) Departments. Through these sources, a researcher can have access to an accumulative material on the areas of communal representation, various Sikh sects and their sectarian politics, Qadiani affairs, different organizations of the region, Unionists, martial and non-martial classes, lingual issues, criminal tribes, partition scheme, agriculturists and non-agriculturists, administrative policies and the actions, party politics, Mutiny or War of Independence, etc. Despite the importance, all this is not impressive and attractive for the researcher who undertakes work on the Muslim-Sikh relationship from 1940 to 1947.

Police Special Branch, Lahore has record of the personal files as History Sheets of the prominent political activists during the British rule but this material has not yet been declassified and the researchers are often discouraged to consult this record. The volumes of *The Secret Police Abstracts of Intelligence, Punjab* have been declassified and are available in the National Documentation Wing, Cabinet Division and National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. The reports are very important because the Police officers were supposed to report an accurate and original situation of the affairs of the political groups in the Punjab because the decision-making authorities were to take measures in the light of the factual position.

So, the Police reports can help a lot in the analysis of the politics of the Punjab. The information was collected by the local police and sent daily to the Daily Situation Report (DSR) branch. The next process was to reconcile all data in a summary which was dispatched to the Governor who was bound to send it to the Viceroy who sent this report to the Secretary of State for India or British government. By this, all the segments of the British government from a local police station to the Westminster were updated about the situation of law and order in the province.

Lahore Museum Library, Lahore

Besides many books on the Punjab and Indian history, there are numerous old newspapers in this Library which can be very useful for the researchers working on the Punjab and Muslim-Sikh relations. The Urdu newspapers played excellent role in projecting the communitarian demands and standpoints against each other. Press was responsible partly for the communal clashes because they sensitized minor events and provoked the common folk to join the on-going violent activities. The library has dozens of such dailies (29) including *Ehsan* (1935-37), *Kesri* (1928 September), *Inqelab* (1927-48), *Band-i-Matram* (1921), *Pratap* (1941), *Parbhat* (1945-47), *Tanzeem* (1925-28), *Khalid* (1928), *Zamindar* (1912-40), *Siasat* (1919-35), *Shehbaz* (1939-72), *Mujahid* (5 October 1935), *Milap* (1937-41), *Watan* (1919-26 and 1934), *Hind* (1923-34), *Akali* (1929 from September to November), etc. published from different places like Lahore, Calcutta, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Karachi, Delhi, Amritsar, etc. The papers are not found here with complete files instead mostly consist of the files covering few years or months or weeks. Besides all these journalistic sources, from 1926 to 1938 the original reports on the periodicals and newspapers are available in this Library. This Library has official documents of the different political parties. The presidential addresses of the leaders of the Punjab Unionist Party and Muslim League, proceedings of the conferences, printed material published by many eminent leaders like Ch. Chhotu Ram, Riaz K. Haq, M. A. Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan, Ch. Rahmat Ali and A. Punjabi can be obtained from this library. Apart from all these sources mentioned, some material published during 1888 to 1900 mostly related to the Punjab and other provinces is also available. A researcher can retrieve many things new from the material to beautify the main argument of a research project.

Punjab Public Library, Lahore

Punjab Public Library is the oldest library having excellent collection on several research domains. A researcher can find a collection of rare books, journals, newspapers, magazines, proceedings etc. in this library particularly on the subject of the freedom movement. *The Eastern Times*, a well known daily, presented the Muslim League's point of view in the struggle of the South Asian Muslims. The only two complete files of this paper for the years 1942, 1943 and 1947 are present here in a complete form while from 1944 to 1946 the files are incomplete form. *The Civil and Military Gazette* was published from Lahore and mostly presented the Muslim point of view. The Library has incomplete files of the years 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1947 in which a researcher can find valuable articles, news, reports and different standpoints of the political parties. *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore-based weekly and daily) contained the sentiments of the Muslim masses and socio-political elites. One can find most of its copies or files in this Library. It gives information from 1907 to 1947 regarding the political ideals of the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus. Most of the files of this paper are complete and in a good condition. Some files are missing while some papers, very important actually, have oddly been shelved and need a proper care. Anyhow, the Director-General, NAP, shared that the Jinnah Public Library Lahore had got microfilms of all these newspapers and preserved the precious past of the nation. Only one file of the two months, January and December 1947, of *Times*, a weekly and London-based paper, is present in the Library. Some other magazines are also available in the shelves but they mainly deal with the social topics having nothing important to the Muslim-Sikh relations.

Gurmukhi Sources

The Punjab was naturally divided on the basis of the script of language particularly after the emergence of Sikhism. The people of the eastern and western parts of the province overwhelmingly used two scripts of one language. The script used in the west Punjab was Shahmukhi (Persian script), while Gurmukhi script was used by the Sikhs of the eastern part of the Punjab. Guru Angad, 2nd Sikh Guru, invented the script called Gurmukhi although with the passage of time it absorbed many Arabic and Persian words mostly used in Urdu as well:

Urdu Words	Meanings	Adapted by Sikhs
reh-i-rast	straight way	rehras
Arzdasht	Request	Ardas

Source: Muhammad Husain, “Urdu nagri ki behs- sooba Punjab mein,” *Akhbar-i-Urdu* (Islamabad), March, April, 2004, 266.

Therefore, the Muslims adopted Urdu as a medium of expression during the freedom movement or even before and never published any newspaper in Gurmukhi. The Sikhs on the other hand used Gurmukhi in the print media with some exceptions as we find Urdu work by many Sikhs as well.⁸

When the Sikhs migrated to the East Punjab, they shifted their all belongings including the journalistic material and other documents from western to eastern part. All such documents and personal collections are not available in Pakistan.⁹ Some documents are available in Pakistan collected from the personal collections of the eminent writers of Pakistan. The Gurmukhi material is accessible in the Sibtul Hasan Zaigham Collection, Punjab University Library, New Campus, Lahore.

Popular Gurmukhi books like *Sachi Sakhi* written by Sirdar Kapur Singh, *Akali Morchian da Itahas* by Sohan Singh Josh, Ajit Singh Sarhadi’s *Punjabi Sube di Gatha*, Master Tara Singh’s biography, *Jevan Sangharsh te Udesh* by his son Jaswant Singh, etc. are available in the library of the Punjab Institute of Language, Art and Culture (PILAG), Lahore.¹⁰ The Institute is flourishing day by day under the supervision of the Punjabi scholars who become Director of the institute from time to time. Dr. Abbas Najmi,¹¹ and Dr. Sughra Sadaf the well-known Punjabi scholars have been its Directors. It plans to conduct numerous projects pertaining to the Punjabi culture, history and art. This is an important turn that provincial governments have paid the attention to the culture, art and history of the Punjab.

Khoj Garh,¹² Lilliani district Kasur, another important institution has been working to promote the Punjab history and culture under Iqbal Qaiser along with other Punjabi scholars and poets. Moreover, the Punjabi magazines like *Lehran*,¹³ *Rvel* and *Sver*,¹⁴ *Pancham*¹⁵ etc. many times publish stories, interviews and translations which can be very useful source of information for the history researchers. The Punjabi Department, Punjab University, Lahore has been producing academic research which has added several new avenues of information regarding the Punjab, history and culture. A useful periodical, *Punjab Monitor* (Amritsar) which presents critical analysis on the Sikh leadership during the 1940s particularly the Akali leadership is an excellent addition to the material available in my personal library. Gurmukhi script can be learnt with the help of *Gurmukhi: Punjabi Parhaee Likhaee* written by Dr. Sita Ram Bahri that is available on Malik Book Depot, Urdu Bazar Lahore. Dr. Nabeela Umar and Navid Shahzad have also published a wonderful work on the history and culture of the Punjab. Another place from where a good material can be collected is the Faqir Collection, near the Lahore High Court building. The Faqir family had cordial relations with the Sikhs and being part of Ranjit Singh government the Faqir brothers enjoyed a special status in the Punjab.

PG Library, GC University Lahore

The Post-Graduate Library of the Government College University, Lahore has very useful books relating to the Muslim-Sikh relations in the British Punjab. The library has become very rich after the addition of the Razi Wasti Collection, Abdullah Malik Collection, Dr. Waheed Qureshi Collection etc. Now the Communist newspapers like *The Peoples’ News* and *The People’s Voice* of the 1940s and books related to the Punjab politics attract the attention of the researchers. The Department of History, GCU has been producing much impressive work on the Punjab politics for many years. However, the establishment of the Punjab Centre at Lahore is a need of time to project the history, politics, culture and secular traditions of the region. The anti-Punjab activities by different groups have motivated the prominent writers and politicians to advocate the Punjabi nationalism so that the anti-Punjab propaganda can be blocked in the light of true picture of the events.

Main Library, Punjab University Lahore

The Punjab University Library has arranged a separate history sections on different countries. In Indian history shelf, one can have some rare books on the Punjab, Sikh history and the freedom movement. After the establishment of the Sibte-ul-Hasan Zaigham Collection, the Punjab University Library has become very rich in the areas of the Sikh history and Muslim struggle for homeland.

Many copies of a known journal, *Punjab: The Past and Present*, edited by famous historian Ganda Singh are also available in this Collection. Here I located two important booklets, *Sikh aur Congress* and *Panthak Nazriya*, written by Master Tara Singh, the dominant leader of the Shiromani Akali Dal during the 1940s.

The Library of the Department of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore has excellent collection on the Punjab history. Dr. Qalb-i-Abid, a well-known researcher on the Punjab history added valuable material to the subject after taking charge as Chairman of the department. The Department has also produced many MA and M.Phil. theses relating to the Punjab and freedom struggle. Many students worked on the history of the British Punjab as special focus. Dr. Qalb-i-Abid has been publishing the *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* which mainly concentrates on the historical topics relating to the Muslim leadership and their achievements. The Pakistan Study Centre under Dr. Massarrat Abid¹⁶ has collected valuable material mainly the published primary sources on the Punjab.

Lionel Carter's all volumes which contain the correspondence between the Punjab Governor and the Viceroy from 1936 to 1947 and all volumes of *Documents on Punjab* by O. P. Ralhan and Suresh K. Sharma provide sufficient information pertinent to the Punjab administration, British policies and activities of the political parties in the Punjab. Although the work edited by O. P. Ralhan is replete with errata but even then it is one of the best sources on the Punjab. The Centre for South Asian Studies has been publishing *Journal of South Asian Studies* and books on the Punjab.

The Centre has published valuable work on Punjab produced by the eminent authors of Pakistan including Dr. Imran Ali, Dr. Sarfraz Hussain Mirza and Dr. Jahangir Tamimi. The Centre is located in the vicinity of the Punjab University, Quaid-i-Azam Campus Lahore. Its administration has decorated the Centre Library with good collection on the Sikh including Gurmukhi sources and Muslim histories. Most of the copies of *Annual Indian Register* by H. N. Mitra are available in this library.

Nazaria-i-Pakistan Trust (Lahore) is another organization working for popularizing the ideology of Pakistan throughout the country under the auspices of Dr. Majeed Nizami. Many well-known men like Justice Javed Iqbal, Mian Aziz-ul-Haq Qureshi, Dr. Rafique Ahmad, Ch. Naeem Hussain Chattha, Mehnaz Rafi along with the prominent scholars of Pakistan are investing their sincere efforts to spread the ideology of Pakistan through this platform. They are mainly focusing on the educational institutions particularly the schools. Late Dr. Sarfraz Hussain Mirza and Muzaffar Mirza were also associated with this organization. The library within the building of the Trust contains few files of the daily *Ranjit* (Lahore). The paper under Sardul Singh Caveeshar represented the Sikhs, Indian National Congress and the Communist groups of the Punjab. The office also preserved the records of hundreds of the Muslim Leaguers who had participated in the freedom movement. Shahid Rashid, a prominent scholar, journalist and author of many books and the General Secretary of the Trust, has contributed a lot to the scholarly activities such as seminars, conferences and celebrations on the national days. The organization has regularly been publishing a monthly *Nazaria-i-Pakistan* for few years in which the readers can find interviews of the migrants of 1947 and scholarly writings of the known writers.

DRSM Library, QAU, Islamabad

Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University offers a rich collection on the Punjab and Sikh history. Most of the published material is available here. The library contains a good collection of books along with M.Sc., M.Phil. and Ph.D. theses, new publications, gazetteers and the HEC recognized local and international journals.

National Documentation Wing¹⁷

NDW, Cabinet Division, Islamabad is one of the best places to conduct research on the topics connected to the freedom movement and history of Pakistan. NDC has a big library with all books written by the prominent Indian, Pakistani, British and foreign scholars.

Transfer of Powers and the best collection on the Muslim and Sikh history, *The Secret Police Abstracts of Intelligence, Punjab* and personal diaries and some manuscripts available in the library can be helpful for the researchers to look into the historical events at the crucial juncture of the history of the Subcontinent from different angles. The administration obtained micro-films of the official documents from the India Office Record, London. Now the material like *The Wavell Papers, Glancy Papers, Proceedings of the Round Table Conference, Mountbatten Papers* and the newspapers motivates researchers to revisit the Indian political scene in the light of the primary sources. Such documents have been categorized differently like *Photocopy Holdings: Local Records* (2.1) NDC, 1988 and *Microfilm Holdings: Primary Records* (MH Series 2.1), *Microfilm Holdings: From I & I Other Sources Abroad* (Series 1.1), NDC, 1988. *The Secret Police Abstracts of Intelligence, Punjab* is catalogued year-wise like File. S-408 covers 1940 but it is not necessary because the files also deal with the events occurred during the months of two years and so on. But notable point is that the events along with the Punjabi leaders community-wise have been excellently reported and ordered in all the volumes. The NDC publishes its newsletter in which the administration lists the newly declassified documents by the Government of Pakistan. It provides sufficient information about the speeches, press conferences and addresses of the Prime Ministers, Presidents and others which are valued under the category of the primary sources. The administration provides every possible facility to the researchers coming from different universities of Pakistan and abroad.

National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad

National Archives of Pakistan, Cabinet Division is the best place to work on research projects pertaining to the freedom movement. The administration has created very scholarly and light atmosphere in which a new comer feels at home and comfortable. Relevant to the Muslim-Sikh relationship, a big accumulation of unpublished material is available in a managed form. The main components of this site may be classified in different types of papers including QAP, AFM, etc.

Quaid-i-Azam Papers

It is hard to sort out all the papers for information so the Accession List provided by the NAP gives indication of the names which are arranged alphabetically.

A researcher can strike on the exact name which gives other information of File number and then Page numbers. The other cataloguing instrument is a Descriptive Catalogue of each group which briefs the researcher about File Number, Page Number, brief contents, gist of the text, etc.

The Quaid-i-Azam Papers have been arranged under the following categories:

- Partition Papers
- Muslim League Leaders/ Workers' Correspondence
- Quaid-i-Azam's Property

Through these Papers, a researcher finds true picture of the crucial years of the Muslim struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. It is astonishing that M. A. Jinnah seems dealing with all the matters, regional and national, sectarian and communal and official and personal. One may find correspondence from bottom to top level in the Papers which authenticates the notion that M. A. Jinnah was a leader of the masses and even all the depressed living in the Subcontinent. Letter by the Mazhabi Sikhs can be presented as evidence in which they wrote a letter to M. A. Jinnah that they desired to accept Islam but with some reservations.¹⁸

These Papers have valuable articles published during the days of the freedom struggle in the reputed newspapers and the people used to attach copies with their letters for reference which are very useful documents for the researchers. Sometimes people of different communities used to send their own perceptions on the historical developments. Quaid-i-Azam reviewed the drafts and responded to the senders with sagacity, which motivates researchers to adopt analytical approach towards the events. Quaid-i-Azam Papers contain official and non-official correspondence on the Punjab, the Round Table Conference and other historical and political issues.

One can see in these papers the speech of Sardar Ujjal Singh which he made in the Round Table Conference, correspondence of Lord Wavell, Lord Pethick Lawrence, Louis Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, M. K. Gandhi, Sir Francis Mudie, Lord Linlithgow, Lord Ismay, Sir Stafford Cripps, Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee, Amery, Sardar Baldev Singh, Master Tara Singh, Sardar Sujan Singh, Sardar Sundar Singh, Kartar Singh, Amar Singh, Ch. Chhotu Ram, and the Muslim leaders of the Punjab like Sir Sikandar Hayat, Sir Khizr Tiwana and others.

Some known newspapers are also present in the National Archives of Pakistan which depict the public opinion on the political on-goings.

Shamsul Hasan Collection and the Archives of Freedom Movement have been shifted from Karachi to Islamabad and this step has made an easy access to the very important data about the years of the Muslim struggle. These Papers have proceedings or records of the annual sessions of the All-India Muslim League from 1908 to 1946, Council meetings from 1908 to 1948, provincial Leagues from 1910 to 1947, Minto-Morley Reforms, constitutional developments during 1912 to 1943, Muslim Students Federations from 1936 to 1947, Pakistan-Day Resolutions of 1940, Khilafat Committee, the All-Parties Conference, the Nehru Report, the Shafi and Jinnah Leagues, etc. The Papers acquired some private collections, which do not deal with the Punjab actually. Anyhow these archival records attract the attention of researchers to undertake some major projects regarding the Muslim and Sikh moves during the British period.

Oral History Accounts

People who directly or indirectly witnessed the last phase of the freedom movement are still alive and residing in different corners of the country. Gradually they will go to demise so by conducting interviews, very valuable points can be preserved to provide the oral history accounts to the coming posterity. In every part of Pakistan, one can find many people who may be considered commoners but they have precious past of our history in their memories because they themselves had experienced the nice days with the Sikhs and then experienced pains and pangs during the migration period by crossing the ocean of blood in 1947.

Akhtar Sandhu conducted interviews of the voiceless people in different villages of few districts of the west Punjab who had experienced the bloody migrations of the 1947 and before this they had been living with the Sikhs and Hindus as good neighbours for a long period. It provided a clear picture of the Muslim-Sikh society in the pre-partition Punjab. He has preserved all the data in his personal library. One can find all volumes of *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism* by Harbans Singh and the booklet providing information on research (*Theses on Punjab*) by Darshan Singh Tatla in his library. Furthermore, the departments of history and Pakistan Studies in all the Pakistani universities have produced few theses on the Punjab and Sikh history, which can be valuable for the researchers. Many other scholars have produced several research articles on the Punjab politics.

Dr. Muhammad Shafiqe and Dr. Samina Yasmin produced Ph.D. theses in the Department of History, BZU, Multan while Dr. Samina Awan produced her doctoral work (QAU) on the Majlis-i-Ahrar in the Punjab which deals with many aspects of the Punjab politics and the Sikhs being the focal point could not be aloof. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu's work on Muslim-Sikh relationship in the British Punjab is also a worthwhile piece of research which deals with Sikh and Muslim history. His thesis has very important annexure mainly taken from the British Library, London and Hartley Archives, University of Southampton.¹⁹ Much work on the Sikhs was proliferated after the Operation Blue Star in which thousands of the innocent Sikhs were either massacred or dislocated during the 1980s. This provoked many writers to take interest in this subject. Iqbal Qaiser has produced wonderful work on the Punjab, Sikh history and the Gurdwaras. Sheikhpura being former district of Nankana Sahib²⁰ has been well reputed regarding Sikh Gurdwaras and memories about the Sikh friends. Besides, Nankana and Jandiala Sher Khan where Waris Shah is buried had been part of this city so some local writers like Khalid Pervaiz Malik, Prof. Abdul Karim, and Kalyan Singh Kalyan produced useful work on the regional history and Sikhism. The library of Government College Sheikhpura has very good collection on the Punjab and the freedom movement. Most of the books published in Pakistan and abroad are nicely shelved by the College administration.

Literature as Source Material

All the social changes impress upon the literary minded persons who express their own feelings and emotions on the condition of the suffered. So Urdu and Punjabi writers depicted the painful situation of the people of the Punjab during the freedom struggle. The classical literature of the Punjabi language provides sufficient information regarding culture and society of the Punjab. A researcher without knowing the Punjabi culture, traditions and social fabrications can not produce a sound writing on the affairs in the Punjab. Hazrat Baba Farid, Waris Shah, Bhulleh Shah, Shah Husain, Mian Muhammad Bakhsh and other classical writers are very important to understand if someone is keen to peep into the past or present of the Punjabi society, literature, culture, economy and politics. Though the Punjabi people have no tradition to record the daily routine and other pursuits as they never maintained their dairies and memoirs having no educational facilities, however the classical writings preserved approximately all the aspects of the Punjabi life which can guide researchers properly to have a first and

initial glance about the Punjabi society. Dr. Shahbaz Malik compiled a book entitled *Azadi dey Mujahid Likhari*, in which he published the Punjabi poetry produced during the freedom movement. In Urdu literature, Fikr Taunsvi, Sa'adat Hasan Minto, Mashkoor Hussain Yad and hundreds of the writers expressed their mourning feelings about the blood-letting events of the Muslim-Sikh killings. The writings depict how the humanity was downed to the dust, stones and dirty ponds by their old friends during this period.

The Pakistani archival places are full of the primary sources which need to be consulted for exploring some new dimensions of the historical events pertinent to the Punjab history and politics. Instead of some recreational trips, the university teachers should arrange student visits to these places. The journalists ought to dig out this valuable material to decorate their annual editions rather to repeat the last years' information. FIRs²¹ are very important source of information about the eminent and criminal tribes of the Punjab. All such FIRs are still out of reach and should be handed over to the provincial archives by the police department but unluckily the Pakistani bureaucracy is least interested in the research-oriented activities. However, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad²² liked this idea and assigned Akhtar Hussain Sandhu the duty to establish an archives to preserve the heritage of the nation. Unluckily the NIHCR could not further this project due to funding problem and could not establish an Archives of Police Record at the NIHCR.

The Pakistani libraries and archives have accumulative material on the 'Muslim-Sikh relations in the British Punjab' but it is necessary on the part of the library administrations to create a facilitative atmosphere at the places. Research on the Punjab or freedom movement has become a tiresome job because of the divergent languages, cultures and religions. The significant portion of the source material being in India is painfully out of reach. Situation becomes very pinching when a researcher is not accommodated properly within Pakistan. A scholar seeks to have original documents before him to criticize the historical developments and the background.

Basically, he/she is supposed to challenge the existing conclusions and dimensions that is possible with the help of the primary sources. Such documents can decorate the standpoint and work of a writer. Rationality in the perspective of good arguments and arguments on the basis of authentic documents can well represent any standpoint in the communitarian struggle. Opposite point of view in the guise of propaganda can effectively be blocked in the perspective of the national point of view. We in Pakistan have the best collections and huge source material covering all the spheres of the Muslim-Sikh interaction in the Punjab, freedom movement and the historical background. As Lahore was the central place of the political activities therefore one can find bulk of material related to the other communities as well.

The rest of material has already been obtained by the Government of Pakistan from the India Office Record which is sophisticatedly arranged in the National Documentation Wing, Islamabad. However, the condition of the above mentioned sources needs attention of the governmental authorities so that with better planning the sources can be handed over to the coming posterity. I would request the government to take all these sources in the custody as national property. If some legal hitch involves in obtaining this record, they can get photocopy of all the material because the material particularly in the libraries is not in the safe hands. The newsletter of NDW and index books of the material at National Archives of Pakistan should be provided to all the universities because it would make the job of the selection of the topic for the young scholars very easy. The library administrations need more facilities and finances to do something to preserve the material and new techniques should be introduced to the staff concerned such as computerization of the material. Syed Fazl Husain, former Additional Chief Secretary, is also compiling a book in the light of oral accounts collected from the people who migrated from India to Pakistan.

Research project on Punjab and freedom movement can be conducted in Pakistan because different archival places and libraries contain very important primary and secondary sources relating to every aspect of the subject. The universities should teach archival studies as subject at M.Phil. and Ph.D. levels which will equip them with appropriate tools and material.

Endnotes

¹I have included it as additional information for the readers. See details about the bulletin in Harbans Singh, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, vol. 1 (Patiala: Punjabi University Patiala, 2002), 69-70.

² Basic Documents are official and non-official correspondence, diaries, notes,

³Third Mughal ruler of India during 1542 to 1606.

⁴The village Saidpur, now Aimanabad locates near Gujranwala in Pakistan.

⁵It is important to clarify that the rule by the Muslim rulers in India cannot be accepted as 'Islamic one rather it was purely a political stance. Islam definitely cannot approve most of their standings and actions. Therefore, history of the Sultans, Mughals or others is not the Islamic history instead it was not more than Muslim history.

⁶Dr. G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882* (Calcutta: The Superintendent of Government Printing, 1882), passim.

⁷Abbas Chughtai and M. Arfeen are efficient officials who always facilitate the researchers.

⁸ Master Tara Singh, the most prominent Akali leader, produced much work in Urdu.

⁹ Sujjan Singh (basically from Rawalpindi) Collection in the National Archives of Pakistan contains nothing important as far as the Punjab politics or Muslim-Sikh relations are concerned.

¹⁰ These books have been donated by Syed Sibtul Hasan Zaigham (late), a well-known Lahore-based scholar.

¹¹ Dr. Muhammad Abbas Najmi is a Punjabi poet and writer with many books to his credit.

¹² Khojgarh was founded by Iqbal Qaiser, a well-known Punjabi writer and poet. He has produced valuable work on the Sikh and the Punjab history.

¹³It is a monthly magazine (Lahore) under the editorship of Dr. Syed Akhtar Hussain Akhtar (late) who served the Punjabi language sincerely throughout his life.

¹⁴These magazines are being published from Lahore by Jamil Pal, an eminent Punjabi scholar.

¹⁵Maqsood Saqib, a Lahore-based Punjabi scholar has been publishing this magazine successfully for few years. Najam Hussain Syed and Col. Nadir Ali along with other Punjabi-lovers arrange meetings to promote Punjabi literature and art.

¹⁶Dr. Massarrat Abid herself has several research articles at her credit on the topics of the Muslim politics, Sikhs, partition plan and communal riots in the Punjab.

¹⁷Commonly known as National Document Centre

¹⁸Letter from Mazhabi Sikhs to M. A. Jinnah, File no. 930, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, NAP, Islamabad.

¹⁹Higher Education Commission has displayed all doctoral theses on its official website.

²⁰Nankana Sahib is an independent district now. This status was given by Ch. Pervaiz Ilahi, the then Chief Minister of the Punjab.

²¹First Investigation Report by a police station.

²²Dr. Khurram Qadir was the Director at that time.