

Punjab at the Advent of the 20th Century: *An Analytical Study of its Socio-Economic and Political Conditions*

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Punjab, the land of the five rivers derives its appellation from the two Persian words *Punj* (five, and *aab* (water), and refers to the land through which flow the five rivers — Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Bias and Sutlej. It has always been a great geo-political importance on account of its location — a meeting place of diverse people and cultures. It was a vast fertile region, rich in agricultural wealth located in the north-west of the subcontinent. The socio-economic structure of this region has been basically rural with all its benefits, stresses and strains. Before the great divide, (1947), the Punjab was mostly inhabited by the followers of three religions — Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. The people belonged to different tribes, races and castes. The majority of the population lived on agriculture and suffered at the hands of the moneylenders. On account of its geo-economic conditions, Punjab was divided into six tracts. The first included the sub-mountainous districts of Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Ambala. Though the land of this area was fertile and had sufficient rainfall but due to lack of proper irrigations, the cultivator had mainly to depend upon rainfall. Due to this, about 89 per cent of the peasants were fastened in the chains of debt to an average of about Rs.500 each.¹ The second tract consisted of the central Punjab which stretched from Jhelum in the north to the *riverain* districts of the Sutlej in the South. It was a plain fertile area and had eight districts — Gujrat, Gujranwala, Lahore, Amritsar, Jullunder, Ludhiana, Ferozepur and Sheikhpura. There were mostly small tracts of land where the farmers grew vegetables and produce more per acre than other

tracts. In spite of available agrarian facilities, more than 80 per cent of the owners of land were in debt.²

The third tract was known as Potohar Plateau which consisted of three districts of Rawalpindi, Attock and Jhelum. The cultivators lived under many stresses and strains due to uneven plains and uncertainty of rainfall. In spite of scarcity of water and uneven fields, debt was only 40 per cent.³ It was due to this fact that those who depended on land, worked hard and those who did not go to the army and sought their fortune abroad. The fourth region was the arid zone of Hisar and the country around Delhi which consisted of four eastern districts of Karnal, Rohtak, Hisar and Gurgaon. The majority of the cultivators were Hindus, while the rural Muslims were "half Hindu in mind and rite".⁴ The condition of the peasants were worse due to non-availability of irrigation canals, uncertain rainfall and insecurity of harvest. The debt was about fifteen to nineteen times of the land revenue, which was invariably high.⁵ The fifth region consisted of the south-western area of Punjab which had the present districts of Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Leiah, Bakhar and Mianwali. It was quite distinct from the rest of Punjab due to a large number of sand dunes comprising the Thal desert. The district of Dera Ghazi Khan was dominated by the Baloch clans and other areas by *pirs* and *sardars*. The cultivation was impossible due to the lack of water and people had to depend upon flood water and rainfall. Although the land-holdings were large as "about 40 per cent of the cultivated area was in the hands of those who owned over fifty acres",⁶ but due to scarcity of water, the peasants led a miserable life. The cultivators were heavily in debt, which was at least thirty times the land revenue.⁷ The small landholders were at their worst and the standard of living was lower than anywhere else in the Punjab. Nothing could be done to alleviate their economic plight because "half of the tract was burnt up by the sun, while the other half was exposed to the ravages of flood",⁸ which placed them under permanent indebtedness. Thus the tillers of the soil due to immeasurable sufferings were eking out a difficult and scanty living and were at the mercy of the landlords, *pirs* and *Banias*.

The sixth tract consisted of the great colonization area of Shahpur, Lyallpur, Jhang and Montgomery. The cultivators

were prosperous, progressive, and modern than those of any other area in the Punjab. The *Bar*,⁹ before its colonization, was inhabited by pastoral races who often fought amongst themselves under their leaders who was called *Rat*.¹⁰ In these areas before 1860, they had no permanent habitation.¹¹ The hordes, called *Jan*, seldom stayed more than one or two months at one place. The *Bar*, throughout was sparsely populated, and it was occupied by a variety of nomadic tribes. They were split into numerous small communities distinguished by various names, as Baloch, Bhatti, Virks, Kharals, and Sials who derived their origin from some common ancestor. The nomad population of the *Bar*, during the census of 1891 was recorded as 70,000, and was generally known as *Janglis*. The aggregate area held by the nomads was about 70,811 acres in 1900 and 253,752 in 1903.¹² The canal colonies project was planned by the British government to convert the barren tracts into fertile land with the canal water fed by the rivers — the Jhelum, the Chenab, and the Ravi. In 1761, the construction of Upper Bari Doab Canal was the beginning of the period of prosperity and later on the opening of the lower Chenab Canal in 1892, became the turning point in the economic life of the province.

On March 29, 1849, the Sikh Regency signed the treaty of submission and Punjab became part and parcel of the British *Raj*. After the annexation, the main task before the government was to consolidate its power against any onslaught. For administrative purposes, the province was divided into seven divisions with respective headquarters at Ambala, Jullunder, Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and Leiah, embracing twenty-four districts.¹³ Emphasis was laid on the maintenance of law and order, and fiscal reforms were introduced to lighten the burden of revenue. The local people were employed in different departments like army, police, judiciary and other branches of administration. They were inculcated to join the army and the police so as to serve as a bulwark against the external and internal threats. By this device the British won over the rural classes ranging from the feudal lords to the peasantry. Moreover, like the Sultans of Delhi and the Mughals, British believed in the policy of creating a class of landed aristocracy who were loyal to their cause. They were awarded huge estates for their loyal services in the defence and other matters of security.

Basically, erstwhile Punjab had an agrarian infrastructure, where eighty seven to ninety per cent people were living in the rural areas.¹⁴ In eastern Punjab the peasant proprietors had small landholdings due to thick population and fertile fields. About 85 per cent of the population was rural and the notable agricultural tribes were Arain, Jat and Rajput. All these communities irrespective of religion had socio-cultural affinities. Although their were conversion to Islam, but they maintained their old connections. The Muslims were mostly the descendants of the Hindu Jats, Rajputs, and other minor agrarian tribes converted during the Muslims rule. They lived in the form of well-preserved joint-village communities where they could safeguard their interests through mutual understanding and had cured little for feudal lords. But the life in south-western Punjab was quite different because most of the land was lying uncultivated due to the shortage of water and other resources essential for development. In this region about 91 per cent population lived in the rural areas and among them 83 per cent were Muslims. Hence this region was considered the real home of the Muslims. The original settlers were the migratory tribes who moved from one place to another in search of better living. Ultimately, they settled permanently, on tribal basis, where they found a suitable tract of land for cultivation. In this region the population was more scattered and needed protection of the feudal lords who were the owners of big *Jagirs*. Among the Muslim landlords of the Punjab, the Tiwanas, Noons, Khatters, Daultanas, Kharals, Legharies, Mazaries, Momdots, Sials, Rajas, Gilanis, Qureshis and Gardezis dominated the political scene through out the British *Raj*. For example in 1893, the Tiwanas of Shahpur and their 15,000¹⁵ acres of estate at Kalra; in 1908, the Nawab of Mamdot's estate in the Ferozpur district was over 60,000 acres in extent,¹⁶ and in 1910, the Daultanas of Multan had about 20,000¹⁷ acres of land at Ludden. According to the census report of 1921, 4.8 per cent *Zamindars* owned more than 25 acres of land, 18.8 per cent between 10 to 25 acres and 71.6 per cent had less than 10 acres of land.¹⁸ A similar enquiry was conducted by the Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab in 1939, according to which 2.4 per cent landowners who had more than 50 acres of land, held 38 per cent of the total cultivated land.¹⁹ It shows that the landlords whether they were Muslims or

Hindus had big land holdings and had less concern with communal rivalry, and therefore, for all beneficial purposes they were regarded as one unit. It was due to this reason that their characteristics were mostly tribal despite religious differences.

To evaluate the socio-economic conditions in the Punjab, it is necessary to understand the tribal system which developed gradually to constitute a traditional set up. The rural structure was basically depended upon tribal customs and religious traditions which were duly respected by the British in their own interest. It served as a strong link between the British administration and the tribal socio-political organisation by providing a mutual understanding of each other's institutions. Actually, tribe was a 'native' institution of social and political significance in the Punjab. It was a social abstraction, more localized and less well-defined than religion, which left ample room for the insertion of overriding government authority. In the Punjab the tribal structure consisted of two major groups. The first group comprised the Syeds, the Sheikhs, the Baloch and the Pathans who mostly belonged to the ruling classes. The second group included the cultivating classes as Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, Kamboh, Arains and others. Most of the Muslim cultivators were the descendants of the converts from Hinduism as were the Jats, the Gujars, and the Rajputs. Every tribe was proud of its race which often created inter-tribal antagonism. Particularly the Rajputs, due to their splendid historical role, did not consider themselves inferior to the Syeds or the Pathans. They lived in the eastern districts of Ferozepur, Karnal and Hisar, although they were most numerous in the Jhang and Rawalpindi districts.²⁰ The Jats were also proud of their tribal character. They formed one fifth of the total Muslim population in the Punjab and lived mostly in Mianwali, Muzaffargarh, Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan districts²¹ and generally they were agriculturists. In the east of the Ravi, there were predominantly Hindus or Sikhs. The Gujars who were mostly Muslims, were also a famous tribe of the Punjab and they lived on their traditional profession of cattle breeding and dairying. Majority of the Gujars lived in the central districts of Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Gujrat. The Arains who were famous to grow vegetables, mostly lived in the central districts of Jullunder, Hoshiarpur, Lahore and Amritsar.

Occupational specialization was another marked characteristic of the rural Punjab which could be found among the lower strata of society. According to the nature of their traditional work, for example, the *Nais*, the *Telis*, the *Mochis*, the *Dhobis*, the *Kumhars* and others, were strictly hereditary in their profession. These professional artisans were of indigenous Hindu origin. An important aspect of the social structure was the caste system. The Indian Muslims who were converted from Hinduism were known by their castes and subcastes. They strictly followed their old customs and practices which included even restrictions on inter-dining contrary to the teachings of Islam.²² *Biradri* system was another important institution which reflected both caste and kinships. This had become more effective through the organization of *Panchayats* or Council of elders. In 1880's Lord Ripon (1880-84) introduced the system of Local Self-Government²³ in rural and urban areas of the subcontinent in the form of a movement with specific aims, with independent authority and deriving their power mainly from the people.²⁴ It increased the importance of *biradri*, especially among the peasants who secured more solidarity and encouragement through this system. In the presence of strong *biradri* system, the poor villagers, the tenants, the landless labour and the village menials evidently depended upon the landlord for their survival, and thus "within these groups vertical ties of economic dependency remained stronger than their loyalty to their fellow *biradri* members".²⁵ The landlord's dominating position in the rural society led him to assume the rule of the leader of the *Panchayat* and settle the dispute according to his own dictates.²⁶

As the Punjab was basically an agricultural province, the government paid full attention towards the development of its agriculture. British government introduced a new revenue assessment system as the land revenue which was the main source of income. During the Sikh regime at least half of the gross produce was taken over as the government share. From fertile land the charges were more than 50 per cent of the total produce and "instances were not uncommon, where as much as 54 per cent of the total produce was recorded as the share collected on the government accounts".²⁷ Moreover, when the revenue was collected in kind, a deduction of 10 to 15 per cent was made to meet fraud, waste and other expenses. According

to a new settlement, old revenue officials were discarded, measurement and survey of the cultivated land was performed by the village accountants on the basis of average revenue of the previous 3 to 5 years on their testimony. Therefore, "the new settlements...lowered the rates of assessment and...made them higher than those in existence during the Sikh rule; the reduction being from 5 to 50 per cent for different regions and 25 per cent for the whole of the state".²⁸ Although initially in 1860, the decrease in the revenue was made for the welfare of the peasants, but later on, the introduction of the evils of facile credit, consequent debt and of high land prices and resultant speculation by non agriculturists marred the lot of the peasant. Actually, "the decrease in revenue demand, which was intended to benefit the cultivators, involved them in temptations which they had been unable to resist".²⁹ The policy of the government was:

To maintain the Punjab, for purely political reasons, primarily as an agricultural province comprising of peasant proprietors attached to their land, and thereby prevent the development of a commercial and an industrial middle class and a landless proletariat which would provide, as it did in Bengal and Bihar, recruits for the political life of the country.³⁰

It was due to this reason that the British administrators made the landholders more powerful than ever before, For this purpose the concept of landownership, as a transferable commodity, was introduced by the government. The government established the system of private landownership and collected the revenue directly from the proprietors of land. Settlement Officers were deputed for this purpose who had close contact with the agricultural classes and thus they "acquired much local experience, and great familiarity with tenures to decide suits regarding landed property".³¹ There was some debate, within the British administration, about the treatment to be meted out to the big landlords because a quarter for the cultivated area of the province was owned by them who seldom cultivated it themselves and were rather absentee landlords. Anyhow, the property ownership gave incentive to a peasant to grow more, in as much the feeling of ownership encouraged the peasants to work more to improve the rate of production which led to the economic progress and helped to develop a welfare state.

After annexation of the Punjab the British government, keeping in view the economical development and the welfare of the people, decided to plan the canal colonies Project to convert the barren into fertile land with the canal water fed by the rivers — the Jhelum, the Chenab, and the Ravi. As earlier mentioned under this project, the Upper Bari Doab Canal (1860-61) was constructed and the fertile and densely populated districts of Amritsar and Lahore were irrigated by it. In 1886, the first experiment in colonization was put into operation and seventy seven thousand acres of waste land in the Multan district was irrigated from the Sutlej river and was colonized by the immigrants from the central Punjab. This experiment proved a brilliant success, and the opening of the lower Chenab in 1892 became the turning point in the economic history of the province. The total area colonized under this project was about ten million acres.³² In June 1896, the completion of colonizing work on the rakh Branch and advance of the canal down the *Bar* led to the formation of a new tehsil out of the colonized villages in the Chiniot and Jhang tehsils with its headquarters at Lyallpur (then in the Jhang district), where the colonization officers' headquarters were transferred from Shahkot in Gujranwala district.³³ In February 1899, a sub-divisional outpost was constituted and placed in charge of an Assistant Commissioner, and in May 1899, the whole of the *Sandal Bar* assessment circle of the Montgomery district, and area of about 605,586 acres was transferred to the Jhang district,³⁴ necessitating a year later, the creation of two new tehsils Sammundri and Toba Tek Singh.³⁵ On December 1, 1904, a new district was formed named Lyallpur, which consisted the tehsils of Lyallpur, Samundri, and Toba Tek Singh.³⁶

The Punjab had a distinct importance in the history of the subcontinent on account of its socio-cultural, religio-political and economic realities. Its population was composed of a variety of ethnic and religious groups who "counteracted one another and none of them could become strong enough to be a decisive influence in the life of the province".³⁷ Consequently, the Punjab provided a fertile atmosphere for the new sects such as the Arya Samaj and the Qadiani movements which found a home in the Punjab. In other words, Punjab was a hot-bed for religious confusion and social incoherence which precluded the power of

resistance among the people of this region. The Punjab remained under Muslim influence for nearly eight hundred years but no stable rule was established before or during the Muslim regime. But Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) was the only ruler who could claim a strong united kingdom in 1799, but after his death (1839), weakness crept into the system and the British East India Company occupied it. The new rulers brought peace and prosperity for the people by establishing a powerful network of district administration with the active cooperation of the cultivators and by their quasi indifferent attitude towards different religious communities. Consequently, various religious movements were emerged in the name of reforms and revivals, causing further and polarization among the various religious groups.³⁸ The social and economic unrest among the diverse communities further contributed to the process of mutual religious antagonism. Although the government generally depended on its religious impartiality as a means of maintaining law and order but the new challenges in the form of contentions claims of the communities strengthened the concept of religious revivalism among them and led to an explosive communal situation. It compelled the government to adopt a new strategy of balancing the claims of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. It aggravated inter-religious relations, particularly in urban areas by exerting economic pressure on the Muslims. The earlier rulers mostly adopted the policy of religious neutrality and treated all the communities equally by allowing them freely to practice their customs unless they infringed each other's rights. The British government also tried to appease all the three major communities through a strategy of coercion mixed with conciliation. According to Barrier "the Lawrences, however, did not limit themselves to passive neutrality but actively sought to protect the minority interests by encouraging each community to appeal to the government for redress. Sikhs bans on Muslim prayers and cow slaughter were revoked, and minorities in the east and west were 'guaranteed' the right to practice their religion".³⁹

The Punjab was basically dependent on its agrarian structure because about 88 per cent population lived in villages. So the British government keeping in view this reality was interested in stressing the role of the rural population and the

local aristocracy in the administration irrespective of communal affiliation. It was believed that if the government succeeded in integrating the local aristocrats with the administrative system, the *Raj* would be strengthened. Hence the government saw no reason to give up the secular line of action and distribute the administrative offices along religious lines. In late nineteenth century the government decided to appoint leading aristocrats as members of municipal committees on communal basis. But the issue of religious affiliation remained dormant on account of the extension of the power of the committees and replacement nomination with election according to the Ripon's reforms of 1882. But the government practically failed to check the rise of communal feelings in the elections. It is mentioned earlier that the Punjab presented a fertile ground for the growth of religious faiths due to its rich and varied historical background. In the 19th century it was an interesting scenario of the different religions which were rival to each other. The relations between their votaries — the Muslims, the Hindus, and the Sikhs were, therefore, always hostile as they competed on the similar grounds with claim and counter claims. Numerically in 1931, these three communities consisted of 57.1 per cent Muslims, 27.8 per cent Hindus, and 13.2 per cent Sikhs.⁴⁰ In all the nine Central districts (Gujranwala, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Jullunder, Ferozepur and Ludhiana) except Sialkot, the Sikhs had their strong hold but they were still a minority.⁴¹ In the eight eastern districts (Kangra, Simla, Karnal, Ambala, Delhi, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Hisar-cum-Sirsa) the Hindus were strong, while the Muslims were mostly the descendants of the Hindu Jats, Rajputs and other minor agrarian tribes converted during the Muslim rule.⁴² In the south-western Punjab, the Muslims were in majority and had better economical position than other communities, hence this region was considered to be the home of the Muslims.⁴³

The long history of Muslim dominance in the Punjab had augmented the strength of the Muslims in region both through immigration and conversion. It is important to note that in India the Muslims and the Hindus constituted two separate nations rather than two communities. It was due to their different cultural and religious values as each derived its *raison de'tre* from religion and could never cooperate with each other in any

walk of life. But it is strange to note that, in spite of communal differences in the 19th century, the rural society in the Punjab had less concern with religious rivalry untainted as it was with religious animosities, and for all administrative purposes it was regarded as one unit. Thorburn wrote: "They live side by side as peaceful cultivators, in happy indifference to petty jealousies which superior knowledge stirs up in the hearts of their Hindu and Musalman brethren in the towns".⁴⁴ It was due to the reason that their characteristics were mostly tribal despite religious differences.

The Muslims who were in majority in the Punjab, gradually turned economically and politically backward because they had been kept away from their due share by the rival forces. The lack of political influence at decision making levels, despite their apparent majority led the Muslims to gradually assert their own credentials and work for their political advancement. The Muslims had a meagre representation in the administration and had little share in the commerce and industry due to their educational backwardness. With the passage of time, the Muslim elites in the urban areas realised that the interests of an educationally backward nation could only be safeguarded if they received modern education. In agriculture alone, there could be a chance for the Muslim to hold over the non-Muslims, provided they could be shielded against the rapacity of the village moneylenders who were invariably Hindus. They did respond to a number of diverse pressures by organizing and joining communal associations. The Muslims formed societies or anjumans to sponsor cultural activities and projects for social improvement. The first organization Anjuman-i-Islamiya was founded in 1869 to protect the Muslim cause and to present their views before the government.⁴⁵ Similarly Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was organized in 1884, to cater for religious and intellectual education of the Muslim youth. It was the result of the spontaneous feeling on the part of middle class Muslims of Lahore to cooperate with each other for their common good. It was a popular rather than an aristocratic movement.⁴⁶ Its organizers gave attention to general education but the service and support of Islam was the major source of its inspiration.

After 1857 the Muslims, under the guidance of Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), appreciated the importance of

western education for their socio-economic advancement.⁴⁷ The Muslims elite in the Punjab benefited greatly from the Aligarh movement as: "they responded enthusiastically to the call of Syed Ahmad Khan and among his close collaborators were men like Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan, Khan Bahadur Barkat Ali, and Khalifah Muhammad Hasan. They not only supported the activities at Aligarh but also tried to organize Muslims in the Punjab".⁴⁸ Thus at the call of Syed Ahmad Khan, the awakening among the Muslims of the Punjab, assumed the form of a movement for social and educational reforms. The Aligarh movement had its impact on the Muslim intelligentsia in Punjab. As the creation of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was its net result, which took up the task of Muslim education in the Punjab. The Anjuman advanced the cause of Muslim education by establishing schools and colleges in different towns. Eventually, there arose a class of professionals such as lawyers, doctors and industrialists who, without vacillation and at a faster speed, played a visible role for the socio-political uplift of the Punjabi intelligentsia. In the light of new challenges, each community had realized that it could safeguard its interest to an extent, merely by adopting the new techniques of western education. On June 1, 1886 the Arya Samaj started Dayanand Anglo Vedic College at Lahore while relying on its sympathizers.⁴⁹ Likewise, in 1892, Khalsa College was established at Amritsar by the Chief Khalsa Diwan to expand and consolidate Sikhism. Similarly, in 1892 Islamia College was founded for the educational advancement of the Muslims of the Punjab. It unavoidably increased communal consciousness.⁵⁰ Hence in cities and towns every community tried to use education as a tool for their progress which tended to set them at odds with one another. As all the communities "take pride in their faiths and testify to their truth by breaking heads".⁵¹ Actually the education gave rise to the concept of communal identity while extending rivalry among the different religious communities in all the spheres of life. Consequently, all the communities decided to safeguard their religious and cultural values through education. So with the close of the 19th century, religious competition between the major communities aggravated the situation and created bitter rivalry and antagonism between them.

An over-all estimate of the discussion shows that the British occupation of the Punjab introduced new dimensions to the traditional administrative structure. Further, the consolidation of British rule in the Punjab helped to mobilize the social, economic and political life of the people in the province. Moreover, the British hold relieved the masses from the constant danger of foreign aggression as they enjoyed the fruits of a stable government. As the economy of the province was based upon its agricultural wealth, the government depended upon the landed aristocracy with the hope to gain the support of the rural population. Because the immediate requirement of the British government was to achieve the support of the rural majority — the rural peasantry. The government therefore, decided to adopt a policy of patronage and provided all possible facilities to the peasants by introducing a reformed revenue system, a new concept of landownership, colonization of barren land and the Land Alienation Act, 1900, to protect the zamindars from the high-handedness of moneylenders. Actually, it was a popular trend of bestowing hopes and promises with which the government succeeded to assume the posture of the well-wisher of the downtrodden and backward segments. By doing so the government succeed to secure the favour of the peasant proprietaries by protecting them from the unscrupulous moneylenders. But actually these measures were beneficial to the upper and middle class landlords who on the one hand tried to satisfy the cultivators and on the other hands they protected their own interests under the umbrella of the British *Raj*, anyhow, by the end of the 19th century, the new spheres of power and prestige attracted different communities to acquire benefits of the new administration. The Hindus and the Muslims feudal lords started involving themselves in the central and local politics. The introduction of western education and gradual representation in the local bodies, though on a limited scale, stirred communal dust. In fact, with the establishment of British rule in India, the communities accepted the principle of representation on the basis of class, community and interest. Lord Dufferin (1884-1888) in 1888, and Lord Lansdowne (1888-1893) in 1892, had endorsed this view, while in 1908, Lord Minto (1905-1910) adopted it for the extension of the communal principle to the Muslim organizations in fact often requested the establishment of separate electorates

in their towns to prevent violence".⁵² The introduction of communal representation in the local bodies increased differences, minimized cooperation and reinforced separatist tendencies among the urban elites. Further, "the gradual extension of the representative policy into new institutions which were loci of greater power than local committees...the Punjab University and the Punjab Legislative Council...contributed to fresh rounds of controversy".⁵³ In rural areas, discontent and resentment spread rapidly and became the focus of agitation among the cultivators due to government policy to placate the landed classes at the cost of the peasantry. In the beginning, village politics was traditionally based upon rivalry among the big landlords who attained local power and influence while selecting members for the district boards by mobilizing peasants' support for themselves. But with the establishment of the legislative council in 1897, these landlords were drawn into a wider political circle and they began to take part in the provincial politics. In the end it seemed that at the close of the 19th century the political consciousness had increased among certain sections of the Punjab society. It gave rise to a demand by the urban elites for their due share in administration, legislation and the disposal and disbursement of the country's revenue.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. *Ibid.*, p.41
3. *Ibid.*, p.77 (footnote).
4. *Ibid.*, p.82.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
6. *Ibid.*, p.98.
7. *Ibid.*, p.104.
8. Muhammad Khurshid, *Fazl-i-Hussain...*, PJHC, Islamabad.

9. *Bar* means a waste land where there was no cultivation and very little sign of life.
10. *Rat* means a powerful man or dacoit who enjoyed dominance over his dependants. He provided them protection and received in return a tax called *Pawanji*. See for details Deva Singh, *A History of the Colonization in the Rechna Doab*, Lahore, 1929, pp.21-23.
11. *Ibid.*, p.22
12. *Ibid.*, pp.23-25.
13. See details in 'The Punjab Proper' (Appendix), *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol.II-i, (Patiala), April 1968, p.43.
14. Emmett Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, 1936-1947*, Delhi, 1983, p.6.
15. Quoted in Ian Arthur Talbot, *The Growth of the Muslim League, 1937-1946*, (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, n.d., p.18.
16. Talbot, *op.cit.*, p.14. Further see "The Size and Distribution of Agricultural Holdings in Punjab, *Board of Economic Enquiry*, Rural Publication No.4, 1925, p.3.
17. Talbot, *op.cit.*, p.18. In an interview Mian Mumtaz Daultana told that his father had about 18,000 acres of land at Luddan. Interviewed on November 13, 1991.
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20. *Census Report*, 1911, Punjab Part I, Lahore, 1911, p.437.
21. *Ibid.*, 1931, Punjab Part I, Lahore, 1931, p.342.
22. Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.12.
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24. Sri Ram Sharma, 'From the Panchayats to the British Gift', *The North Indian Observer*, Lahore, Vol.III, October 1942, p.20 Also see M. Aslam Qureshi, ed., *op.cit.*, pp.40-52.
25. Talbot, *op.cit.*, p.31.

26. Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.13.
27. *Selections from the Records of the Government of India for the year 1849-1851*, No.11, Calcutta, 1853, p.134, (NDC).
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29. Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.16.
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31. *Selections for the Records of the Government of India for the Year 1849-1851*, No.11, p.132.
32. Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.37.
33. *Punjab Gazette*, notification No.442, June 11, 1896.
34. *Ibid.*, notification No.370, May, 4, 1899.
35. *Ibid.*, notification Nos. 413 and 414, May 2, 1900.
36. *Ibid.*, notification No.1313, November 15, 1904.
37. Azim Husain, *op.cit.*, p.71.
38. Norman, G. Barrier, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vo.XXVII, No.3, May 1968, p.525.
39. *Ibid.*, pp.526-527.
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43. Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.26.
44. *Ibid.*, p.14.
45. *Ibid.*, p.32.
46. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1977, p.207.
47. Syed Ahmad Khan succeeded in gathering around him a group of dedicated intellectuals like Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Viqar-ul-Mulk, Maulana Shibli, Altaf Husain Hali, and others who rendered invaluable service to the cause that Syed Ahmad had so much at heart. He

received a generous and enthusiastic response from the people of the Punjab in support of the college he had established at Aligarh. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, *The Agony of Pakistan*, London, 1973, pp.33-34. Also see Razi Wasti, 'The Punjab Colonization Act, *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol.1, 11, October 1967, p.391.

48. S.M. Ikram, *op.cit.*, p.202.
49. S.C. Mittle, *Freedom Movement in Punjab, 1905-1929*, Delhi, 1977, pp.33-34.
50. Quoted in Sarfraz Khawaja, *Sikhs of the Punjab, 1900-1925*, Islamabad, 1985, p.16.
51. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Towards Freedom*, Boston, 1958, pp.240-251.
52. *Tribune*, Lahore, June 7, 1884, and March 15, 1893.
53. N.G. Barrier, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics 1870-1908', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXVII, No.3, May 1968, P.538.