

**CHRISTIANS AND THE DEMAND FOR PAKISTAN,
1940-1947: A CRITICAL STUDY**



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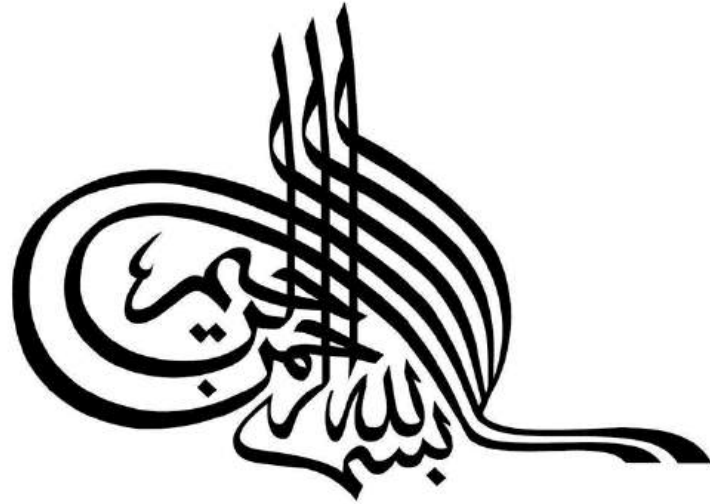
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MS-History

REGD. NO. 145-FSS/MSHIS/F-20

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master Studies (MS) in the Discipline of History at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD
2024**



*In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful*

DEDICATED

TO

My Respected Parents

DECLARATION

I, Amber Fazil, hereby declare that this Thesis has been put in writing by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the guidance of my supervisor- Assistant Professor Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah, Department of History & Pakistan Studies-Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad.

No portion of this research has been copied from any source. Thumbs down part of the research, presented in this Thesis, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.

Amber Fazil

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FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis titled "*Christian`s and the demand for Pakistan, 1940-1947: A Critical Study*" put forward by Amber Fazil, Registration No. 145-FSS/MSHIS/F-20 in partial fulfilment for the award of the Degree of Master Studies (MS) in History, has been successfully completed under my supervision.

I am satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work, and she is now allowed to get this Thesis submitted for the finishing point as per modus operandi of International Islamic University, Islamabad.

Signature: _____

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah
Research Supervisor

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Amber Fazil

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIML	All-India Muslim League
CF	Christian Committee for Relief and Friends Unit
CMS	Christian Student Movement
IB	Independent Board
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INC	Indian National Congress
JUH	Jamiat-e-Ulmae Hindh
MC	Momin Conference
MI	Majlis-e-Ihraar
PMS	Punjab Muslim Students Federation
YMCA	Young Man Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women Christian Association

GLOSSARY

<i>Akali Dal</i>	Sikh Political Party
<i>Anglo Indians</i>	A Community of People of mixed British and Indian ancestry
<i>Annexation</i>	The act of incorporation a territory in to another by conquest or political agreement
<i>British Raj</i>	The British colonial Rule in India from 1858 to 1947
<i>Carnage</i>	The killing of large number of people
<i>Ethnic Cleansing</i>	The forced removal of group of people based on their religion or ethnicity
<i>Massacre</i>	The killing of large number of people in discriminatory and brutally
<i>Religious Minority</i>	A group of people who practice a religion different from the dominant group in a particular country
<i>Sawaraj</i>	A Hindu term meaning self-rule or home-rule
<i>Viceroy</i>	The representative of the British monarch in India
<i>Weightage</i>	A system of representation in Indian legislation that gave more votes to Muslims
<i>Zamindar</i>	A land owner in British India

ABSTRACT

The Christians were in small number in the sub-continent yet they had a significant presence in the political organizations of the sub-continent. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah specifically encouraged the Christian leadership to join the cause of Pakistan. The research aims to analyze the political participation of Christian ship leader for the cause of Pakistan with the help of careful study of archival record of the correspondence of Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah with the prominent Christians leaders to access the response of Christians to the freedom movement of sub-continent in general and their support to the formation of Pakistan in particular. The Elections 1945-46 will be helpful in accessing the role of political leadership of Christians in Punjab as they had considerable representation in Punjab legislative Assembly. The political and historical perspective will be used to analyze the Christian response for the demand of Pakistan.

Introduction

The Indian subcontinent was a heterogeneous country, inhabited by different communities separated by their religion, race or caste. The British concept of 'Nation' never suited the religious-social order of South Asia. The British brought with them a new political philosophy known as 'territorial nationalism', which meant to reduce the Muslims, who were less in number than Hindus, to a permanent minority overshadowed by Hindus. Islam maintained the Muslims identity in the subcontinent and they first demanded the separate electorate and later a separate state. There were other religious minorities in India; Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Scheduled Castes, Muslims and Buddhist. According to Population Census of 1881, among every 10,000 people, there were 7402 Hindus, 1974 Muslims, 253 aboriginals, 135 Buddhists, 73 Christians and 48 Jains.

This study aims to highlight the response of Christians to the freedom movement of India and to the demand of Pakistan. It is interesting to note that Christians were struggling against their co-religionist. The Christians community was raising its voice against British imperialism by struggling through different organizations and sometimes the individuals playing their roles. British Christians established all Indian National Congress in 1885. Its first president was a Bengali Christian, Mr. Banerjee. In 1887 (in the third session of Indian Congress), among ten, there were three female Christians Pandita Ramabai, Saraswati, and Mrs. Nikambe.

All India national Congress was the first political party of the subcontinent and included Hindus, Christians and Muslims. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were its members. The pressure groups of freedom fighters launched freedom movement against the British "Quit India Movement" Azad Hind force was organized under the leadership of Subhash Chandar Bose. Likewise, the freedom fighters Bhagat Singh launched his movement for freedom

also many ethnic and religious groups all over India emerged to fight for freedom movement. Congress started the freedom movement.

The Indian National Congress was divided between moderates and extremists. The Christian Community wanted to adopt constitutional methods and did not join Civil Disobedience Movement and Swadeshi Movement. When the Congress Conspiracies started to expose, the Muslim leaders formed their separate political organization, All India Muslim league in 1906. The scheme of separate electorates (1909) exposed the Hindus' narrow-mindedness because they favored joint electorate instead of separate electorate. Muslims knew that only few Muslims would be elected if the elections were joint.

The Nehru report (1928) further disappointed all the minorities and the conference called by Pandit Nehru, but the Christians representative K. L. Ralia boycotted the conference and rejected the Nehru Report. In the 2nd Round Table Conference (1931), the minorities were desperate with the Congress and an 'Agreement of Minorities' was signed by the Muslim Anglo Indians and European Christians.

The All-Indian Christian association formed in 1942 fully supported the cause of Pakistan. Their interest to support the cause of Pakistan was that a Muslim society would be fair to them than the caste-ridden Hindu society. Pakistan, they considered would be more concerned for the rights of minorities. When Muslim League observed Day of Deliverance in 1939, minorities and other oppressed classes sided with Muslim League.

When the Resolution of Pakistan was moved and voted upon in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, The Christian Members, Diwan Bahadur, Mr. Cecil and Mr. Fazal Elahi voted in favor of Pakistan. The Sikhs in the Punjab had been threatening for

many years that if Pakistan was conceded they would demand a partition of the Punjab. The politics in Punjab gives an understanding of political participation of Christians in politics of Punjab.

1-Statement of the Problem

The Christians were in minority in the Indian sub –continent and consisted of British, Anglo-Indians and native Indians Christians. The Christians missionaries began coming to sub-continent for evangelism after the system of British law. They founded hospitals and educational organizations in different parts of the sub-continent. The intellectual ferment brought into sub-continent by Christian missionaries resulted in producing many nationalist leaders who were leading different nationalist movements. The Christians were raising its voice against British Imperialism by struggling through different organizations and sometimes individual playing their role. The research tends to access the response of Christians to the freedom movement of India in general and to the cause of Pakistan in particular. The archival record consisted of Census of India 1941, Punjab Administration Report 1925-26, Proceedings of Punjab Legislative Assembly 1946-1947, and elections 1945-46 will be reviewed and analyzed carefully to understand the political participation of Christians and their response to the freedom movement of India and to the cause of Pakistan

2-Significance

The significance of the research is that it will be helpful in analyzing the effective role of minority group like Christians in the political struggle for the cause of Pakistan. The study also aims to highlight the freedom movement of India and critical analysis of some Christian leaders who were supporting the freedom movement of India and the cause of Pakistan. The historical and political background of Indian sub-continent 1857-

1947 will be focused with reference to Christian's participation in political organizations. The Muslims of the sub-continent first demanded separate electorates and then separate state. The Christians interest to support the cause of Pakistan will be analyzed in the light of their support to partition plan and statements made by some Christian leaders before boundary commission for the division of Punjab with the help of careful study of primary sources and cross checking of sources to access the authentic information. It has academic scope for educational institutions and historical institutions of national and international level.

3-Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study would be following:

1. To explore the political priorities and uplift of the Christians in the British India.
2. To understand the relationship of Christian leaders with Quaid-e-Azam in the light of correspondence of Quaid-e- Azam with Christian leaders.
3. To review and analyze elections 1945-46 to identify the response of Christian leadership.
4. To analyze the role of Christians leadership and people in the creation of Pakistan.

4-Research Questions

Q1. What was the demography of Christians in British India and their political participation in the partition of India?

Q2. How the Christians of British India responded to the cause of Pakistan?

Q3. How the Christians participated in the division of Punjab?

Q4. What were the impacts on the Christian community as a result of massacre and migration due to the partition of India 1947?

5-Delimitations of the Study

1. The research will be related to the time period 1857 to 1947.
2. In first the census record will be studied carefully to analyze the strength of Christian community in India and their significance presence in politics of the sub-continent.
3. The research will explore carefully the relationship that existed between prominent Christian leaders and Quaid e Azam through archival record of correspondence. It will further look into the interest of Christian`s community to support the cause of Pakistan
4. Furthermore the political developments related to division of India elections 1945-46 with special focus on proceedings of Punjab Legislative Assembly will be highlighted to figure out the response of Christians to the division of India.
5. The massacre led to the division of India and settlement of Christian population to the areas of Pakistan will be studied to analyze the response of Christians to the whole division process.

6-Literature Review

Punjab Administration report, 1925-26 provided an understanding of the population percentage of different communities i.e. The Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Muslims and other castes. The comparison of population percentage of communities from 1901-1941 is discussed in details to understand the number of different minorities in overall population of India. M.W.M.

Yeats Census of India 1941, Volume 1, C.I.E, I.C.S. is a good source of discussing the summary figures of Provinces and States by district etc. on page 115 and variation in population during 50 years from page 61 to 70, Town arranged territorially with population by communities on page 85 - 96.

Zaidi Jinnah Paper, Pakistan in the Making, 3rd June – 30th June 1949, Quaid-e-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, is original source of understanding the division process of India.

Ishtiaq Ahmed's Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed, Oxford University Press, 200 discuss Pre-colonial and Colonial Punjab and Genesis of Punjab (1900-1944). Wavell's Boundary Demarcation Plan of February 1946. The cabinet Mission Plan, Interim Government and the Elections of 1946 and the designs of Sikh leader Baldev Singh on the issue of Partition gives a clear picture of how the minorities like Christians and Sikhs were playing role in decisions of India yet the Christians role is not mentioned for the cause of Pakistan.

Waheed Ahmed Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah Speeches, Indian legislative Assembly 1935-37. This book gives firsthand information on the meetings of legislative assembly as it contains the speeches of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the legislative Assembly during 1935-37 yet the information is insufficient.

Father Anayat book, Punjab mein Masehat gives useful information about the Christians in the Punjab yet its lacks information about political participation of Christians in the freedom movement.

Azam Mairajs, Neglected Christians Children of Indus discusses the social problems of Christians to attain their social status. Its good source of understanding of

social exploitation, discrimination on basis of caste and creed and suppression of history but it lacks information about the historical facts and figures.

Munir-ul-Anjum and Shahnaz Tariq, The role of Christians in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan: An Appraisal, Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences Vol. 32, No. 02 (2012), pp. 437-443. The article discusses the role of Christians in the partition of India and their political struggle against British imperialism.

Atula Ismong, Christians and the Indian National Movement; A Historical Perspective, is helpful in analytical study of role of Christians in the partition of India but insufficient for the topic under study.

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, Religion and Religious minorities in Pakistan, Remembering the role of Christian`s in Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55 is a good source of information in understanding political contribution of Christians after creation of Pakistan but the pre partition period is missing.

Azam Mairajs, Ghair Muslim Pakistanio k Siasi Almiye ka Muqaddama is case of Christian community who are called as son of soil yet deprived of social status. It addresses the issues faced by Christian community in the electoral system of Pakistan but does not give detailed information about pre independence period.

Emanuel Zafar's Concise History of Pakistan. The role of Bahadur S. P. Singh, C. E. Gobbon and Fazal Elahi is discussed. It also discusses the trust and faith christens had Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was genuine protector of rights of Christian Community but not in detail. This is helpful in understanding relationship between Muslim League and Christians.

B. S. Nijjar's "History of the United Punjab, Volume I and III". Chapter 7 of this book, 'Punjab during 1932-1941' is a comprehensive division of Punjab. Next Chapter of the book highlights the political struggle of the Muslim League under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam but relationships of Christians with Muslim League is not discussed in detail which is very helpful in understanding the changing socio-political system of the Indian subcontinent.

Paul Wallace and Surendra Chopra's Political dynamics and crisis in Punjab. The chapter 'Political Beliefs and Attitudes of Minorities' of this book provide an understanding to the attitudes of minorities toward socio-political structure of the subcontinent.

S. S. Thorbons' Punjab in Peace and War' with an introduction by Himadri Banerjee, published by Usha Ravi, is a comprehensive study of understanding the history of Punjab but the minorities struggle for freedom movement is insufficient.

Jaswant Singh's Jinnah, India-Pakistan Independence. This book tries to evaluate the partition of India, the end of the British Raj and the birth of Pakistan. It also brings to light the journey of Quaid-e-Azam from Jinnah bhai to Jinnah and is very helpful source of understanding the whole journey of Independence starting from introduction of Islam in the subcontinent to the division of India yet lacks sufficient information about the topic under research.

Waheed Ahmed's The Punjab story 1940 – 47, The Muslim League and the Unionists: towards partition and Pakistan is useful in understanding the relationship of Muslim League with other communities and the whole partition story but the problems of communities and their participation in political life of India is not mentioned in detail.

Father Francis Nadeem *Ye Des Hamara Ha*, discusses the contribution by minorities in the sub-continent in the field of education and the educational institution established by the Christian missionaries resulted in awakening of nationalism among the people of India.

Saleem Ahmed *Pakistan Aur Aqliatyen* identifying the role of Christian minorities in Pakistan discusses the role of Indian Christians in freedom movement he mentioned important personalities who had cordial relations with Jinnah and also gives detailed account of historical background of Christians in the sub-continent and their settlement in different areas of the sub-continent and services rendered by them.

Amargit Singh “*Jinnah and Punjab: A study of Shams-ul-Hassan Collection and other documents*” is a useful source of information about Quaid-i-Azam correspondence with prominent Christian leaders who supported the demand for Pakistan yet it doesn't provide sufficient chronology of events.

Ishtiaq Ahmed “*The Punjab Bloodied Partitioned and Cleansed*” is very informative book as it discussed the detailed account of politics in Punjab by providing a detailed account of historical background of Punjab and the account of events leading to partition of Punjab. Therefore, it is very helpful in analyzing the political picture of Punjab.

Dr. Riaz Ahmad “*Pakistan Movements: New Dimensions 1935-1948*” provides a detail and first-hand information about the events leading from 1935-48. The elections 1945-46 are discussed in detail with their historical significance in the history of India. The cabinet mission and the direct-action day, formation and functioning of interim Government are discussed and analyzed which are helpful in understanding the whole partition process.

“Disturbances in the Punjab 1947, A Compilation of Official Documents” is a primary source of information about serious killings in Lahore and Amritsar resulted in outbreak of serious bloodshed in various areas as a result of partition of India. The number of Muslim Population killed by Hindus and Sikhs and absence of Law-and-order situation highlighted the heart-stricken stories of post partition.

John A. R. Marriot, “The English in India A problem of Politics” is a very helpful source of information about understanding the participation of Christians schools for the uplifting of people of sub-continent and the female sections of society. The spread of female education and the mass education through the system of grant and aid by the government resulted in accelerating the growth of education in the sub-continent.

7-RESEARCH METODOLOGY

Qualitative methods of research will be applied through study of primary and secondary sources. The data will be interpreted and analyzed critically after careful cross check of sources available. It will be the descriptive and analytical study. To attain the objectives of research the reports prepared by national and international groups will also be consulted.

8-Organization

The thesis will be comprised of four chapters along with introduction and conclusion. The first chapter will historically background of the evolution of Christian politics in the British India. The second chapter will evaluate the Christian-Muslim political relationship during 1930-1940. The third chapter will address the role of Christians in the partition of India. The fourth chapter will evaluate the Christians contribution in the division of Punjab and its impacts on their community.

CHAPTER: 1

EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIANS IN BRITISH INDIA

The Indian subcontinent was inhabited by Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, parsies and Buddhist. The Muslims had ruled the subcontinent from 712 till 1857. The conquest of Sindh and Multan in 712 by Muhammad bin Qasim marks the beginning of Muslim ruling period in the subcontinent. The period from 1262 to 1527 marks the dominant rule of Sultans of Delhi which was succeeded by the great Mughal Empire founded by Zaheeruddin Babar in 1526.

The Mughals contributed immensely in the field of architecture by building palaces and minarets in different parts of the sub-continent. Thus, the Muslims had enjoyed a glorious rule in the sub-continent for centuries but the fall of their vast empire brought their economic, social, moral and educational backwardness.

The British over threw Muslim rule in the sub-continent by their expansionist policy and colonialism. The nawabs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were defeated by the British India Company thus made it possible for the expansion of the British rule across India. The British East India company and then the British Crown captured large parts of India and resulted in exploitation of its economics sources and brought with them their own values and a new system which was not acceptable by Indians therefore, resistance started from Indians in form of different movements and agitations.

The Muslims were not ready to accept the change because once Masters were now slaves but for Hindus it was just change of their masters so they accepted the change and they started learning English language and became partners of the

Britishers. The Christianity was brought in to the sub-continent by Portuguese, British and Dutch who brought with them this faith in the sub-continent and different Christian's dominations were formed. The Christian missionaries played an important role in spreading Christianity in various parts of India and in rural areas specially where they provided health and educational and social facilities to the deprived section of the society. When disappointed with the British policy they also entered into different movements of freedom movement.

This chapter discusses the evolution of Christians in the subcontinent and historical background of Christians in British India and political participation of some Christian personalities in the partition of Indian Sub-continent.

1.1- Historical Background of Christians in British India

The Indian Subcontinent was inhabited by different nationalities which were separated by their religion, race or caste. They had nothing common in them so the Sub-continent lacked homogeneity. There were Hindus, the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Parsis. Muslims were the second largest nationality in the Sub-continent but the British concept of "territorial nationalism" meant to reduce them to permanent minority overshadowed by Hindus. After the war of independence 1857, the Muslims had become permanently slave in the sub-continent and they had to struggle a lot for their rights to be safeguarded because by the middle of the 19th century British rule in India had become highly centralized. The slogan was that India should be one and indivisible. Civilization meant the subordination of various provinces and princely states to the central government at Calcutta and Simla. It meant uniform laws, institutions and taxes¹.

¹ S. R. Mehrotra, *Towards India Freedom and Partition* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co, Vikas Publisher House, 2005), 400.

For centuries, Hindus and Muslims had been living in the Sub-continent as two separate nationalities and the Muslims and other communities in the Sub-continent were separated by their religious dominations Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Sikhs and Parsis. By the early nineteenth century, the cultural challenge was flaunted by Christian missionaries. They had established themselves in the presidency town of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the wake of British conquest of the predominantly Hindu regions of Eastern and Southern India, and as a result of patronage extended by British East India Company².

1.2- Christian Missionaries in the sub-continent

The Christian missionaries started coming in the sub-continent and making contribution in the field of education and health. The contribution of missionaries in India in the field of health and education was due to the necessity of promoting education maintained in the charter act of 1813 because it allowed all those missionaries who wanted to go to subcontinent for the preachings and teachings of the moral and religious literature by the use of English language.

The charter of 1813 is also called the East India Company Act 1813. Therefore, the right was given to the missionaries by the government to make English language common among locals.

This act also had some rules to be followed by the missionaries in case of their forever stay in the India and it also refreshed the rule of company in India hence the aid for the educational activities in the country was increased from 1000 pound per Anum to 100,000 pounds per Anum.

² Sharif-ul-Mujahid, *Ideological Basis of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Islamic Research institute, 1974), 36.

There was another important development related to the Macaulay who was the appointed as the first member of the governor general's council. He successfully impressed upon the idea of using English language as the medium of imparting instructions in the schools starting from the primary levels of schooling so that the languages like Sanskrit or Arabic could be replaced and these schools were also sponsored by the government.

The purpose behind this strategy was to make locals familiar with English language and to produce a class of best coordinators in order to make a sense of understanding and coordination between the government and the locals.

Another major step towards education under the colonial rule was educational dispatch of 1854 which is also called the Wood Dispatch. This is thought to be milestone in India for the English education because it emphasized upon the Mass Education, the education of females and the of promotion of modern education by improving and revising the old system of education. Therefore, these measures were taken for the improvement of knowledge of arts, sciences and Literature of Europe and these reforms in the field of education helped Indian people in learning modern literature and making them well prepared in the modern knowledge.

1.3- Christian Contribution in the field of Education

If we talk about the Christians contribution in the field of education the Hocking report is helpful in understanding and comparing the number of government and the Christian schools. It was estimated that there were 36,000 Pupils in India who had been educated in government Elementary Schools while there were double in number the missionary schools who were imparting technical education and skilled education to the females. Therefore, the reforms through the dispatch of 1854 in the field of education had rightly

encouraged the spread female education in particular and the mass education in general through the system of grant and aid by the governments.

Hocking Report of 1932

Types of schools	Missionary Schools	Percentage of the government & non-
Colleges for women	14	51
Schools of teachers	66	49
High school (girls)	100	44
Middle school (girls)	195	31

Source: John A. R. Marriot, *The English in India A problem of Politics*, (Oxford University Press, 1932), 198-199

Thus, the table shows this figure that more than fifty percent of the school were in the hands of missionaries. There was the most notable thing about these Christian schools that they were providing the first-class educational institutions to the Indians³.

This contribution by the missionaries in the Sub-continent in the field of education was the result of missionaries' schools which provided with political awareness to the Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Hindus equally. All the leaders of the freedom movement were educated at these institutions, i.e. Sir Allama Muhammad Iqbal, M.A. Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah, Chaudhary Rehmat Ali and Sir Muhammad Zafar-Ullah. The important missionaries' schools are M.C. School Karachi, Bandera Convent school Bombay, Saint Stephen College. Fort William college Calcutta, Murrey college Sialkot, Gordon college Rawalpindi, F.C. College Lahore, Kinard college for women, Lahore and Edwards College Peshawar⁴.

³ John A. R. Marriot, *The English in India A problem of Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1932), 198-199.

⁴ Father Francis Nadeem, *Ye Des Hamara Hai* (Lahore: Saint Marry Church Gulberg, 1997), 126.

The rise of nationalism has its background in Christianity and western education. Christianity, western Education and development of press played an important role to spread the national consciousness among Indians. The newspapers and periodicals played role in spreading national feelings both in English and regional languages. The development of press also enabled the writers to spread the feelings of national consciousness as press was the strong tool to arise national sentiments. Therefore Samachar Darshan, Bengal Gazette, Madras Courier and Bombay Herald were some of the publications through which the Indians journalists highlighted the issues like the political, regional and social and also spread the consciousness throughout the Country. Some important personalities who participated directly or indirectly in the freedom are discussed below.

1.3.1- Mrs. Annie Besant

Mrs. Annie Besant was one of those ladies who was politically very active in the Indian subcontinent thus she became the first Elected Women president of national congress of India. It was due to her involvement and participation in the frontline politics that the British government considered her a threat for them and imprisoned her for a period of almost three months during the First World War. However, her major role in the subcontinent was rested in the founding and directing of Benares Hindus College which was later raised to the status of university and the honorary degree of doctorate was awarded to her by the university⁵. She also demanded the local self- for Indians. Jinnah also joined the Home Rule League in order to show the strength and unity to government so that their demands could be accepted by the government.

⁵ Carol Hambery Mackay. *Auto biographical Sketches, Nineteenth Century British Auto Biographies* (Canada: Bread View Press, 2009), 19.

1.3.2- Pothan Joseph

Pothan Joseph was an Indian Christian and a very well-known journalist of pre partition time and also had a strong resistance of the government of the British. He earned his fame through his opposition to policies of the government and he was of those who favored freedom of land. M.A. Jinnah had appointed him the first editor of the Dawn newspaper because Jinnah had good terms with Pothan Joseph.⁶

1.3.3- Faustin Elmer (F.E) Chaudhry

He was an eyewitness of Pakistan movement and also the one who worked throughout his life for the development and promotion of Photo Journalism in Pakistan and thus Faustin Elmer is called Chacha Chaudhry. He also had the honor of capturing the precious moments of Pakistan's historical journey. Many precious moments of freedom movement were recorded by him in the form of memorable and unforgotten pictures. He served as a science teacher in St. Anthony's high school. Thus, his career as a journalist started from there onwards. His first photograph appeared in 1935 in civil and military gazette Lahore. He was supporting Pakistan movement through showing his interest in taking all the pictures of M.A. Jinnah's speeches during the year 1936 and felt proud enough to be part of freedom movement through his photo Journalism and all these precious moments captured by him are worth calling his master pieces.

He not only used to take pictures of speeches of Jinnah but also delivered the speeches in different villages to promote the idea of separate state of the Muslims. He was awarded with different awards to honor his services, Tamgha-i-khidmat and Tehreek-i-Pakistan gold medal. Another achievement was that he had maintained the

⁶ Saleem Ahmed, *Pakistan Aur Aqliatyen* identifying are role of Christian, minorities in Pakistan (Karachi: Maktabah Daniyal, 2000), 97-102.

photographic record of the whole freedom struggle. A famous book of "Tehreek-e-Pakistan ke Gum Nam kardar" by Salamat Akhter describes about his achievements in these words that Chacha Chaudhary is known as the father of photographic journey of Tehreek-i-Pakistan and he is one of the brave soldiers of M.A. Jinnah. It's not wrong if he is called as the unique gem of the field of Photography. So, he had contributed in the demand of Pakistan through his passion of keeping records of precious moments of freedom movement.⁷

1.3.4- Ralia Ram

Mrs. Ralia Ram was one of the most active nonleague personalities who was quite frequent and constant letter writer to Mr. Jinnah and if we Study Shamus-ul-Hassan collection, we come across 27 letters written by Ralia Ram to Mr. Jinnah. Ralia Ram, an Indian Christian and also the general secretary of Indian social congress, wrote to Jinnah on May 29, 1946 that in my opinion Jinnah should maintain his demand for an equal and independent state for Muslims because she thought that Pakistan will be a place of protection for other minorities. Ralia Ram thought that the Indian National congress was organization of only Hindus which wanted to establish the Hindu rule in India. Thus, the correspondence of Ralia Ram was helpful for Jinnah to be well informed about the latest events occurring in Punjab. Jinnah always welcomed the positive notion and replied to Ralia Ram in 1946 by saying thanks to her for the press cutting and the information about the political scene in Punjab and latest information press reports sent by her thus she remained helpful for providing useful political current information to M. A. Jinnah.⁸

⁷ Ayaz Moric, *Chacha FE Chaudhry*; "True Picture of Pakistan," *City News*, March 14 2023, 2.

⁸ Amargit Singh, *Jinnah and Punjab: A study of Shams-ul-Hassan Collection and other documents* (New Delhi: Idara-i- Nazria-e-Pakistan movement, 2007), 101.

1.3.5- Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha

S. P. Singha was an important Christian's leader from Punjab. He was born in Pasrur near Sialkot but later moved to Lahore. He was raised to the position of registrar of the Punjab University and for his services in the Punjab University he was titled as Dewan Bahadur. He was elected to the Punjab legislative assembly in 1937. He also emerged as a strong supporter of the freedom movement thus he used his position as a Speaker of the PLA to support the cause of separate Muslim state. When many ulemas were opposing the Pakistan movement some leaders of Christian community were supporting the Quaid's vision. Singha believed in leadership of M. A. Jinnah and trusted that the Muslims would always keep in mind the problems faced by them in the subcontinent as a minority and they would never let the other minorities to face the same challenges.

(Ahmed Salim in an interview with Cecil Chaudary) when master Tara Singh waved his sword in front of the gate of United Punjab legislative Assembly and asked that anyone asked for Pakistan would be killed and it was SP Singha who replied "Seney P Goli khaey gay Pakistan Bnain gay". The government of Pakistan officially recognized and reclaimed the services of Dewan Bahadur and issued a commemorated postage stamp of 10 Rs. so that his services can be acknowledged.⁹

1.3.6- K.T. Paul

K.T. Paul was one of those few Christians who opposed the policy of keeping oneself detached from the political life of Indians. He wanted his fellow religions to be active in

⁹ Dr. Kalsoom Hanif, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal chawla, "State Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Remembering the participation of Christians in Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55," *Pakistan Social Sciences Review PSSR* Vol. 4. No. 2, June (2020): 847.

politics because according to him the time has come to raise voices with the other Indians for the liberation of India. He motivated his people to join political parties like Indian national congress to play political part in the subcontinent.¹⁰

1.4- All India Muslim League AIML

Muslims leaders like M.A. Jinnah who had joined national congress were very desirous to bring harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus but his efforts didn't prove fruitful due to the stubborn and rude attitude of the congress leaders. The demand of separate electorate of Muslims was successfully accepted by viceroy Lord Minto encouraged Muslims to form an organization for the defense and safeguards of the rights of the Muslims. Therefore, at the annual session of All Indian Muslim Educational Conference in 1906 at Dacca, the proposal was presented by Nawab Ismail Khan of Decca for the separate Muslims organization which was collectively accepted by all thus a separate political party of the Muslims All India Muslim League (AIML) came into being on 22nd Dec, 1906. The aims and objectives of AIML were to safeguard the rights of the Muslims, to promote the feelings of understanding between the government and the Muslims and to develop a feeling of harmony between Muslims and all other communities of the subcontinents. AIML had become mass organization and it was through this platform the dream of separate homeland of the Muslims turned into reality.

1.5- Politics from 1858 to 1885

The policies of the British rule were so much disappointing and disliked by the locals that the feelings of hatred developed between the locals and the government and as a

¹⁰ Mark T. B. Laing, *Nationalism and Hindutva: A Christian Response* (India: Cambridge Press. 2005), 100.

result the Nationalisms emerged in India.so, not only Muslims and Hindus were politically active but also the Christians were directly or indirectly taking part in the national consciousness.

In July 1867, W.C. Banerjee demanded for the Representative and the Responsible Govt in India then another politician Krishtodas pal suggested the idea in his article. “Home Rule for India” in Hindu patriot. Then there were some politicians from Bengal who were not satisfied with the already existed political platforms, they formed a new organization called “Indian League” in 1874 with the purpose of promoting the feeling of nationalism among the locals.

This Indian league soon changed into the Indian Association in Calcutta in 1876 but these political organizations were founded out of Bengal. There was another oldest political body in Bombay which was the Bombay Association formed in 1852 but soon it lost its diminished within ten years Poona Sarvajanik Sabhahad was another political body formed in 1867 begun with the purpose of development of political life of the people of Decan.

Then there was another important association Mahajan Saba of Madras which was founded in 1884.¹¹ Another association called the Indian association of Calcutta which later on with the help of other similar associations formed the first national conference in Calcutta in Dec, 1883. All these political associations were providing base to the formation of an organized political party in India.

¹¹ Atula Ismong, “Christians and the National Movement, A Historical Perspective,” *Indian Journal of Theology* 2004, vol 1&2, no. 46, 100.

1.6- Formation of Indian National Congress (INC)

It was formed by Allan Octavian Hume, a retired member of the ICS Indian civil service. The Indian National Congress was the outcome of the different political associations in the country and the immediate cause was the national conference which was held in 1883. W. C. Banerji a Bengali Christian became its first president in 1885. The aim of INC was to foster the idea of national integrity and soon it was discovered that the main purpose of the INC was more related to the economic and social problems of the time instead of its focus on the political protection of minorities. There were some British officials like William Wedderburn and others had attended its early meetings but, till 1900 there were fundamentals like. Agangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and some others. It was the first political party of the subcontinent which included Hindus, the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs because all of these became the member of Indian National congress Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Kalam Azad were also the member of INC.¹² The Hindus extremist leaders were always adopting hostile and extreme attitude towards government for attainment of their policies to be approved by the government and by coting government goods. Lala Laj Pat Rai, an extremist leader convened Hindu conference on cow slaughtering issue to boycott all government goods.¹³ Thus, the hostile and extremist attitude of congress disappointed Christians and Muslim leaders and they started parting their ways from congress.

1.7- Participation of Christians in Politics of India

There were some Christians were politically active and one name was Professor Eric Siperian who worked for the laborers and the peasants. Christians formed AICA All

¹² Ibid. 101.

¹³ *Daily Zamindar*, Lahore, Nov 10, 1921.

India Christians association in 1942 under the leadership of S.P. Singha Dewan Bahadur and then there was another association called the Christian welfare association which was established under the leadership of Samson Monoha. It was in 1919 under The Government of India Act that one forty-five members were selected in the central legislative assembly. Twenty-six of them were nominated with fourteen unofficial members while one hundred and five members were elected through elections directly. There were sixty seats for the upper house which consisted of thirty-four elected and twenty-six as nominated members and twenty were unofficial members. There were three Seats which were reserved for Christians in the Punjab legislative assembly. Meferson, Ram Ralia and Dr. W.A were selected for these reserved seats.

When Nehru report disappointed all the minorities then Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Christian representative, Ralia Ram rejected the Nehru Report.¹⁴ The Hindus were not ready to give minority their due rights because of their close ties with the British and even in the Bengal where Muslims could get benefits but the Hindus were reluctant to give them their due rights.¹⁵

There was a support of Christian when Sir Agha Khan presented an agreement of minorities' during second round table conference then Christian leaders including the European and Anglo-Indians signed the agreement.

When the congress ministries who were elected in the elections 1937 but resigned in 1939 to non-cooperate with the British and to create administrative problems through putting pressure on the government while M.A. Jinnah asked the Muslims to observe the day of salvation on 22nd December, 1939. Some Christians also

¹⁴ Ammara Tabassum, Umbreen Javaid: *Christians in Pakistan- A Developmental Approach: Pre and Post Partition of India*, (A research Journal of South Asian Studies, volume 34, No 1, Jan-2019), 130-131.

¹⁵ *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, November 4, 1931.

participated in it but some his historians have not confirmed it nevertheless in a well-known newspaper *Paisa Akhbar* the journalist Anwar Dadu Maqbool reported that on this salvation day there were the not only the Muslims but also the Christians along with some millions of the scheduled castes communities who had participated in the event.

On the eve of second world war the congress maintained that the only solution before the British government is to meet all the congress demands while other communities would not accept it.¹⁶ Congress knew that after war the British in the sub-continent will eventually come to an end. This was the right time when Muslims demand for a separate state was presented by Quaid-i-Azam in historical resolution of 23rd March, 1940. At this time there were some Christian leaders who provided Support to M.A. Jinnah. Joshua Fazal- al-din, Chaudhry Chandu Lal and S.P. Singha were the leaders who attended in this event.

The Christian community continued to trust M.A. Jinnah although the Britishers were of their religion and they arranged many historical receptions for M. A. Jinnah to showcase their desire for freedom from the colonial rule and their support to the cause of Pakistan. There was a reception at the King's garden of Faisalabad on 19th November 1942 then there was another reception in large hall of Loring hotel in Lahore which was hosted by Christians. Nawab Mamdot, Sir Sikandar Hayat and Fatima Jinnah attended this reception. Jinnah at that time said if you people had not cooperated with us it was not possible to get your support. Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha who was registrar of Punjab University he along with his staff union hosted a grand reception for Jinnah and trusted M. A. Jinnah and provide with assurance for his favor for demand of Pakistan. There were some students and teachers of Forman Christian College also who supported M.A. Jinnah and trusted in his leadership.

¹⁶ *The Times*, London, Nov 23, 1940.

Although the Christians were in minority in the subcontinent but they participated in the struggle for independence some Christian personalities who participated in the freedom movement and they played a political role in the subcontinent from 1858-1885. They supported Muslims and Muslims representative party All India Muslim League. There were some historical receptions of Quaid-i-Azam which were arranged by Christian community. The historical event of Lahore Resolution was attended by some Christians personalities. The population of Christians started to grow in the sub-continent due to conversion among the depressed classes which affected the proportion of Hindu Community and resulted in hatred of Hindus against Christian missionaries. The conversions among the depressed classes and political reforms of 1919 is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter: 2

Christian Muslims Relations 1930-1940

The previous chapter discuss some of Christian personalities who directly or indirectly supported the cause for Pakistan. They were struggling against their co-religionist and participating politically int the struggle for freedom. W. C. Banerjee, a Bengali Christian was the first President of Indian National Congress. The Christians had also formed their own association like All India Christian Association. S. P. Singha and Josau Fazl-u-din supported Lahore resolution and participated in the event. The Christians contributed socially in the sub-continent by establishing orphanages in various parts of the sub-continent. The charter of 1813 allowed missionaries to propagate their religion thus missionaries' activities accelerated in the sub-continent which resulted in conversions among the depressed classes. This chapter highlights the conversion among the depressed classes of Hindus specially the lowest casts who were subjected to humiliation due to rigidity of Hindu caste system. There were some female Christians who also remained active and supported movements for independence. This chapter also discusses their contribution in struggle for independence of India. Political development including reforms in India and political strategy of Jinnah is also discussed in this chapter the tactics which he used to organize All India Muslim League and weakened his opponents by strengthening his position and also seeking the cooperation of Christian minorities is discussed in this chapter.

2.1- Conversions among Depressed Classes

The large Christian population in Madras and Travancore was due to the success of missions in these areas and conversions of many of the poor sections of the society. It was education which played an important role in missionary program. It was among the Depressed classes and Backward tribes these conversions took place and mission

became more successful in awakening of the social and political consciousness. It was during 1920's that there were depressed converted mostly at Assam, Bihar and Orrisa. It was the success of the mission in India that till 1931 the Christian population increased in size and it was considered as the third large section of people in India. They were first introduced in the Indian Sub-continent as Syrian Christians, and then modified by Portuguese and British Colonial Forces. The Success of missionaries in conversion of low castes resulted in targets of Hindu Nationalist Politicians and harassment and also violence in some cases. Arya Samaj, stated in an official statement, "Christian missionaries we do not want them anymore".¹⁷

It shows the frustration among the Nationalist Hindus who wanted to stop low-castes conversions. Thus, the Indian Christians could not trust Hindu leadership for future government.

2.2- Disappointment From British Policy

The Indian Christians were disappointed by the British policy for not allowing the indigenous church to fully domesticate it according to the Indian Society. The European strict policy to give preference and priority to European Christians over indigenous churches resulted in humiliation, hurt and hatred among the indigenous Christian leaders. The catholic church and the protestants had a strong check and balance by the government and then they were further controlled by the eternal establishment thus it was the time when Indians Christians got disappointed from the policies of the government.

¹⁷ J. H. Beaglehole, "The Indian Christians – A Study of a minority," *Modern Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1967): 59-62.

Christians had to join or support the national regeneration because they felt a conflict between their being a Christian and nationalist at same so many Christian leaders who started thinking of themselves as "nationalists had to take part directly or indirectly in the country's political life and in the sub-continent, there were many chances for the minorities for political participation. The western-educated Christian elites were active in the politics like Banerjee and Kali Charan. Kali Charan was a leading member of Indian league, travelled to western part of India and established contacts with the leaders of Bombay association and the Poona Sarvajanik to discuss with them the co-operation between Bengali and Bombay associations then there was another class whom desire of the nationalism was seen and it mostly in the young generation of the Christians.

In the year from 1920 to 1930 they formed the student Christian movement and organized many sessions to discuss the matters of the political and the national issues. In 1941 the students passed the resolutions for recognition of the safeguarding the rights of every depressed nation.¹⁸

The growing younger generation of Indian Christians were courageous enough to raise voices against the British Government and they knew that they had to attain at some understanding and cooperation with the leading parties of the country in their political struggle if they want to attain freedom from the British rule because they knew being in minority they would have to support the other leading political parties of the subcontinent.

¹⁸ *ZhisZhou He*, "The Integration of Indian Christians into India Leading up to the Partition of 1947," *Morrissey School of Arts and Sciences*, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, USA, 1-9.

2.3- Formation of Christian Associations

Different associations were formed by the Christians for Socio Political participations of Christians in the Sub-Continent.

i. Young man Christians Associations YMCA

The Christian missionaries working in different parts of the country took part in the formation of this body then in other parts of the country the foundation of many of its branches were laid down and mostly in the countries such as in Calcutta in Bombay and in Botrivo-drum YMCA was from 1857 till 1873. Its leading leaders included Azariah, Paul T. k. Duta. It was supported by foreign donors so it did not involve in politics but it promoted national consciousness among Christians during nationalist movement's thirty-five branches were working in different parts of the subcontinent which were simultaneously working for the political and social upbringing of the Christians of India.¹⁹

ii. The Christo Samaj of Madras

This association was formed in 1908 and the main idea behind its formation was to bring together the Christian missionaries and the churches on a single platform by removing all conflicts between them. Its main leaders were D. Chenchich, Chakkarai. George. Thangasami and others. It was formed with the aim of bridging the gap between church, country and mission. It met every year to discuss the socio-political issues.

¹⁹ Atala Ismong, "Christians and the Indian National Movement, A Historical Perspective," *IJT* 46, 1 & 2 (2004): 99-107.

iii. Students Christian Movement SCM

There was another platform of Christian's which was founded by Mott John. It was during the first Indian conference which was held in 1912 at the Serampur college student that Christian association of India and Ceylon were formed. It was an important political movement as it contributed towards arousing the national sentiments among the among the important members of the society, the students, who were prepared well to come into the political life and play their active in the political life of India.

iv. Indian Christian Association formed in 1942

Indian Christian Association formed in 1942 with the aim of promoting and preserving the safe guard of Christians. It also cooperative with Muslims demands for separate seats. Their demands were according to the Nationalists demands for provincial autonomy and responsible government at center. They also demanded right to the religion preaching of religious activities and the right to promote and progress religion.²⁰

2.4- National Movements and Indian Christians

i. Sawaraj Movement

During the time of Sawaraj movement the Indian Christian submitted a memorandum in which they stated that they whole heartedly supported the national demands of the people in the Indian national movement.

²⁰. Ibid. 107.

ii. Civil Disobedience Movement

During Civil Disobedience movement, the Indian Christians collectively past many resolutions of demanding complete Sawraj and they adopted Gandhis strategy by-coting the foreign goods. J. C. Kamanappa was the prominent Christian during this movement. The other prominent leaders were Titus and J. P. Rodriques.

iii. The movement of quit India

During the beginning of this movement, most of Christian's associations adopted the similar objectives. Students and women in large number associated with these associations. Some writers Kamanappa were so hostile that the Britishers had to put them behind the bars.

2.5- Reforms of 1919

In 1919 reforms one hundred and forty-five members were elected in the Central Legislative Assembly there were three seats which were reserved for Christian's under the Punjab legislative. The number of participations by the Indians was increased in the administration so as to assure the participation of Indians by the responsible government through the dyarchy system. Therefore, in the administration the Indians were given chance by increasing their number. It was for the first time that the step towards responsible government were taken in India.²¹

²¹ Ammara Tabbassum, Ambreen Javaid, "Christians in Pakistan – A developmental Approach pre and post partition of India" South Asia Studies Vol. 34 No. 1, Jan-June (2019): 131-32.

2.6- Communal Representation to Christians

The communal representation given to Indian Christians according to 1935 Act is mentioned in table below²²: -

Province	Total seats	Indian Christians
Madaras	215	8 (+1 woman)
Bombay	175	3
Bengal	250	2
United Province	228	2
Punjab	175	2
Bihar	152	1
Central Province	112	-
Assam	108	1
N.W.F.P. Province	50	-
Orissa	60	1
Sind	60	-

Source: J. H. Beaglehole, *The Indian Christians – A Study of a minority*, Modern Asian Studies 1, no. 1 (1967), 69

2.7- Response of some Female Christians

Following Christian female leaders of the sub-continent supported the freedom movement.

i. **Rajkumari Amritkour**

Amrit Kaur was princess from Kapurtenala royal family. She was converted to Christianity she was raised as protestant Christian and entered the independence movement and worked as member of congress party for the Indian Independence movement. She was strong advocate of women's right within the movement and campaigned to abolish practices as (child marriages) purdah and Devdasi system. She founded all India women's conference in 1927. She was involved in quit India

²² Beaglehole, "The Indian Christians – A Study of a minority," 69

movement in 1942 and was jailed by British authorities. She also served as chairwoman of Indian women's fund association. As a result of these efforts, she received "woman of the year" title in 1947 by Time Magazine.

ii. Pandita Ramabai Sarsawati

She was born into a Marathi speaking Hindu Brahmin family but later converted into Christianity. Ramabai was involved in Indian Freedom Movement and she was one among 10 women delegates to the Indian national congress. As a women's right activist and author of several books, she earned lot of fame and recognition.

iii. Violet Hari Alva

She was a Gujrati Christian freedom fighter and lawyer who the first woman lawyer in India and was recognized as one of the competent lawyers. She took part in YMCA and other associations as the business and professional women's association. She was supporter of Indian Freedom Movement.

2.8- Quaid-e-Azam and Christians

During the struggle for separate homeland the absence of strong Muslim press affected the efficiency of Muslim league and the programs and campaign of AIML was handicapped by absence of affluent Muslims press. This issue was pointed out to Jinnah who himself took personal interest and with the support of M. A. Hassan Isphani, Ghulam Muhammad and Liaqat Ali Khan. An Experienced English newspaper editor Pothan Joseph was brought in for The Daily News which he had started Publication Since October 1942 and ought assistance in printing and administrative matters from F.W. Bustin, editor of the civil and Military Gazette.²³

²³ Z. H. Zaidi, "Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah Papers, Quest for political settlement in India. 1 oct 1943 – 31st July 1944, Second Series," Vol-I-X, *Cultural division, Govt of Pakistan*, (2004): 1-18.

Mrs. Rallia Ram always supported Quaid. The Shamsul Hassan collection contains twenty-seven letters of Mrs. Ralia Ram to Mr. Jinnah. She wrote to Jinnah on May 29, 1946 that Jinnah was rightful in his demand of the separate state for the Muslims because he is a ray of hope for the other depressed minorities as well who look to Jinnah as their only hope and in case of a separate independent Muslim state the disappointed Minorities could have a better place to live than India.

Mrs. Ralia had analyzed that the Hindu is narrow minded and in case of British withdrawal from the Indian subcontinent the minorities will be crushed under Hindu majority rule so she trusted Jinnah and his leadership. Quaid-e-Azam always welcomed her writings and replied to her by thanks giving gesture her letters seemed to him always full of information about the current situation in the province like Punjab so he formulate his line of action according to the current political situation in the very important province like Punjab.

In 1942 Dewan Bahadur Singha founded a political party of Christian's of India called All Indian Christian Association. It provided support for the separate state of Muslims and it was during the All-Indian Muslim League annual session at Lyallpur that this political party and S.P. Singha didn't favor the division of Punjab during partition time and thus supported the demand that whole of the Punjab would be included in Pakistan. Christian leaders Fazal Elahi, C. E. Gibbon, S.P. Singha supported the demand of Pakistan by favoring that Christian's population be included and termed as Muslim population. He also got resolution from Christian population by visiting Pathan Kot and Gurdas Pur to ensure their inclusion in Pakistan. During the days of undivided India when Quaid -e- Azam e to get support. Quaid-e-Azam went to Lahore to seek support from minority communities. The Sikh leaders were not ready to support

Mr. Jinnah and they were opposed to his offer while Chandu Lal who was a Christian leader supported demand for Pakistan.

Christian leaders also arranged many historical receptions of Quaid-e-Azam. A grand reception was arranged in honor of Quaid-i-Azam at the large hall Loring Hotel in Lahore. Nawab Mamdot, Sikander Hayat Khan and Miss Fatima Jinnah were also present on the occasion. Mr. Jinnah said that your support will be remembered by us. The teachers and students of Forman Christians College also expressed their support to Jinnah when all India Muslim league got success in 1945-46 elections and after its success it became as the only representative of all Indian Muslims but Hindus were not ready to admit it. Christian leader Joshua Fazal-ud-Din said that the government should admit the success of the AILM as congress could not bring peace on a basis of single party rule.

The Christian community although did not directly involve in the Freedom movement but provided its full support to the cause of Pakistan and but trust on leadership of Quaid-i-Azam.²⁴

2.9- Political Strategy of Jinnah

During early 1920's Jinnah has realized that peaceful ways were not effective due to the politics launched by Gandhi. Jinnah as Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity now so much disappointed with Gandhi's tactics like non-cooperation movement and Swaraj movement. He had two strategies before him. One was the cooperation with the government and other was to work in collaboration with Christians Parsis and other communities for a united front for Muslims, Christians and Parsis. Now Jinnah's aim was Hindu Muslim unity formula which eventually failed but it was during 1930-1940

²⁴ Francis, *Ye Des Hamara Hai, Hum Ahang Publishe*, 130-35.

that he analyzed the strategies which were adopted in the countries like China, Palestine's and Spain were facing.

The first step before him was the organization of all India Muslim League. The second thing in his mind was to make opponents weak by strengthening his position and then to confuse his opponents and force them to make incorrect actions by making things complex and more complicated due to his genius. He knew that the depressed classes of Christians and middle classes Muslims in Bengal who resented the monopoly of the Hindus would support the cause of a separate state for the Muslims.²⁵

M. A. Jinnah sought and received the positive response of Christian leaders at the peak of Pakistan movement. The Christian leaders trusted Jinnah's leadership and his golden words Unity, Faith and Discipline impressed Christian leaders like S.P. Singha who on 21st Nov. 1942, during election campaign in Punjab University raised slogan like Pakistan's struggle movement is only attainable under the leadership of Jinnah. They supported Muslim League in 1945-46 elections. S.P. Singha and Fazal Elahi were elected in 1946 elections in united Punjab assembly.

Quaid-e-Azam had close relationship with leading intellectuals and some Christians like Mr. Joseph Burr, Sir Samuel who was a high commissioner in London. Mr. Bright whom Jinnah admired and often quoted him. They favored in one or the other in the demand of a separate state.²⁶ Addressing the constituent assembly of Pakistan on 10 Aug, 1947 he said that there is no difference of any color or race whatever race or religion you belong to, all communities in Pakistan are equal citizen of

²⁵ C. H. Philips, "The partition of India, Policies and Perspectives 1935-47," *Afro Asian Book Company, Karachi* (2005), 282-84.

²⁶ Ishfaq Naveed, "Dewan Bahadur Prakash Singha: A struggle for the Indian Christian community," *Jehan-e-Tehqeeq*, Vol. 6 No. 4, (2023).

this state.²⁷ Therefore, it was only due to the confidence of Christian's of India on Jinnah that they supported the demand for Pakistan.

The political developments in the sub-continent including political reforms of 1990 in which the number of Indians was increased in the administration by responsible government. The communal representation given to Christians according to 1935 Act provides information about the number of seats given to Indian Christians including one woman.

Thus, there were some female Christians who were also involved in the struggle for independence. Quaid-i-Azam who was ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity eventually analyzed during the period 1930-40 that the only solution of the Indian problem is lies in the division of this land in to two parts thus his aim was to organize All India Muslim League and to strengthen his position by making opponents weak and seeking sport of Christian minorities. The Christians who had cordial relations with Jinnah supported him. Some Christian leaders from Punjab who also supported Jinnah is discussed in the next chapter by discussing the politics in Punjab.

²⁷ *Pakistan Constitution Assembly Debates*, Vol. I, No. 2, 11.

CHAPTER: 3

CHRISTIAN POLITICS IN THE PUNJAB

This chapter discusses the politics in Punjab in order to understand Muslim struggle for independence through this province and participation of some Christian leaders from Punjab. The demography of Punjab and historical background including the administrative reforms by the British government in Punjab are discussed in this chapter. The party politics in Punjab is also highlighted in order to understand the elections 1945-46 and their results which proved Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims of the sub-continent but the Britisher were not ready to form ministry from the Muslim League members and instead unionist party was invited to form ministry which resulted in communal riots in Punjab and eventually governor was in Punjab with lasted till partition of India. The Sikhs agitation in Punjab with large scale massacre, killings and blood shed on both sides of Punjab is discussed in this chapter.

3.1- Demography of Punjab

Punjab was located on the north western border of India before British annexation of Punjab in 1849 thus provided an influx to the foreign invaders. It was due to establishment of political supremacy of Islam in the province in the early tenth century A.D that resulted to the teaching of a new religions Sikhism by Guru Nanak (1469-1539) in Punjab and attracted a significant number yet smaller than Hindus and the Muslims. The Sikhs played a very significant role in Punjab until end of the British rule thus enjoyed prosperous economics life because their contribution and services were far more than their numerical strength. The political dominance of Sikhs in Punjab (1772-

1849) resulted in passing of land trades from the Muslim to Non-Muslims thus resulting in economics deprivation of the Muslim Land owners: When Britishers started their rule in Punjab in 1849 the western educational practices replaced the Muslims indigenous system of learning. The Muslim were reluctant to acquire the western education as they considered it as an attack to their religious values. On the other hand, the Hindus and Sikhs outnumbered Muslims in the field of education therefore they dominated the industry, commerce, additional and economics spheres. The agricultural resources were also dominated by the class of Hindus and Sikhs in late 1930's and 1940's. The Muslims inspire of having large area of land mainly in the western part of the province remained deprived and oppressed section of the society in comparison to Hindus and Sikhs.²⁸

There was still a class of Muslim landed aristocracy that was politically very active in the Punjab political life during the twentieth century and it was therefore this landed aristocracy that supported the demand for Pakistan through the platform of Muslim League. It was British act of land alienation in 1901 that protected the landowners from losing their lands and Muslim landowners from the Punjab Came to the front political scene of the Punjab. The reforms through the acts of 1919 and 1935 recognized important rural composition in Punjab and thus allowed large and powerful landowners to monopolize political sense of the Punjab.

Punjab was the last province which was annexed by the Britishers in 1849. It was one those regions of colonial rule that had unique geo-strategic position, multi-cultured markets, prosperous trade and also good opportunities for employment. It's agriculture, especially the cotton production was the great source of attraction for the British rule.

²⁸ Peter Scragg, *The Muslims of the Punjab and their politics-1936-1947* (London: University of London, 1984), 8-10.

The total area of Punjab Province was 138, 015 sq. km (357, 692 sq. km). When the British rule followed the policy of religious neutrality various Christian churches began to establish in Punjab, mostly poor sections and the depressed lower classes of Hindus were converted into Christianity but some upper-castes were also attracted and converted into Christianity.²⁹

Population Percentage of Punjab³⁰

Year	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs	Christians	Others
1901	48.6	41.2	8.5	0.4	0.2
1911	51	35.9	12.3	0.7	0.1
1921	51	35.2	12.3	1.2	0.1
1931	52.2	30.1	14.1	1.4	1.2
1941	53.3	29.0	14.7	1.4	1.3

Source: *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. VI, Punjab table, 46

The Census of India from 1901-1945 gives the information of population variation of the various religious Communities over the years for the whole of the Punjab. The Muslim population increased gradually but Hindu population proportion decreased from 1901 to 1941.³¹ The decrease proportion in population was advantageous for Christians and it was outcome of the conversions and Christian missionaries' movements. Sikhs were providing large numbers of Soldiers to the British Army from Punjab therefore they were an important community of the Punjab in 1901, the districts Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan were separated from Punjab to form new (NWFP) province and Muslims were living mostly in the western and northern Punjab but Hindus and Sikhs were in the southern and Eastern part of the province.

²⁹ Emmet Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab: 1936-1947*, (Academic Publishers Delhi 1983), 7-8.

³⁰ *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. VI, Punjab table, 46.

³¹ *Ibid.*

In 1941, The Muslims were in large numbers and comprised a clear dominant position in Punjab consisting of 53.3% of the total population. Hindus made 29.0% of the total, Sikhs 14.7%, Christian's 1.4% while others 1.3%. The Hindus recorded significant decrease in number while there is seen a noticeable increase in the number of Christians. Punjabi was the main language spoken in Punjabi and Pehari in the North East and Liandi to the western part of the Punjab. There was Hindus and Sikh groups in the province who were clever enough to learn modern language therefore they were successful in commerce and trade.³²

3.2- Administrative Reforms in Punjab by John Lawrance

After annexation of Punjab Dalhousie established a board of administration for Punjab, which comprise of Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence and Charles Mansel who was then later succeeded Robert Montgomery. In order to bring law and order in the provinces there was need to form an active event vigilant police force who would deal with rebellion forces efficiently. It was difficult to control the North West frontier due to occupation of wild and tribal races.

The most important task done by board was that they included the courageous and brave Sikhs into British army thus they were able to form regiments and corps of sick which became nucleus of Punjab force. Then guide corps was set up in 1846 who were well informed of north western areas and did spy work of intelligence department. The Punjab frontier force was created in north-western areas and the grand trunk road was also completed leading from Lahore to Peshawar.

³² Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied Partitioned and Cleansed*, (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2012), 52.

A code of civil law or civil procedure was also framed to make the judicial system easy. John Lawrence revised the administrative pattern by dividing Punjab into districts so that in charge officer of district would resolve the problems faced by population of his area. During period from 1853-59 John Lawrence added greatly to the prosperity of province Punjab. Sikhs were provided grants and allowances were also given to Widows. So, its purpose was to satisfy Sikhs and to remove their bitterness. Canal system was also built up and 80,000 pounds was spent on Canals. The first rail link was completed between Amritsar and Multan in n 1859. He also established a department of public instruction in Punjab, which worked on elementary school in Punjab sponsored by the government. John Lawrence had excellent administrative qualities which helped Punjab to prosperous rapidly.³³

It was since the beginning of twentieth century that these two groups of communities were dominant in new business and they were dominant in business and as a result in government Jobs Hindus and Sikhs were far more advanced than Muslim while the situation for Muslims was very disappointing as they could only 20% of jobs and they were almost half population of this province. It was during Jinnah's visit to Lahore in 1944 that he said on visiting Islamia College in 1944. While addressing youth, he gave message to them to get united for the new independent state for Muslims. He mentioned that there is no Muslims in Punjab National Bank and it is actually Punjab Hindu National Bank because there were no Muslim employees in the bank.

³³ K. S. Narang, *History of the Punjab 1500-1858* (Delhi:,U.C Kapur & Sons, 1969), 379-83.

3.3- Urbanization

Due to the urbanization process the variation in population from 1901 to 1941 marks ups and downs. From 1881 onwards the trend of urbanization increased overtime and it was after 1921 that the rapid increase in urbanization was recorded due to different epidemics like small pox, plague and cholera. The accelerated growth in population was seen in these places like Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, and Sialkot, Jalandhar, Rawalpindi and Ludhiana places. During period 1881-1941, there is recorded fourfold increased population in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Ludhiana that by increased almost 2.4 times, Amritsar increased growth rate recorded two-fold, Multan increased only by two times. Majority of the population lived in villages, most in the town and was very small in size. This situation was gradually changing due to the emerging canal colonies, extended markets and processing centers. Besides, Strong connection between ports of Karachi, Calcutta, Bombay and the important places of Punjab it gave door to Punjab to make its way to the outside world thus making it economically stronger and strategically more important.

3.4- Canal Colonies

In the late Nineteenth century, the British developed nine canal colonies which consisted of upper Jhelum, Upper Chenab, Nili Bar, Lower Bari Doab, Siddhani, Sohag Para, Uppers Jhelum and Chunion Muslims were composed more than eighty percent of population in the far west districts that's bordered Jhelum and Indus rivers.³⁴ The System of irrigation by construction of canals resulted in creation of two groups one was urban while the other made rural group.

³⁴ Farah Gul Baqai, *Jenkins and the partition of Punjab-1947*, (Islamabad: NIHCR QAU, 2016), 10-11.

3.5- Political Reforms by British Government

The initiative taken by the British towards responsible government in India toward the end of nineteenth century provided chances for Indians representation in legislation through the council Act 1892. Through Minto Morley Reforms (1909) the demand of separate representation by Muslims was accepted and it is a milestone in introducing elections for the members of the Indian Legislative councils. Following this principle of separate electorate, the Muslims were having their own representatives both in the provinces and at center. The Muslims got 50 % of seats in Punjab, in Bengal, 40 %, 15 % in Madras, 15 % in central provinces, 33.3 % in Bombay and 25 % in Behar. In 1919, the Montague Chelmsford Reforms provided the provincial autonomy with added subjects which was step towards responsible government. The natives wanted Self-rule in India thus these reforms accelerated the process towards Self-rule.³⁵

3.6- Unionist Party

The Britishers wanted to form a party in province Punjab to support their rule and Mr. Fazal - i- Hussain, a famous lawyer, front man of both Congress and Muslim League) founded the unionist party with help of Sikhs & Hindus communities. This party dominated the politics of Punjab till 1946 with the Support and help of the British.

Mr. Fazal Hussain was succeeded by Sikandar Hayat who became the 1st premiere of the Punjab Provinces in 1937. Although keeping Muslim League at distance Sikandar Hayat Khan entered into a pact called Jinnah Sikandar Pact in 1937 due to growing fear of Congress. Jinnah- Sikandar pact let the Muslims from Punjab legislature who were

³⁵ Ibid.12-17.

joining unionist party to have the membership of the Muslim League and it helped in strengthening the central Muslims League while it decided freely its political priorities in Punjab. When the Second World War broke out, Sikandar Hayat Khan Supported the British but the congress decided not to cooperate with the British and it resigned from its ministries in 1939.

3.7- Punjab Congress

The congress had limited support here in Punjab and its support was restrained in the urban areas and it grabbed nationalities from all communities. Punjab congress was divided into two Hindu Factions. Lajpat Rai - Bhargava faction and Satyapal faction.

3.8- Akali Party

The Sikhs demand of separate electorate was met through the reforms of 1919 and they also got seats more of their proportion according to their population due to the services in serving army of country. They came into politics by formation of Akali party. This party cooperated with congress on many issues till 1949 but after that congress conflict with Akali arose when British Indian Army recruited Sikh in large number who supported the Akali.³⁶

3.9- The Punjab Muslim league

PML remained inactive in Punjab politics till 1938 and got just two seats in 1937 elections. IN 1940 after passing the resolution of separate state for Muslims of the subcontinent, there were the middle classes, the Muslin intelligentsia and youth all flocked under the banner of Muslim League and strengthened Punjab Muslim League.

³⁶ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied Partitioned and Cleansed* (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2012), 64.

3.10- Jinnah and Punjab Muslim League

Quaid-e-Azam with contacted with the leaders of Punjab Muslim League like Rafi butt, Shafi Ahmed, Bashir Ahmed, Professor Abdul Haye, Lady Vicky Noon and Mian Mumtaz Daultana to make Punjab Muslim League effective and as a result of continuous struggle of day and night PML became as truly the only Muslim organization during the years 1944-46. In 1946 when Jinnah visited Punjab he gave his positive remarks by admiring the leaders efforts in Punjab that it was a moment of great pleasure to see the sure upcoming success of PML of Punjab because the unity among the muslims in Punjab resulted in removing all their dreads from the earthly Gods now there is a change seen in the political scene of Punjab and now M. A. Jinnah was confident enough of the victory of PML in the upcoming elections.³⁷

M.A. Jinnah along with leaders of the Punjab regularly met with the people including professionals, commoners, ulemas, any Punjabi of rural or urban background thus associated themselves with all sections of the Muslims Punjab and addressed the matters related to religion culture, economy, scientific and industrial development, education of women, and press in the Punjab. Thus, addressing to the common people gave new thought to them and new life of PML. The Women from Punjab were also politicized to take active part in the demand of Pakistan Lady Vicky noon who was wife of Firoz Khan, Mrs. Ralia Ram who was an Indian Christian and s also general secretary of the Indian social congress then another name was Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, Begum Blossom Latif, Begum Kamal-ud-Din and Fatima Begum. These women played a in mobilizing historic role in mobilizing women opinion in favor of demand of separate Muslim state.

³⁷ Amarjit Singh, *Jinnah and Punjab: Shamsul Hassan Collections and other documents, 1944-1947*, (New Delhi: Amarjit Siusn, 2007), 193.

3.11- Christian leaders in Punjab

Christian leader Singha became member of Punjab Assembly in the elections of 1936 as he had joined (AICA) All Indian Christian association in 1936 and remained politically very active. He was impressed by the vision of Jinnah and it was during election campaign, that union of Punjab University invited M. A. Jinnah on 21st Nov, 1942. Singha assured Jinnah with other leaders from his community like Gibbon, Buner, Jan Mithai, Joshua Fazl Din, Chaudhary Chandu Lal, Sir Henry and Ralia Ram of their all support to the cause of Pakistan and they considered that Christians will be safe in Pakistan more than in India.³⁸ The socio-political demography of Indian Christians was the basis of their support in favor of Pakistan, they were mainly present in the Muslim majority areas. Thus, if Punjab was divided, they will be in Pakistan from western Punjab while Hindu / Sikhs in the Eastern districts will be united with India.

3.12- Elections 1945-46

During mid-1945 Lord Wavell called a meeting of Indian leaders to form his Executive Council on a partially representative basis so they could form a base for future settlement of India's problem. Viceroy asked for a list of nominees from Quaid-i-Azam so that he could choose the Muslim members for Council but Quaid-i-Azam rejected it after consulting AIML working committee because without required assurance AIML would not cooperate. Thus, the conference called Simla conference met with failure and Quaid on July 14, 1945 demanded general elections. Muslims had to prove in these elections that their only representative is AILM All India Muslim League and only it had the right to make demands on the behalf of Muslims. On 14th July 1945 Quaid-i-

³⁸ Azam Miraj, *Neglected Christian Children of Indus* (Karachi: Miraj Publications, 2018), 122.

Azam demanded general elections to prove the claim of being the sole representative of the Muslims of the sub-continent.

The battle for elections was very tough in face of opposition from INC, Jamiat e Ulama e Hind, Muslim Majlis, Ahrars, Momin conference and independent board. Elections of 1945-46 were very important in the freedom movement of Pakistan and it also holds historical significance in the history of India because it proved that Jinnah was rightful in his claim of AIML as the only representative party of the Muslims. There were also seen Muslim women voters who came in burqas to poll their vote so the election days were dominated by the Muslim League workers, supporters and voters.³⁹ The AIML lacked financial resources and in the province like Punjab the Unionists were constantly winning elections and by elections of the District Boards and Provincial Assembly.

The upcoming elections to central assembly in Dec 1945 and to the provincial Assembly in Jan 1946 Muslim League decided the fate of Muslims because AIML won all the thirty seats in central Legislative Assembly and in provincial assemblies' elections which were held in 1946 it showed tremendous success. Punjab was most important province as most decisive election took place in Punjab. The two main parties which were contesting elections with their own manifesto were congress and the Muslim league. Party manifesto of Muslim League was

- i. To prove the separate identity of Muslims and AIML is their only representative party.
- ii. And Pakistan is only solution to the all-constitutional problems.

³⁹ Dr. Riaz Ahmad, *Pakistan Movements: New Dimensions 1935-1948* (Islamabad: Alvi Publishers, 2017), 213.

The stance of Muslim League was very clear. It took part in elections 1946 on the manifesto which aimed at the creation of Pakistan.

While congress manifesto was to maintain Indian unity The British government had support for congress because they wanted to keep India united. At the end of august 1945, Sir Feroz khan, member of British viceroys' council and Punjab government joined Muslim League. Being a well leader of Punjab, he appealed the people of Punjab to vote for Muslim League. It was after Lahore resolution has passed on 23rd march 1940, Muslim league fame increased among Muslims of India increased the students, especially Aligarh students worked for more than 18 hours to travel to far flung villages for the cause of Pakistan. The Muslim journalists like Allah Baksh Yousafi, Dost Muhammad Kamil, Abdul Akbar khan, Mazhar Gilani. Amir Hilali, Rahim Baksh Ghaznavi and Mazhar Gillani played an important role in making demand of Pakistan popular among Muslims. Founder of Punjab Muslim Students federation (MSF) Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi and Hameed Nizami editor Nawa-i-Waqt Lahore played a significant role in moving from villages and towns to popularize the idea of demand of Pakistan among common people. Many Muslim women organizations like Punjab girl's students' federation and women's national guards attached to the league.⁴⁰ Their tiring efforts resulted in over whelming majority in Punjab Fatima Jinnah, Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain and Shaista Ikramullah etc. are some of the prominent names who took active part in mobilizing Muslim women. While there were some leaders of congress who fired first shots of their election campaign by motivating the Muslims to vote and support parties other than Muslim League.⁴¹

3.13- Results of Elections to the provincial Assembly

⁴⁰ Sharif al Mujahid, "1945-46 Elections and Pakistan: Punjab's Pivotal Role," *Pakistan Vision* Vol. 11 No. 1, 4.

⁴¹ *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 6 Oct, 1945.

All India Muslim League won seats province wise as

Assam	31 / 34
Bengal	113 / 119
Punjab	79/ 88
Bihar	34/ 40.
UP	54 / 66
NWFP	17 / 38
Sindh	28 /35

Source: Sharif al Mujahid, "1945-46 Elections and Pakistan: Punjab`s Pivotal Role," *Pakistan Vision* Vol. 11 No. 1, 4

All India Muslim League got victory in Central as well provincial elections of 1946.⁴²

Number Of Members in Punjab Assembly in Elections 1946

Constituent unit	urban	Rural	Total
General	8	34	42
Muslims	9	75	84
Sikhs	2	29	31
Special	--	--	18
Total	19	138	175

Source: Fazal-ur-Rahman, *The Significance of 1945-46 Elections in the Creation of Pakistan*, Pakistan Journal of History and Culture Vol. XXIX, No. 2, (2008), 177

There were four seats which were reserved for Christians in the act of 1935 these were for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. There were Indian Christian's who were in support of demand for Pakistan after their disappointment with Hindus narrow mindedness.

⁴² Fazal-ur-Rahman, "The Significance of 1945-46 Elections in the Creation of Pakistan," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* Vol. XXIX, No. 2, (2008): 177.

3.14- Sikh Agitation in Punjab

When the partition of India was obvious and serious efforts were taken by the government to divide India and division plan was in progress there started tension in Punjab. Punjab was consisted of many communities like Sikhs, Muslims, Christians and Hindus. After Lahore Resolution 1940, the Sikhs started opposing Muslim League and also unionist party. Muslim League never wanted the divided Punjab while Sikhs demanded that Punjab must be divided.

The Sikhs were strongly associated with Punjab religiously, culturally and economically so they were not ready to accept the division of this province and they strongly opposed to it because they knew that their religions, cultural, economic and social life would be perturbed by this division. They rather wanted an independent country of their own and presented different proposals for it. In 1930, Azad Punjab scheme was presented by them to which Akali Dal fully supported.

The Azad Punjab Scheme included Ambala, Jalandhar, Lahore, divisions and from Multan divisions, Lyallpur districts and some area of Montgomery and Multan districts but it became ineffective in 1944. The Sikhs had been sincere with the British and they thought it was the time to remind government their services and their presence in army and contribution thus to get whatever was desired by them. If looked upon for government administration side, governor Jenkins also thought that the divided Punjab would be governed more conveniently as compared to undivided Punjab but it was a challenging task because there were natural barriers which were involved in the division governor and viceroy both favored division of Punjab and they proposed a boundary commission that was to consist of British judge of high court and two Muslim and two Non-Muslim members. The Sikhs were not to trust government easily so they started

violence which led to bloodshed in Punjab. There started a large-scale massacre on both sides of Punjab in the east and in west Punjab which resulted in large sufferings on both parts of the Punjab.⁴³

The politics in Punjab with formation of unionist party, Punjab Congress, Akali party and the Punjab Muslim League and their political struggle gives the clear picture of political participation of various communities in Punjab. Muslim students visited from town to town to make Muslim masses aware of demand of Pakistan. Muslim women specially lady Vicky Noon, Begum Jahanara, Shahnawaz Begum, Kamaluddin and Fatima Begum fully participated in mobilizing the Muslim women. The elections of 1945 played an important role in in deciding the fate of Muslims and the results of these elections made it clear that the Muslim League is the only representative of the Muslims of subcontinent. After these elections the Hindu Muslim riots result in large number of killings and the division of subcontinent was inevitable. Punjab and Bengal were the most populated Muslim areas thus a boundary Commission was set up for the division of these two provinces. The Sikhs who were opposed to the division of Punjab because of their religious, cultural and economic affiliation with these provinces started large scale killing in Punjab. The next chapter will discuss post partition killing and influx of large number of refugees in Pakistan.

⁴³ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied Partitioned and Cleansed* (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2012): 71.

CHAPTER 4

Partition, Migration and the Christians

This chapter discusses the partition of India resulting in blood shed, killing and serious disturbances in major cities of Pakistan and resulted in a large number of homeless, shelter less, sick and much deprived influx of refugees in Pakistan. Immediate arrangements were required to provide the basic needs like clothing, quilting, bedding, shelter and food to these refugees besides settling matters related to their property and belongings

M. A. Jinnah assured minorities of complete protection in the newly established state. In order to understand the population of Christians after partition, the census of 1951 provided the useful information about the religious minorities and their settlements in various parts of Pakistan. The issue of minorities, their settlement and rehabilitation are discussed in this chapter and there were relief funds and Red Cross Society which provided support for the settlement of refugees. Different camps were established where refugees were provided with basic necessities. There were some affluent personalities who helped generously for the rehabilitation of these refugees on the request of M. A. Jinnah. This chapter also discusses the population of Christians who came to Pakistan and the services they provided in medical and social sector after partition.

4.1- Post Partition Killings and Blood Shed

There were serious killings in Lahore and Amritsar city resulted in complete disturbances. The report of outbreak of fire resulted in serious loss in Lahore city. Sikhs attack on Muslim in Mughalpura on 24th May, 1947 resulted in killing of 10 Muslims

and injured almost 28. The Sikhs armed with guns and rifles attacked the people of Rasal Pura which was a Muslim area resulted in killing of three Muslims. The Riots between Hindu Muslims and Sikhs on 24th May 1947 also resulted in killing of 04 Hindus and 13 injured.

Mumtaz Daultana`s letter to Liaqat Ali Khan on 12th June 1947 stated that a party consisting of persons Pir Ilahi Buksh, Mr. Bunde Ali, Mr. Ghulam Ali Talpur, Mr. M. H. Gazdar, mayor of Lahore, Mian Amir-ud-din, three members of the Delhi Muslim League committee and Mumtaz Daultana along with me visited the affective areas of Gargon district on 11th June 1947.⁴⁴ We visited cities like Gargon and Palwal which were destroyed in the new disturbances. It was stated that if action is not taken place to stop the killing it is sure that thousands of helpless men and women will be killed within next few days.

The killing of millions of humans in this way is also shameful for the British Government. In the Muslim village Gargon there were terrible situation faced because there were constant attacks by militants ranging in thousands in number from united provinces and from Bharatpur and Alwar state. The state consisted of almost 10 lakhs of Muslim population and Hindus wanted to eliminate the population in a way in which Hitler killed people in Poland. During the last few days thousand men, women and children were killed and many children villages were burnt. Musafir Ahmed Indian Civil Services at Palwal gave the information that nearly 80% of the Muslim villages in Palwal Tehsil were burnt and resulted in large number of deaths.

The Muslim villages were almost looted and most villages in Palwal were attacked by 5000 to 10,000 people who entered Gurgaon from the nearest districts of the

⁴⁴ *Disturbances in the Punjab 1947, A Compilation of Official Documents*, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1955. 242.

united provinces. while Achar Kirpalani, president of congress stated on 5th August, 1947 that if minorities are protected adequately the same will be done with Muslims in Hindu majority provinces.⁴⁵

The military element in Gurgaon was purely non-Muslim so the large number of Muslims were killed by the military which consisted of non-Muslims and they were attacked by Rajput and the army of Bharatpur and Palwal. The lack of communal military meant the absolute absence of Muslim troops that resulted in much disturbances in Multan, Amritsar and Gurgaon.⁴⁶

4.2- Refugees and Settlements

The Muslim relief workers tried their best to accommodate refugees but they were unable to cope the problem due to lack of resources. The loss and destruction in western Punjab were never mentioned on radio or in press in India. As a result of partition when large number of migrants from India started arriving in Pakistan, the problem of refugees became serious threat to newly established countries economy. It started with the arrival of refugees from Amritsar district to Lahore on 11th August 1947. Boy Scouts headquarters were started by large Boy Scout staff but it soon proved insufficient. A large number of migrants came from Jalandhar division and Walton camp II was opened with the increase in population which reached more than 85,000. Another camp III at Walton was opened on September 1st.

Some other camps were opened by authorities at Kasoor Wagha, Sulaiman key and Shahdara to resolve the influx of large number of refugees into West Punjab.⁴⁷ The

⁴⁵ *The Statesman*, Calcutta, Aug 5, 1947.

⁴⁶ Disturbances in the Punjab 1947, *A Compilation of Official Documents* (Islamabad: National Documentation Centre, 1995), 245.

⁴⁷ Salim Ullah Khan, *The Journey to Pakistan A Documentation on Refugees of 1947* (Islamabad: National Documentation Centre, 1993), 41.

refugees were lacking in clothing and shelter. Quaid-i-Azam took personal interest in providing blankets, quilts, warm clothes and cotton cloth to these refugees. DC Lahore inaugurated the cult week and arranged almost 35,000 quilts for refugees. The charity by wealthy people also provided refugees bedding, clothing and quilting. Refugees who came to west Punjab after a long stay in camp suffered from various diseases and lack of food resulted in poor health conditions.

4.3- Christian committee for Relief and the Friends unit

Christian committee for relief and the Friends unit provided very helpful support in the hour of need. The death rate which was one per thousand during 48 hours due to infectious diseases like smallpox and cholera were brought under control when the refugees were provided with proper medical facilities. The British Red Cross also promised that they would provide four medical units with capacity of 450 beds. The death rate was controlled as it was one per 2000 and then one per 3000 in the next few days. The arrangement at large was made at Walton training school to accommodate the refugees from East Punjab. Khan Bahadur and Sheikh Fazal Elahi were in charge of this Walton refugee camp. Muslim league relief committee opened many charity funds in Lahore for feeding and providing shelter to refugees. The refugees were provided with proper meals and breakfast. Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed ICS officer was appointed as refugee officer at Amritsar. The mayor of Lahore Amir Uddin initiated his fund as mayor of Lahore fund in order to relieve the refugees from East Punjab. In Rawalpindi almost more than 4000 refugees from eastern Punjab reached on 20th August 1947. The Muslim League established temporary refugee camp at Islamia High School.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Ibid. 226-30.

4.4- Protection of Minorities

Muhammad Ali Jinnah took personal interest to protect minorities and assured minorities that they will be protected and advised leaders that it should be the task of leaders of community to do the utmost task of protecting the minorities as they had understanding for this and he advised the leaders to do their best to assure protection to minorities and refugees.

M. A. Jinnah assured fully protection and fair treatment in Pakistan to the minorities. The lives of the minorities and their properties in Pakistan are much secured and protected because the minorities are equal citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination of color, creed or community. After the creation of Pakistan, the Christian's real gift is in the field of education and health. There are protestant and catholic churches in the country which are running different technical and vocational schools. There are nursing schools and teachers training schools in various parts of the country Technical Institute of Gujranwala, Institute of technology and many others in Multan, Rawalpindi, Karachi and Sialkot.⁴⁹

4.5- Census of 1951

It was at the time of division that migration of people started and according to census 1951 there were almost 32.7 million Muslims out of total 33.7 million in the west province of Pakistan. Therefore, they were 97% of the Muslim population in Pakistan. The Hindus were 1.6% and Christians were 1.3%.

⁴⁹ Ahmed Saleem, *Pakistan aur Aqleeyatin* (Karachi: Maktaba Daniyal, 2000), 101.

Religious Minorities in Pakistan (1901-1981)

Communities	1901	1921	1941	1961
Muslims	30070	36200	Pakistan	
			51800	82556
Hindus	11872	12689	15547	1002
Christians	32	214	474	733
Others	583	1193	2458	429
Total	42557	50296	70279	93720

Source: Government of Pakistan, Census of Pakistan 1981, Islamabad 1983

East Pakistan

Muslims	19113	22646	29507	40890
Hindus	9545	10166	11747	9380
Christians	--	--	53	149
Others	269	442	690	421
Total	28927	33254	41997	50840

Source: Government of Pakistan, Census of Pakistan 1981, Islamabad 1983

The total population of east Pakistan which is now Bangladesh consisted of 3.2 million while population of country consisted of 85.9% Muslims with more than 14% of minorities, 12.9% Hindus, 1.2% mainly Christians and Buddhist.⁵⁰

4.6- Christian Colonies

The Christian missionaries started their activities in 1844 and first parish school was established in Lahore in 1847 as Anarkali parish. It was the time when some missionaries had decided about their stay in India rather to go back to England and catholic churches which were working on residences colonies besides their interest to promote education and health services. Lahore Missionary Society developed a

⁵⁰ S. Akbar Zaidi, "Religious Minorities in Pakistan Today," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol.18 No. 4 (1988): 449.

Christian colony in 1868. Model villages in Shantinagar and Amritnagar were developed by the Salvation Army.

The foundation of the villages Shahempur and Antonabad was laid in 1918 and 1914. Thus, by spreading the colonies and a large number of schools, hospitals and charitable organizations the Christians were setting in the sub-continent. First English medium school was established by American Presbyterian missionaries in 1849. There was first school for girls in the province which was established by missionaries in 1856 in the city of Sialkot.

Mormon Christian College was also established by American Presbyterians. The Christian missionaries opened dispensaries in the remote areas. The catholic Churches started working on formation of residential colonies in addition to providing education and medical facilities to the people thus in 1868 the Lahore missionary society developed Christian Colony in the form of Model village and then Christian village in Punjab were also established. Colonies like Mariamabad, Francisabad, Anthonaybad and Rahampur were developed.⁵¹ In the division of India, this small community was also anxious about their future. It was sure that partition of India would be followed by the partition of Punjab and Bengal. West Punjab which was dominated by the Muslims, so it had to go to Pakistan and Eastern Punjab to India. Five of ICS officers were Christians. There were Muslim officers who wanted to go to west Punjab. But there were Hindus and Sikhs officers who decided to go to East Punjab. One of the Christian officers, Sam Brooks who had affiliation with home village which was in west Punjab decided to settle in west Punjab after retirement but when Jinnah asked him to rejoin the civil services he became part of Pakistan's foreign services. The Christians always

⁵¹ Francis, Nadeem, *Yeh Des Hamara Hai*, 105.

expected better treatment as a minority in Pakistan as compared to Hindus because they were people of book, while Hindus were not.⁵²

4.7- Christians in Pakistan

In Pakistan there is a sharp difference within Christian community. They are either Punjabi Christians or Goan Christians. Christians who were Punjabis used to live in Lahore, Sialkot, Faisalabad, Sheikhpura and Multan while Goan live mainly in Karachi due to its multinational structure. Punjabi Christians mainly lived in either villages or cities and their economic source is mainly agriculture. They don't have better economic position due to low jobs like all the sanitary work throughout the country. Goan Christians are financially strong to have better education and another advantage which they are having is English language. They are highly anglicized and can easily speak, write and read English. Many among these got the opportunity to become professionals and they are enjoying their good position in society. The bond of unity between these two communities is Christianity. Many educationists from this community contributed greatly in the field of education and established many technical training institutes in different parts of the country like saint Francis technical institute and St. Patrick technical school in Karachi. During the time of partition, Christian Nurses, doctors, missionaries and paramedical staff provided medical aid to the refugees at Walton camp in Lahore.⁵³

4.8- Ethnic Groups of Christians

There are five ethnic groups within the Christianity are: -

⁵² Francis, *Ye Des Hamara Hai*, 186.

⁵³ Ibid. 201-2.

1. Tribal Christians of the Punjab and South who maintain most of the customs and traditions.
2. Christians who are Punjabis are usually converts of scheduled lower castes and they are economically weak.
3. Some are from mixed origins, they are skilled, educated and have white collar jobs.
4. Goans migrated from Portuguese colony of Goa.
5. Wealthy families both from North and South India who had prosperous backgrounds or from high caste who were originally having prosperous backgrounds or from high caste Hindus.⁵⁴

4.9- Services in the Social and Health Sector

In Pakistan Christians are in minority but it is second largest group of minorities whose total number is approximately 2,800,000 in 2008 and 1.6% of country population. They consist of Roman Catholics and half Protestant. After the creation of Pakistan, they made services to the newly created state. Cornelius was the chief justice of Pakistan Supreme Court. Cecil Chaudhry served Pakistan Air force. Samuel Martin Burg the Foreign Service ambassador. There were about twenty-five Pakistani Christians officers have attained the rank of Brigadier General (one star general). They have also got three swords of honor in the army, Navy and Air force training academics. A young lady Doctor Ruth Pfan contributed magnificent services for leprosy patient and was awarded with the highest award. Sister Gertude Lemmens was awarded with the civil award for the permanent services for the mentally retarded children and also for the establishment

⁵⁴ S. Akbar Zaidi, "Religious Minorities in Pakistan Today," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol.18 No. 4 (1988): 450.

of rest home for them. Ralia was class fellow of M. A. Jinnah who invited Jinnah to motivate students during struggle for independence. Prof. Phailbus, principal Kinnard college women is renowned educationist and was awarded Sitara-e-Imtiaz. After partition the group of Christian were sent to refugee's camps for providing medical care from Dera Daune to Walton Camp but this relief camp was shifted to F. C. College, Lahore. The constituent Assembly established on 10th Aug 1947, formulated policy of newly created state for its minorities. Jinnah`s policy related to minorities clearly mentioned that minorities are equal citizen of state irrespective of their races and colors and they have liberty in their religious matters.⁵⁵

The post partition problems related to resettlement and rehabilitation of large number of populations was a challenging task for the newly administrative state. M. A. Jinnah took personal interest in the settlement of refugees by formation of relief funds and visiting the refugees' camp. The minorities were fully assured of their rights and protection in Pakistan. Christians who settled in different areas of Pakistan i.e. Lahore, Sialkot, Faisalabad, Sheikhpura and Multan were provided complete protection. They contributed significantly in providing medical aid to the refugees and also played their role in various fields after creation of Pakistan. Dr. Ruth Pfan played an important role in eliminating literacy. She was given the highest award by the government in the acknowledgement of her services. Many Christian educationists like Prof. Phailbus, principal of Kinnard college contributed magnificently in the field of education. Her services were also recognized by the government of Pakistan and awarded Sitara-e-Imtiaz. Thus, Indian Christians contributed in the social and health sector in the sub-continent and also provided health services to the newly established state of Pakistan

⁵⁵ Ahmed Saleem, *Pakistan aur Aqleeyatin* (Karachi: Maktaba Daniyal, 2000), 189.

through their doctors and nurses and Christian committee for relief to the refugees to overcome the diseases like small pox and Cholera.

CONCLUSION

There were different communities in the Indian Sub-continent Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Jains, Buddhist, Parsis and scheduled caste. The growth of nationalism in the 19th century was outcome of English language because English language brought political consciousness among Indians. Those who were equipped with English language could read Mazzini, Mill and Milton, French revolution and unification of Italy and Germany. They got a new insight into making common cause against the foreign rulers. Although English was known to only small but affective and influential elites of India. The Muslims had ruled for centuries in the subcontinent but after the fall of Mughal Empire in 1857 they were socially, morally, economically and educationally set back.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan started Aligarh movement and took up the cause of disintegrated Muslim society and focused all his attention on educational uplifting of Muslims. The Hindu had learnt English language and became partners with the Britishers while the Muslims were not ready to accept the system which was totally changed after 1857. The British rule completely changed the system by replacing Muslims languages Arabic and Persian with English as medium of instruction. Hindus learnt English language and they started their political career in India by formation of Indian National Congress.

The Muslims had to struggle a lot against two enemies Hindus and British. The Indian Christians were in minority and they were also struggling against their co-religionist by forming their associations and participated in independence of India. The main services they provided to the subcontinent was in the field of education and health sector. The missionaries established dispensaries, schools and orphanages and started to settle in India by forming their colonies. The charter of 1813 provided the liberty to the

machineries to propagate their religion and they not only preached their religion but also established educational institutions like Jesus and Mary Convent School Murree in 1872 and Saint Thomas College in 1882. Church of Sialkot also established many schools in Wazirabad, Sialkot and Gujarat.

With the growth of nationalism, the need to establish a central association was felt. Allan Octavian a member of the ruling race formed Indian national congress in December 1885. Its first president was a Bengali Christian Mr. Benerjee. In 1887 in the third session of Indian national congress among ten there were three female Christians Pandita Ramabai, Saraswati and Mrs. Nikambe. Indian national congress was the first political party of the sub-continent which included Hindu, Christians and Muslims. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad were also its members. Its main objective was concerned with social and economic problems instead of political.

By 1900 it was dominated by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Laj pat Rai and Bipin Chandra pal. Soon the intentions of congress proved that it was a pure Hindu organization which disappointed Muslims thus educated class of Muslims were more interested in formation of their own independent party so they formed All India Muslim League in 1906.

Indian Christians who were also fighting against the British due to disappointment from British policies. They formed (AICI) All Indian Christian Association in 1942. The growing young generation of Indian Christians knew that after the withdrawal of British Government they will have to reach at some agreement either with congress or with Muslim League.

During the movements like Sawaraj movements they supported the national demands and put forward resolutions for complete Sawaraj. They also joined civil disobedience movement of congress. The depressed classes of Hindu caste system started converting into Christianity which resulted in tension and hostilities between Hindus and Christian. The Muslims demand of separate electorate in 1909 gave them confidence and new hope for political gains from the British Government. After Nehru Report all parties, conference was called in New Delhi in February 1930, Mrs. Annie, Jinnah, Raja of Mahmoodabad, Sikandar Hayat Khan, Sultan Ahmad and Sapru fully supported the idea of giving safe guards to the Muslims in central and Legislative assemblies. The Christian Leaders trusted Jinnah`s leadership and on 23rd March 1940, Lahore Resolution was passed which decided the ultimate goal of the Muslims of the subcontinent that no constitution would be workable or acceptable to the Muslim unless it contains the Muslim's demand of a separate state.

During this period 1940 to 1947 different proposals were presented from time to time to stop the division of subcontinent but all failed because the goal before AIML was clear and it could not compromise on its demand of separate Muslim state. The Christians were in minority in the subcontinent and they were Anglo-Christians, Indian Christians and pure Europeans. Indian Christians found themselves insecure in the Hindu majority state in case of division. Therefore, they showed confidence on Muslim leadership and knew that their rights will be more safeguarded in Muslim majority state.

Although they were not directly involved in the freedom movement but they played an important role in the division of India in general and in the division of Punjab in particular. The Christians institutions like Bandra Convent School Bombay, Saint Stephen College Delhi, Fort William College Calcutta, Murry College Sialkot, Gardon College Rawalpindi, FC College Lahore, Kinnaird College for women Lahore and

Edward College Peshawar played important role in educational uplifting of the Indians which resulted in political consciousness among Indians. Leaders like Dr. Allama Iqbal, Ch. Rahmat Ali, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Zafar Ullah Khan were educated from Missionary institutions.

Thus, the Christian Institutions were helpful in producing the leaders of freedom movement. This contribution by the missionaries in the Sub-continent in the field of education was the result of missionaries' schools which provided with political awareness to the Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Hindus equally. Rise of nationalism has its background from Christianity and western education. Christianity, western Education and development of Press played an important role to spread the national consciousness among Indians. The newspapers and periodicals played role in spreading national feelings both in English and regional languages. The development of press also enabled the writers to spread the feelings of national consciousness as press was the strong tool to arise national sentiments therefore Samachar Darshan, Bengal Gazette, Madras Courier and Bombay Herald were some of the publications through which the Indians journalists highlighted the issues like the political, regional and social and also spread the consciousness throughout the Country.

There were some Christians were politically active and one name was Professor Eric Siperian who worked for the laborers and the peasants. Christians formed AICA All India Christians association in 1942 under the leadership of S.P. Singha dewan Bahadur and then there was another association called the Christian welfare association which was established under the leadership of Samson Monoha.

In 1941 the students passed the resolutions for recognition of the safeguarding the rights of every depressed nation. This growing younger generation of Indian

Christians were courageous enough to raise voices against the British Government and they knew that they had to attain at some understanding and cooperation with the leading parties of the country in their political struggle if they want to attain freedom from the British rule because they knew being in minority they would have to support the other leading political parties of the subcontinent.

M. A. Jinnah sought and received the positive response of Christian leaders at the peak of Pakistan movement. The Christian leaders trusted Jinnah's leadership and his golden words Unity, Faith and Discipline impressed Christian leaders like S.P. Singha who on 21st Nov. 1942, during election campaign in Punjab University raised slogan like Pakistan's struggle movement is only attainable under the leadership of Jinnah. They supported Muslim League in 1945-46 elections. S.P. Singha and Fazal Elahi were elected in 1946 elections in united Punjab assembly.

M. A. Jinnah assured fully protection and fair treatment in Pakistan to the minorities that the lives of the minorities and their properties in Pakistan are much secured and protected in Pakistan and the minorities are equal citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination of color, creed or community.

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