The strategy adopted by the Muslims of the Punjab to secure separate representation drew a strong response from the Hindus who deeply resented the granting of any concession to the rival community. Whatever beneficial activities of the Muslim leaders had been in the sphere of Muslim welfare, some of their demands caused serious misgivings among other communities. Since early 1909, the Hindu agitation in the Punjab had started against the movement of separate electorates. In the new political atmosphere that followed the Morley-Minto reforms, communal feeling increased greatly in the province. Local manifestations of communal antagonism multiplied. What were the causes of this tension? Was it due to the Muslim agitation for separate representation, or due to the growth and confrontation of Muslim separatism and Hindu revivalism? How did the Muslims respond to Hindu revivalism? How did the atmosphere of tension precipitated the growth of separatism? These are some of the questions which will be discussed in the following pages.

The growing communal consciousness among the Muslims simultaneously led to the Hindu awareness in the Punjab. As early as December 1906 a Punjab Hindu Sabha was formed at Lahore. Following the announcement of the reform proposals in 1907, which promised hope for constitutional liberalisation and the possibility of further government’s favouratism to the Muslims, the Punjab Hindu Sabha was transformed into political organisation so that it could ‘rally Aryas and Hindus against Muslim militancy and British favouratism’. The Punjab Hindus had become increasingly sensitive to the determination of the British to give special privileges to Muslims under the reforms. The issue of separate electorates and reserved Muslim seats, as we have seen above, had dominated the

Punjab press since December 1907. The Muslims were putting pressure upon the government for special grants and additional seats in the Provincial Legislative Council. The Hindus were convinced that the only method of meeting these challenges was political organisation along communal lines. The formation and rapid spread of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and continued hostility of the government towards Hindus reinforced this tendency. In order to safeguard their communal interests, the Hindus believed that they must organise themselves as a counterpoise to the Muslim associations.1

The movement originating in Lahore to organise a strong Hindu agitation and with this object to establish Hindu Sabhas soon spread to other parts of the Punjab. Between 1907 and 1909, the Hindu Sabhas were formed in all important towns of the province. By the summer of 1909, each district had a Hindu Sabha affiliated with the Punjab Hindu Sabha in Lahore.2 These Sabhas had two objects in view: first, to safeguard the 'Hindus in the inter-denominational struggle that has been set on foot by our Muslim friends';3 and secondly, to boycott the Muslims in every possible way, in retaliation for their having refused to join the agitation carried on by the Hindus.4 The Aryas and Hindus enthusiastically joined the Hindu Sabha movement. In August 1909, the Punjab Hindu Sabha decided to hold a Hindu Provincial Conference at Lahore on 21 and 22 October 1909. The Sabha met with great success in its endeavours to organise the Conference owing partly to the general feeling of opposition to the Congress and partly to the present importance of the Hindu-Muslim question.5 An attempt was made to popularise the Conference by adding cow-protection question to the list of subjects already set down for

3 See the objects of the Hoshiarpur Hindu Upkami Sabha, WRAP, 15 June 1908, WRDCI, 27 June 1908, GOI, HD, Poll B, July 1908, Nos. 72-81.
4 WRDCI, 18 September 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, October 1909, Nos. 110-117.
The Hindu Provincial Conference was attended by prominent Hindus such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Ram Shaj Dutt Chaudhry and Lala Hans Raj. The Conference condemned the differential treatment accorded to the Punjab Hindus by the British government. The Conference also condemned the Muslim demand for separate electorates as it 'would give a deadly blow to the principle of nationality for which the Indian National Congress had stood'.

Lala Lajpat Rai delivered an important speech on the Hindu-Muslim question. He said that it was putting the cart before the horse to expect that Hindus and Muslims would unite and make a common cause for bringing about a sense of unity and solidarity among the different sections of the Hindu community itself. The Punjab Hindu Conference henceforth met at different places in the Punjab. In the years following the first Conference, the Punjab Hindu Sabha replaced the Congress in loyalties and expectations of educated Hindus.

In addition to joining the Hindu Sabha, the Punjab Hindus intensified their efforts to defend Hinduism and to attack Islam by spreading Shuddhi Sabha organisations which reclaimed Muslim and Christian converts. During the eighteen eighties, the Arya Samaj had brought a few outcastes and converts back into the Hindu fold, but it was only after the 1907 disturbances that it actually made widespread reconversions. Since the disturbances, the Aryas at

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1 WRDCl, 25 September 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, October 1909, Nos. 110-117.
2 Majumdar, Indian Political Associations, p. 257.
3 WRDCl, 30 October 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, November 1909, Nos. 32-41.
4 Majumdar, Indian Political Associations, p. 257. For the resolutions passed at the Conference see Azan, 23, 25, 27 and 28 October 1909, quoted in Malik, A Book of Readings, pp. 353-355.
5 Majumdar, op. cit., p. 257.
6 The second Punjab Hindu Conference was held at Multan in 1910, the third at Amritsar in 1911, the fourth at Delhi in 1912, the fifth at Peshawar in 1913 and the sixth at Ambala in 1914. See Majumdar, op. cit., p. 257; Panjabee, 6 June 1911, SNNP 1911, Vol. I, p. 576; Panjabee, 5 October 1911; Tribune, 1 October 1911, SNNP 1911, Vol. II, pp. 447, 475; Azan, 21 and 23 October 1911, quoted in Malik, op. cit., pp. 366-368.
7 Jones, Arya Dharm, p. 294.
Lahore were showing increased activity in their endeavours to obtain converts to their faith. A Shuddhi Sabha was started with Ram Bhaj Dutt Chaudhry as its secretary. The Aryas also showed interest in the Bharat Shuddhi Sabha which was founded at Allahabad in December 1910. Ram Bhaj Dutt Chaudhry who was appointed president of the Bharat Shuddhi Sabha, in his inaugural address, stated that the Sabha wished to raise the lower caste Hindus and to purify Muslims and to bring them into the Hindu fold. He appealed to the Hindu public to join the promoters in starting Shuddhi Sabhas all over the country. The Shuddhi movement in the Punjab was, in fact, started by Lala Lajpat Rai. Like the Hindu Sabha movement, it had in view political aims and objects rather than religious ones.

Both the Hindu Sabha and Shuddhi movements had the same mission and motivation - defence and expansion of Hinduism. Both aroused Muslim anger and accelerated Muslim organisation of their own defence associations.

The renewed activity among the Aryas in making converts from among the 'Neo Muslims', was, however, not proceeding without opposition on the part of the Punjab Muslims. The Muslims organised a counter-agitation and formed defence associations all over the province. At Lahore, a movement was set on foot among Muslims by Maulvi Muhammad Ibrahim to oppose the Aryas' efforts and subscription were collected in order to obtain converts from among the Aryas to Islam. A new society, called the Anjuman-i-Mujahidin-i-Islam (Society of the Soldiers of Islam), was started with the ostensible

1 WRPAP, 6 January 1908, GOI, HD, Poll B, January 1908, Nos. 111-118.
2 Hindustan, 6 and 13 January 1911; Panjabee, 6 June 1911, SNRP 1911, Vol. I, pp. 31, 35, 577.
3 WRCI, 18 July 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1911, Nos. 41-44.
4 See speech of Ajit Singh delivered at a Lahore meeting on 11 July 1909, quoted in WRCI, 24 July 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1909, Nos. 120-129.
6 WRCI, 11 January 1908, GOI, HD, Poll B, January 1908, Nos. 111-118.
7 WRPAP, 6 January 1908, GOI, HD, Poll B, January 1908, Nos. 111-118.
object of refuting the false teachings of other religions regarding the Muhammadan religion. It appeared to be an instance of Muslim organisation in opposition to the Hindu revivalism in the Punjab. At Delhi, Maulvi Abdul Haq wrote a 'fatwa', calling upon the Muslims to join the Christians against the Hindus in general and the Aryas in particular. Several books and pamphlets were also published in the city by individual Aryas and Muslims, abusing each other's religion. These pamphlets caused a good deal of ill-feeling between the two communities.

The Punjab Muslim press retaliated the Aryas' attacks. The Paisa Akhbar did much to foster an anti-Hindu spirit among Muslims, and devoted itself more particularly to preaching a crusade against the institution of chhut. It wrote that the fact was that the Hindus regarded Muslims as mlechhas who should be expelled from the country. The Zamindar published an article, showing that the chhut had enriched Hindus at the expense of Muslims, and protested against the continuance of this 'humiliating institution'. Another Muslim paper, the Rajput Gazette, published a lengthy article, urging the Muslims to wage a jihad against the Hindus. A newly started Muslim paper, the Hunter, published some strongly worded anti-Hindu articles. In the beginning of November 1909, a meeting of the Lahore Hindus, attended by several thousand people, was held to denounce it. Similarly, an Aryan paper wrote objectionable words to Muslims such as 'Muhammadish Thief', 'Muhammadish Dacoit', and 'Muhammadish Murderer'. Consequently, there was a considerable amount of ill-feeling between Hindus and Muslims; the mutual distrust spread even

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1 WRDCI, 19 June 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, July 1909, Nos. 66-73.
2 WRDCI, 8 May 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, June 1909, Nos. 115-124.
3 WRFA, 28 August 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1909, Nos. 120-129.
7 Paisa Akhbar, 6 March 1911, quoted in Malik, A Book of Readings, p. 364.
among the students in the boarding-houses of the various colleges in Lahore. 1

The recrudescence of anti-kine-killing agitation and language controversy (Urdu-Punjabi question) were further evidence of increased tension between the two communities. 2 The cow-protection movement started by the Hindus increased in activity, causing movement excitement in the Muslim circles. 3 The movement was inevitably opposed by the Muslims. 4 This subject occupied the attention of the Punjab press during the year 1911 to a greater extent than it had ever done before. The Muslim papers vigorously opposed the movement. The Mussalman, discussing the economic side of the question, strove to show that poor Muslims were driven to eat beef, because the price of goat's flesh was prohibitive, owing to its being in excessive demand among Hindu meat-eaters. The Siraj-ul-Akhbar hinted that it was likely that Muslims would give up eating beef as that Hindus would forbear to charge interest on loans from Muslims. 5

The language controversy aroused considerable excitement in the Punjab and it was apparently one phase of the Hindu versus Muslim agitation. The Muslims were strongly in favour of Urdu in Persian script. The Sikhs, especially a small school known as the 'Tat Khalsa', whose chief representative in the Punjab was Tikka Sahib of Nabha State, were strong advocates of Punjabi in Gurmukhi script. Among the Hindus, opinion was somewhat divided; the Aryas who, generally controlled the Hindu educational institutions in the province, were in favour of Hindi in Devanagari script. Those representing the Sanatan Dharm Sabha were also in favour of Hindi. 6

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1 WRDCI, 10 July 1909, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1909, Nos. 120-129.
3 WRDCI, 14 November 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, January 1912, Nos. 121-123. Also see Kam Dhenu (Ludhiana), 31 March 1910, SRNP 1910, Vol. I, p. 348; GOI, HD, Poll B, May 1910, No. 44.
The success achieved by the Hindus in the United Provinces in 1900, in getting recognised Hindi, in addition to Urdu, as official language had led to their agitation in the Punjab against Urdu which was the official language of the province. Since then, the controversy was going on in the Punjab press and a good deal had been written on the subject in Hindu and Muslim papers. In 1909, the cry of 'Punjabi for the Punjabis' was stimulated partly by Protul Chandra Chatterji, Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. In his convocation address to the Punjab University, Chatterji advocated the encouragement of provincial vernaculars. He said that Urdu was not the vernacular of the Punjab and that the primary education should be imparted in Punjabi. Louis Dane's speech delivered at Amritsar in March 1909, also greatly added to the heat of controversy. Louis Dane said that those Muslims who participated in the language controversy were foolish and he would decide the issue as it may please him. Many in the Punjab thought that by taking this stand he supported Protul Chandra Chatterji, and naturally, the Hindus felt pleased. The Muslims, on the other hand, were disappointed at his remarks. To them, Protul Chandra Chatterji's opposition to Urdu was not as objectionable as the support lent by Louis Dane. Even a Hindu paper who was a supporter of Urdu, wrote that Louis Dane's conduct was impolitic and he had ripped open old sores by reviving the controversy.

Notwithstanding Louis Dane's Amritsar speech, the Punjab Government had not yet placed anything definite on the language controversy before the public. Still, Louis Dane, while referring to the matter in his reply to the Chief Khalsa Diwan's address at Amritsar on 29 April 1909, though expressed his sympathy with the Punjabi, pointed out the difficulties of standardising the Punjabi.

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3 SRI, 26 March 1909, p. 7; 2 May 1909, p. 5.
language for educational purposes. Again, at another occasion, he said: 'For some time at least knowledge of Urdu character will also be excessively necessary. We have Urdu as a language of our courts and all our revenue records are in Urdu. Therefore, for the proper transaction of business, Urdu character shall have to be used and learnt'. The policy of the Punjab Government, in fact, was that the present position should be maintained until greater unanimity was observed in the demand for change. Louis Dane's conflicting and contradictory public statements not only created suspicion regarding the government's policy but also stimulated the controversy itself. In his speech at the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala, Ferozepore, in the beginning of 1911, he remarked: 'I am already a supporter of Punjabi and if there is any opposition to it, I shall see to it'. This coupled with his previous observations on the language question, was sufficient to cause anxiety among Muslims.

The educated Muslims left no stone unturned to advocate the cause of Urdu. The Muslims felt that the arbitrary proposal to introduce Punjabi into primary schools was calculated to prove instrumental in creating disunion among the people. The Batala Anjuman-i-Islamia passed resolutions on 14 March 1909, condemning Protul Chandra Chatterji's remarks that Urdu was not the vernacular of the Punjab. A public meeting of the Lahore Muslims was held on 8 April 1909 to make a representation to the Punjab Government in connection with the Urdu-Punjabi question. The meeting consisted of the representatives of all the Muslim sects and, owing to the anniversary of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, several delegates from out-stations also took part in the meeting. The meeting adopted three resolutions: first, that Urdu should continue to be the means of imparting primary instructions to children and in this respect status quo should be maintained; secondly, that to introduce Punjabi in place of Urdu or beside it as a medium of imparting instructions.

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1 CMS, 2 May 1909, p. 5.
3 CMS, 2 May 1909, p. 5.
in primary schools was sure to prove most detrimental to the educational advancement in the Punjab; and thirdly, that in the Punjab no such Punjabi existed as could meet the educational requirements. There was no written language better than Urdu to correspond to the varying dialects of different districts and their tahsils. The annual meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League held at Lahore in October 1909, pointed out the unnecessary importance given by the government to the Punjabi language which was likely to prove detrimental to Urdu. The meeting urged that as the Urdu was the court language and the medium of primary instructions in the Punjab, it should be maintained and promoted. Another meeting of the League held at Lahore on 19 October 1912, also emphatically condemned the anti-Urdu agitation carried on in certain quarters, and appealed the people to actively co-operate in the maintenance of Urdu as a lingua franca of India. The Delhi and Nagpur sessions of the All-India Muslim League held in 1910, also deplored the persistent attempts that were being made in various forms to set up Punjabi as the vernacular of the Punjab, and to displace Urdu from the position so long occupied by it as the lingua franca of India. The speakers pointed out that Punjabi had no better claim than a provincial dialect to be called a language in itself. The leading newspapers, journals, books and pamphlets were all written in Urdu in the Punjab. The Punjab had also rendered more services to the cause of Urdu than any other province in India.

The Punjab Muslim press also championed the cause of Urdu. The Paisa Akhbar urged for the maintenance of Urdu on two grounds: first, it was the mother-tongue of many Hindus who had taken a lively interest in its expansion; secondly, it was the expenato of India. As regards the reason for Muslims evincing special interest in it, was that it was written in Arabic characters and constituted a

1 CMG, 9 April 1909, p. 10; 11 April 1909, p. 10.
2 Paisa Akhbar, 24, 25, 27 and 28 October 1909, quoted in Malik, A Book of Readings, p. 279.
3 CMG, 23 October 1912, p. 8.
memorial of their past greatness. The Observer pointed out that the real meaning of the cry for Punjabi was to strengthen the Hindu domination in India. It further pointed out that the real intention of the Hindus was to elevate Hindi and not the Punjabi to the rank of the official language of the Punjab. The paper, therefore, warned the Sikhs that if Urdu was evicted from the province, its place would not be taken by Punjabi. In 1910, much notice was taken by the Punjab Muslim press on the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in introducing Gurmukhi as a court language into Patiala State in place of Urdu. The Muslim papers complained that the change of language was going to be detrimental to the interests of Patiala Muslims as it would oust them from the official and subordinate position in the State.

Thus, since 1909, the language controversy was going on in the Punjab both in the press and public. On the one hand, it was argued by the Hindus that Urdu was a foreign and exotic language which could only flourish in the hot abuse of official protection. While, on the other hand, the Muslims maintained that there was no such language as Punjabi which was merely a collective term employed to denote a number of widely differing and uncouth dialects used by illiterate people in different parts of the Punjab. The controversy inevitably widened rift between the two communities and stimulated communal rivalry and tension. It may, however, be noted that after 1909 the Urdu-Punjabi controversy, owing chiefly to its fusion with greater Hindu-Muslim question, practically ceased to occupy a place of its own in the sphere of Punjab politics, and therefore, failed to attract much separate notice in the columns of the press.

The Morley-Minto reforms also accentuated communal unrest in the Punjab. Whereas the Muslims were disappointed as not having

granted separate representation on the Punjab Legislative Council, the reforms were coldly received by the Hindus. The Hindus had serious objections with the reforms as applied to the Punjab. The Punjab was not placed on the same footing with other provinces as regards the number of members and the method of appointment. In the share of the province in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hindus and Sikhs and further grievances. Besides, the method of franchise was also objectionable to the Hindus. Not only direct representation was given to Muslims but the franchise extended to them was also liberal. With the introduction of the reforms, the Hindus were further put to a serious disadvantageous position. In the first elections to the Punjab Legislative Council held under the reforms, only one Hindu was returned by the Punjab University. The government's nominations to the Council also went in favour of Muslims. In the Council, including the nominated members, there were seven Muslim, three Hindu and two Sikh members. The Muslims were thus over-represented in the Council. The case of Hindu representation in the Imperial Council was even worse. There were no less than three additional members on that Council from the Punjab, two Muslims and one Sikh. Thus, under the council reforms the Punjab Hindus were placed in a minority. The grievances of the Punjab Hindus were discussed at the Lahore session (December 1909) of the Indian National Congress. This session, particularly the presidential address of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, exacerbated ill-feeling between Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus did not like the preferential policy of government towards Muslims. The feeling that government was favouring Muslims at the expense of Hindus, was spreading in small towns and villages. The rapidity with which it had spread, not only the relations between Hindus and Muslims were greatly strained but there was a good deal of bitterness against the government. Hence, the Hindu-Muslim question became more acute.

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4 WRDCI, 7 March 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, April 1911, Nos. 101-104.
since the reform scheme came into operation in the Punjab.  

In the early months of 1910, the bitterness between the two communities reached a new peak in some towns of the Punjab with the Hindu boycott of Muslim traders. The Hindus openly refused to trade with Muslims until the latter rally to the nationalist cause. In April 1910, the grievances of the Punjab Muslims against Hindus were taken up by the London branch of the All-India Muslim League. The London League submitted a memorandum to the permanent under-secretary of state for India, demanding prompt amelioration of the condition created by the Hindu boycott of Muslims in the Punjab. The London League observed that the boycott movement was not without effect in exacerbating the feeling aroused in the North-West Frontier Province by the Peshawar riots. It referred to the public utterances of some Hindu leaders, especially of Protul Chandra Chatterji as president of the Punjab Hindu Conference, which accentuated racial bitterness between Hindus and Muslims. It pointed out that the avowed aim of the boycott movement was to bring the Muslim community on the side of those who were seeking to weaken or overthrow the British authority. It claimed that the government could not view with indifference the proscription of a community on the ground that it was loyal to the British government. Side by side with all necessary steps for maintaining law and order, the London League suggested the formation of conciliation boards under the auspices of a division and district authorities.

The memorandum of the London League, however, failed to elicit any positive reply from the India Office which did not go beyond a formal acknowledgement. But the official attitude towards the matter was made clear in a minute by H.H. Risley, secretary of the judicial and public department and a former home secretary of the Government of India. Admitting the truth of the Hindu boycott of Muslims in the Punjab, Risley noted that some months ago the Hindu majority of the

1 WRDCI, 21 December 1910, G0I, HD, Poll B, January 1911, Nos. 17-19.
2 The memorandum of the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League is quoted full in G0I, HD, Poll B, August 1910, Nos. 66-68.
3 The Peshawar communal riots which broke out in March 1910, were the theme of long letters and articles in both the Hindu and Muslim newspapers of the Punjab, G0I, HD, Poll B, August 1910, Nos. 66-68; WRPAE, 23 April 1910, G0I, HD, Poll B, June 1910, Nos. 17-25.
4 G0I, HD, Poll B, August 1910, Nos. 66-68.
For Library at Lahore turned out, on the re-election of the committee, all the Muslim members, and that the Punjab Government had faced difficulty in securing the election of a Muslim to the Syndicate of the Punjab University. Risley thought that the enmity between Hindus and Muslims was no new thing in the Punjab and that it was not surprising that it should have been accentuated by the speeches of leading Muslims in connection with the council reforms and the rejoinder of the Hindu press. He was satisfied that the Punjab Government were well aware of the state of things and had been endeavouring to bring about more amicable relations between the two communities. 1

Nevertheless, the usual religious controversies in the Punjab grew and degenerated in some cases into mutual recriminatory and scurrilous abuse. 2 The vernacular press of the province spread hatred between the Aryas and Muslims on the subject of their respective religions. Its effects were seen in the tone of the subjects discussed and the speeches made at Arya Samaj meetings and Muslim gatherings. 3 The Arjan and the Hunter were conspicuous among the partisans of Aryas and Muslims. 4 The journalistic controversy became so scurrilous that the government decided to warn or to take action against the offending newspapers under the Press Act. 5 The change which took place in the relations between Hindus and Muslims was illustrated by the report of a Hindu meeting held at Jhang on 5 January 1911, at which it was decided that no Hindu woman should be permitted to go to the Mai Hir fair, a Muslim fair which was to take place on 13 January. The meeting also resolved that the Hindus should keep away from the Muslim processions. 6 Again, at a Lahore meeting held on 6 March 1911 in the memory of the assassination of Pandit Lekh Ram, Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt Chaudhry said that much of the distrust of government towards the Arya Samaj was

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1 Rahman, From Consultation to Confrontation, p. 194.
2 WRPAP, 14 May 1910, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1910, Nos. 1-9; WRDCI, 28 June 1910, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1910, Nos. 10-17.
4 WRDCI, 7 June 1910, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1910, Nos. 10-17.
5 For instance, the Mujaddad, a Muslim paper of Lahore, and the Jorabans Gazette, an Arya paper of Amritsar, were warned for anti-Arya and anti-Muslim articles. WRPAP, 14 May 1910, GOI, HD, Poll B, August 1910, Nos. 1-9; WRDCI, 5 October 1910, GOI, HD, Poll B, November 1910, Nos. 17-24.
6 WRDCI, 24 January 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, February 1911, Nos. 1-5.
due to the Muslims. He advised the young men present to follow the example of Lekh Ram. His lecture further widened the gulf between the two communities.¹

The Hindu-Muslim trouble in the Punjab was further embittered by the attacks on the Agha Khan in the Hindu press, when he visited Lahore in February 1911 for the purpose of collecting subscriptions for the Muslim University Fund. Apparently, it came as a surprise and something of shock to the Aryas to learn that the Agha Khan had a large number of Hindu followers in the Punjab known as Shamsis. The Arya and Hindu papers attempted to turn his Hindu followers from their allegiance to the Agha Khan. The Hindustan took a very prominent part in this movement. It pleaded to free Hindus and other Shamsis followers from the clutches of the Agha Khan's faith. Incidentally, this showed how little the higher caste Hindus knew about their own people, as it was not till the followers of the Agha Khan gathered in large numbers to pay their respects to him when he visited Lahore.² On the other hand, the Agha Khan's Hindu followers of the Punjab, in a memorial submitted to the Viceroy, complained of the defamatory and libellous language adopted both in press and speeches by the Arya Samajists towards their spiritual guide. They indicated objectionable passage in the Hindustan, the Jhang Sial and the Arya Gazette newspapers which were conducted by the Arya Samajists. They demanded that, in view of the intense exasperation caused to their community by such utterances, action might be taken against the editors of the papers in question.³ The Muslim press also retaliated the Arya attacks. Maulvi Sana Ullah, Editor of the Ahl-i-Hadis, published an open letter to the Agha Khan, asking him to forthwith openly convert his Hindu followers to Islam. The Maulvi added that an addition to their numerical strength was the greatest need of Muslims.⁴ This problem also led to the deterioration of relations between the Hindus and Muslims.

The demand of a separate University by the Muslims also invited

¹ WRDCI, 28 March 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, April 1911, Nos. 101-104.
² WRDCI, 2 and 30 May 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, June 1911, Nos. 4-8; WRDCI, 5 September 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, October 1911, Nos. 46-49; Hindustan, 24 March 1911, SNNP 1911, Vol. I, p. 299.
³ Memorial dated 25th April 1911, from certain Hindus of the Punjab to the Viceroy, GOI, HD, Poll B, May 1911, Nos. 63-64.
adverse comment by the Hindus, who stigmatised it as a sectarian movement which would result in permanent separation between the two communities.¹ The Hindus held that the real aim of the Muslims in founding a Muslim University was political and not educational and they desired to keep themselves separate from other Indian national movements. The Panjabee wrote that how cleverly the Muslims had shifted their scene of operations from India to the centre of pan-Islamism and were carrying on their political propaganda under religious and educational garbs.² The Hindus also endeavoured to propose a Hindu University which was even regarded by the Hindu press as nothing more than a natural sequel to the Muslim proposal.³

Another problem which accentuated the differences between the two communities was the Land Alienation Act which was condemned by the Hindus due to its manifold anomalies and disquieting results. The Tribune, supported by the whole of the Hindu press, conducted a vigorous campaign against the Act. It alleged that the Hindu community was labouring through the operation of an Act that had conferred corresponding favours upon Muslims. The paper urged to start a strong agitation for the inclusion of all Hindu agricultural classes in the list of notified agricultural tribes.⁴ The Hindustan observed that the Act had rendered it impossible for Hindus to realise quite a substantial amount of old debts.⁵ On the other hand, the Act was defended by the Muslim papers. The Observer pointed out that Hindu objections were influenced not by any inherent defect in the measure but by the fact that the small peasant proprietors of the Punjab, for whose benefit the Act was passed, happened to be mostly Muslims and Sikhs. The Zamindar wrote that 'the measure is a divine

² Panjabee, 12 August 1911, quoted in WRDCI, 15 August 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, September 1911, Nos. 3-7.
blessings for zamindars*. The annual meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League held at Lahore on 19 October 1912, placed on record its gratification at the great success achieved by the operation of the Act. The meeting pointed out that the Act, besides averting a grave political danger, had brought prosperity and contentment in the rural areas, and had proved a source of incalculable good to the agricultural classes in the Punjab.²

The Muslims of the Punjab began to realise that their apathy in trade and their non-adaptability to the changed industrial circumstances had done them incalculable harm. They wanted their co-religionists to discard their anti-Islamic and unreasonable contempt of shopkeeping and their prejudices against certain trades.³ In 1909, they established the Anjuman-i-Ittihad-o-Taraqqi-i-Mussalmanan-i-Punjab at Lahore to promote trade among the Muslims.⁴ It was a society of middle class young Muslims which endeavoured to improve the moral and economic condition of Muslims and to rescue them out of their present stage of commercial slavery. The attainment of the latter object was sought to be achieved by boycotting non-Islamic shops and patronising Muslim shops in preference to them.⁵

The Anjuman told the Muslims that their indifference to trade was involving them in destruction and that unless they took trade in their hands, their material improvement was an impossibility.⁶ The general secretary of the Anjuman issued a leaflet entitled 'Dawat-ul-haq' ('Invitation to truth'), in which he invited the attention of Muslims to their present wretched and degraded condition and exhorted them to take trade as well as arts and industries into their hands. He said that they should particularly attend to trade in edible articles of all kinds required by them for marriages and

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2 CMG, 23 October 1912, p. 8.
entertainments. He requested them not to buy such articles from Hindu shopkeepers as the things prepared by them were not pure and clean.\(^1\)

The Anjuman-i-Ittihad-o-Taraqqi-i-Mussalmanan-i-Punjab attempted to enlist the services of maulvis to preach the doctrine of the Anjuman.\(^2\) At Lahore, a delegation of the Anjuman went round the city on 24 May 1911, and called on all leading Muslims, with a view to collecting subscriptions to pay a maulvi to preach the boycott of Hindu goods.\(^3\) Subsequently, Maulvi Abdulla, lecturing under the auspices of the Anjuman, exhorted the Muslims to purchase articles of food from their co-religionists only.\(^4\) Maulvi Muhammad Azim preached a sermon in a mosque and remarked that trade alone can place a people in affluent circumstances. He urged Muslims to take more kindly to trade as the Hindus had begun to take even the menial occupations which were once monopolised by the followers of Islam.\(^5\) The Muslim press also exhorted the Muslims to adopt trade as profession. The Millat favoured a boycott of Hindu shops by Muslims. It counselled the latter to establish export agencies with a view to disposing of the produce of their land otherwise than through the Bania Hindus.\(^6\)

In their attempts to fill the Muslims with enthusiasm for trade, a meeting of the Lahore Muslims was held on 8 April 1911 under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Ittihad-o-Taraqqi-i-Mussalmanan-i-Punjab. About one thousand Muslims were present and the chair was occupied by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din, a well-known Ahmadiya lecturer, made a long speech on 'our trade'. He exhorted Muslims to compete in trade with Hindus and to boycott the Hindu community. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, while supporting the lecturer's address, asked his co-religionists to buy nothing from Hindus. He said that Muslims bore Hindus no enmity, but the love of Islam compelled them to boycott Hindu shops.\(^7\) The boycott movement of the Muslims also gained

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4 WRDCI, 22 November 1910, GOI, HD, Poll B, December 1910, Nos. 7-10.
7 WRDCI, 2 Mary 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, June 1911, Nos. 4-8. Also see Hindustan, 14 April 1911, SNNP 1911, Vol. I, p. 396.
momentum in other towns of the Punjab. At a meeting of the Delhi Muslims held on 13 August 1911, many of those present agreed not to purchase Hindu-made articles. The deputy commissioner of Delhi reported that this was the first indication of a Muslim boycott of Hindu goods.\(^1\) At Sankar in the Dera Ghazi Khan district, as an outcome of the recent ill-feeling between Muslims and Hindus, the former had started a society called 'The Boycott Committee' in December 1910. The avowed object of the Committee was to sever all connections with the Hindus and to render themselves absolutely independent of them. With this object in view, they had opened shops and were collecting money to pay off their debts. The Committee also proposed to start an agricultural bank. The neighbouring villages of Sankar were also affected by this propaganda.\(^2\) The cry of Muslims proposing to organise a boycott of Hindus in the Punjab was reverberating throughout the Hindu press. The Hindustan referred to a secret movement started by Muslims to boycott Hindus and efforts to inflame the Muslim public by calling Hindus impure and unclean.\(^3\)

In fact, the growing Muslim consciousness had alarmed the Hindus who monopolised trades. As soon as the Muslims attempted to organise themselves and thought of freeing themselves from commercial thraldom, the Hindus hastened to raise the spectre of Muslim boycott of the Hindus.

The Punjab Hindu Sabha and the Punjab Hindu Conference were once more urged by the Hindus to undertake a political programme. It was urged that these bodies should abandon their half-hearted and apologetic attitude in the matter of political activity. They should openly and candidly adopt politics as an essential part of their programme, and generally constitute a political body which would safeguard the rights and interests of the Hindu community on the lines adopted by the Muslim League with respect to Muslim interests.\(^4\)

The protagonist of this theme was Hindustan.

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This paper pointed out that as the efforts of the Punjab Hindu Sabha at social reform were likely to interfere with the programme of the reform before the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Singh Sabha, the existence of the Hindu Sabha was extremely dangerous to the Arya Samaj. The real work before the Hindu Sabha should be of a political character; it should undertake to safeguard the communal political rights of the Hindus. Though there were differences of opinion on this view between the Arya Samajists and orthodox Hindus, the Hindu movement continued to gain momentum. The Hindu political activity which marked the Lahore municipal elections in July 1911, caused great excitement in the Muslim camp. The Muslim press displayed a determined hostility in its attacks upon Lala Lajpat Rai and his candidature in the municipal elections. The leading Muslim journals regarded Lala Lajpat Rai's return to public life through his election to the municipal committee as constituting a serious menace to their community and a blow to the prestige of government. The Lala's election, according to the Observer, showed that the Punjab Hindus were anxious to convince the government that he was their leader. Further, the formation of Lala Lajpat Rai's Hindu Elementary Education League in August 1911, with its exclusively pro-Hindi and pro-Hindu policy, was received by the Punjab Muslims as a declaration of war against Urdu. While announcing the establishment of the

4 WRDCI, 29 August 1911, GOI,HD,Poll B, September 1911, Nos.3-7; Strictly Confidential Annual Report of the Native Papers published in the Punjab for 1911, GOI,HD,Poll B, October 1912, Nos. 2-3.
League, Lala Lajpat Rai said that one of the reasons for creating the League was the fear that government might open in the near future a large number of Urdu primary schools in the Punjab. The Lala was further encouraged to establish the League with G.K. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council. At a meeting of the Lahore Hindus held to support the Bill, he exhorted the Hindus to boycott the Urdu language at once. He called upon them to refrain from using Persian verses of Muslim poets from their wedding and other ceremonial cards or occasions. As regards the development of Hindi, he assured them that within three years every Hindu boy of Lahore would have a knowledge of Nagri, and when the Elementary Education Bill would be passed then they would receive their education in Hindi and Devanagri. Besides, the Lala had frequently said that although Hindus had been freed from political bondage of Muslims, they continued to be intellectual subjects of the latter. He, therefore, repeatedly advised his co-religionists to boycott Urdu literature and to hate everything bespeaking intellectual, economic, social or religious superiority on the part of Muslims. Later on, at an annual meeting of the Lahore Arya Samaj in 1913, he bewailed that the Hindus should be ashamed of themselves when they ate from Muslim or Christian cooks. These utterances were given wide publicity in the Hindu press.

Lala Lajpat Rai's choice of Hindi as the proposed medium of instruction in the schools under the Hindu Elementary Education League became a subject of controversy in the Muslim press. The

Observer suggested, as a counterpoise, the immediate formation of a Provincial Muslim Free Education League calculated to safeguard the interests of the Muslims and, at the same time, to render it unnecessary for them to hold aloof from the movement in favour of free elementary education. It may, however, be noted that a section of the Punjab Muslims, led by Muhammad Shafi, opposed Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The Millat published several articles against the Bill, emphasising the opinion that it was an integral part of the Hindu scheme for obtaining Swaraj.

Thus, there was a feeling of rivalry which was daily spreading among both the communities in the Punjab. Every mistake and sectarian example set by one community was copied by the other. The Muslims started a Muslim Press Association at Lahore. The Hindus, as was expected, regarded the Association as offensive and they suggested the formation of a Hindu Press Association. The breach between the two communities widened to a considerable extent. The Hindu-Muslim relations at Lahore were so strained that even the newspaper-vendors indulged in abuse of the opposite party when selling their papers in the streets. The practice, common to both sections of the press, of giving a Hindu-Muslim colour to even the most trivial local matters served to intensify and exacerbate religious and racial animosities. During the years 1909 to 1911, the Hindu-Muslim problem undoubtedly transcended all other questions of the day in the province. The whole controversy was conducted in a bitterly partisan spirit, and the press, instead of allaying the excitement, discovered fresh causes of estrangement and served to intensify racial feeling.

1 WRDCI, 29 August 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, September 1911, Nos. 3-7; Strictly Confidential Annual Report of the Native Papers published in the Punjab for 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, October 1912, Nos. 2-3.
4 WRDCI, 29 August 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, September 1911, Nos. 3-7; Strictly Confidential Annual Report of the Native Papers published in the Punjab for 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, October 1912, Nos. 2-3.
It may be mentioned here that the awakening of the Muslims was disconcerting to the Punjab Hindus, who had previously regarded the Muslims as slothful and politically a negligible community. The Hindus were unable to view with indifference the fact that they must now reckon with Muslim competition in the domains of trade and government service, over which they had long held sway. They deeply resented the studious aloofness which characterized the Muslim attitude to the Indian National Congress and the Swadeshi and national movements. Finally, they found cause for abiding dissatisfaction in what they believed to be the partiality shown to Muslims under the reform scheme, with its consequent prejudice to Hindu interests and the cause of Indian nationality. Such were some of the more essential differences that sprang up between Hindus and Muslims. Other causes such as kine-killing, the observance of chhut, the language controversy, etc., were of less account, and their exploitation by the press were symptomatic of the existing tension rather than product of it.¹

During the period under review, the Muslims' relations with the Sikhs were also strained in the Punjab. The old controversy over the religious beliefs of Guru Nanak was revived by the Ahmadiyas, and led to a heated discussion in certain Muslim and Sikh papers. The former declared that Guru Nanak was a believer in the Muhammadan religion, and that his followers should, therefore, be Muslims.² At one time the controversy over the allegations made by the Ahmadiyas that Guru Nanak was a Muslim threatened to reach dangerous limits, but a timely warning by the government to the leading men of both parties brought about an amicable settlement.³ Again, the jhatka-halal question that came into prominence in certain districts of the Punjab, imperilled the relations between the two communities.⁴ In Lahore, the Sikhs demanded the use of jhatka meat in the boarding-

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³ WRDCI, 23 May 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, June 1911, Nos. 4-8.
houses of schools and colleges. This demand was, however, of recent origin and was raised by the 'Neo Sikhs', whose leading man was Sundar Singh Majithia. The Hindus in places backed them up in order to unite Sikhs and Hindus against Muslims. Earlier, there was no demand for allowing the jhatka meat in the boarding-houses, and Sikhs and Hindus ate halal meat without demur, and there was no prohibition against their doing this.

During the years 1909-1911, the Hindu-Sikh relations were also considerably disturbed in the Punjab. The Sikhs were provoked by the Arya Samajists. The constant spiteful attacks of Arya papers and lectures upon the Sikh religion, the attempts of the Hindu Sabha to prove that Sikhs merely belonged to a particular sect of Hinduism, the conversion of low-caste Sikhs to Aryanism, infuriated the 'Tat Khalsa' press which retaliated with attacks upon Hindus and Hinduism. The formation of the Hindu Elementary Education League with its exclusively pro-Hindi and pro-Hindu policy, had also given great offence to Sikh supporters of Punjabi and Gurmukhi. Its formation was received by the Sikh press as a declaration of war against Punjabi. The disgust of the Sikhs over the language question was so strong that some of them declared that they preferred the continuance of Urdu as a medium of instruction in schools to the introduction of Hindi. By the end of 1911, the Hindu-Sikh relations continued to be disturbed at Lahore, Sialkot, Amritsar and at other places in the Punjab. The Sikhs were, in fact, themselves divided into two schools: one looking upon their community as a part of the Hindus, and the other claiming a separate identity with separate rights and interests.

1 Louis Dane to Lord Hardinge, 29 August 1911, Hardinge Papers (185).
2 Strictly Confidential Annual Report of the Native Papers published in the Punjab for 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, October 1912, Nos. 2-3; WRDCI, 30 May 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, June 1911, Nos. 4-8.
4 WRDCI, 29 August 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, September 1911, Nos. 3-7; WRDCI, 30 May 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, June 1911, Nos. 4-8; WRDCI, 12 September 1911, GOI, HD, Poll B, October 1911, Nos. 46-49.
Anyhow, the communal tension had far-reaching effects on the Muslim politics in the Punjab. It reinforced Muslim conviction to have their interests represented separately than that of the Hindus, and convinced them to organise the community on communal lines. It precipitated their agitation for separate representation in the legislative councils, municipal and district boards, and the public services. In fact, the communal tension injected a new life of communal organisation and mobilisation among the Muslims. Still, the most important outcome of the period of communal tension was the emergence of the young elements in the Muslim community, who were more bold and vigorous in their attempts to shield the community and to retaliate the Hindu attacks. During the years 1910 and 1911, while the Punjab Provincial Muslim League almost went into oblivion, the young Muslims came to the fore to lead the communal mobilisation. The enthusiasm for Muslim brotherhood was raised in the community and it came under the influence of pan-Islamic movement. Henceforth pan-Islamism, instead of communalism, became a major issue in the Punjab Muslim politics.