CHAPTER VII

EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS

A remarkable outcome of western education was the emergence of socio-religious reform movements among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs in the Punjab. The new Education and Thought were largely responsible for the rise of a number of clubs, societies, associations and sabhas, the pillars on which these reform movements were built. The inspiration for reform came from the West. In the beginning, the clubs and societies were meeting places of the newly educated class and the European officers. The Khair Khwar-i-Punjab of May, 1871 noticed the establishment of one such society in Gujranwala under the auspices of Macauliffe, then officiating Deputy Commissioner. The objective of this society was to enable Punjab gentlemen and European officers to find opportunities of meeting together and establishing a system of free intercourse between them. And some day, probably at such meetings and intercourses, the idea for reforms emerged. One of the most important club of the kind was the "Lahore Social Club" established in 1871. The same year a "Literacy Society" came up at Gurdaspur. A new

1. P.N.N.R. 1871, p. 257; The Khair Khawah-i-Punjab, May 1871.
2. P.N.N.R. 1871; p. 455; Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab, 28th July, 1871.
3. P.N.N.R. 1871, p. 529; The Lawrence Gazette, 1st September 1871.
Mohammadan Society was established at Lahore⁴. In 1873, Anjuman-i-Jalandhar was established by Sayad Hadi Hussain Khan and Diwan Ram Nath, Extra Assistant Commissioners⁵. A Mohammadan society was established at Amritsar⁶. One of the earliest and most important 'Anjuman-i-Punjab' was established in 1865. This society was instrumental in giving Punjab, the Panjab University. These are only a few of the large number of Anjumans, societies and sabhas, which were dotting the landscape of the Punjab in rapid succession. The leading centres of these associations were, of course, the cities of Lahore and Amritsar. Most of these societies were primarily religious and meant for the advancement of the interests of the particular communities they represented. On the other hand, there were societies like the 'Punjab Public Library'. The Punjab Text-Book Committee, The Indian Association, and the Punjab Association, whose outlook was broader. Their members included individuals of all classes and denominations and their "usefulness" was not "encamped by any sectarian limitation"⁷.

5. P.N.N.R. 1873, p. 221; The Patiala Akhbar, 24th March, 1873.
6. P.N.N.R. 1873, p. 176; The Koh-i-Noor, 8th March, 1873.
The deliberations at the societies and sabhas infused a new spirit among the natives. They seemed to be fired for reforms and change. The principal topics of discussion used to be the education of women, the widow remarriage, the curtailment of marriage expenses, the removal of native prejudices against visiting England, the abolition of the practice of dowry and the need of reforms in the religions.

The objects of these associations were "to encourage the free expression of opinion on various subjects such as social and religious reforms, the correction of evil customs, and promulgation of liberal views with regard to religion and science, and to enlist the sympathy and cooperation of liberal minded men for the accomplishment of these objects".

Thus, the Punjab was humming with activity. The activists were the dedicated and zealous youngmen, who were educated at government and mission schools. They were members of the many local units of the socio-religious reform movements, like Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam Sabha, Sat Sabha, Singh Sabha and many of the Muslim societies. These youngmen adopted many methods of the missionaries like the "congregational worship, public lectures, prayer meetings, study groups, organisation for women and young people, conferences, preaching tours and village itineration, publication of

8. P.N.N.R. 1871, p. 325; The Lamorah Akhbar, 15th June, 1871.
periodicals, pamphlets and books for internal communication and external propaganda, the raising of money by donation and public subscription, the acquisition of physical facilities such as worship centres, lecture halls, organisational headquarters, reading rooms, libraries, printing presses, orphanages, training and rehabilitation centres, clinics, schools, hostels and colleges - these were the commitments and the work undertaken by the new protestants.\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{The Religious Controversy in the Punjab}

These socio-religious reforms activities got tremendous momentum at the beginning of the decade of the eighties. The two decades of 1880 and 1890 were particularly explosive because of the religious rivalaries. There ensued a strong contest among the missionaries, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs over the superiority of their respective religions. Initially, all the three denominations were apprehensive of the evangelistic designs of the Christians and opposed them. Later on, they started sorting it out between themselves and opposed each other bitterly. The Arya Samaj with its relentless struggle against the Punjabi orthodoxy was the source of discord. Both the Muslims and the Sikhs were very bitter with the 'Aryan' onslaught. They primarily blamed the

\footnotesize
'Aryas' for triggering off religious turmoil. Even Swami Dayanand Saraswati was not spared\textsuperscript{11}.

The Paper, The Bharat Partap of Delhi rests the blame of this religious controversy on the Arya Samaj and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiya sect\textsuperscript{12}. The controversy soon plunged the advocates of various religions in the Punjab into an endless verbal, pamphlets-and-leaflets war. The study of these rivalaries makes an interesting reading of the late 19th century religious turmoil.

\textsuperscript{11} P.N.N.R. 1903, p. 282; The Curzon Gazette, Delhi, 23rd October, 1903, "There can be no denying the fact that the friendship between the Hindus and the Mohammadans has been on the decrease ever since Pandit Dayanand began to attack the Prophet's Faith and a certain Maulavi commenced refuting those attacks. And the gulf is being widened with the spread of education and the Arya religion, and God alone knows what the future is to be? Religious controversies were first introduced during the time of the Pandit named, and the evil has assumed such dimensions that both sides have issued dozens of books against each other";

P.N.N.R. 1901, p. 461, The Tribune, Lahore, 3rd October, 1901; "Formerly all differences and discussions, within the folds of Hinduism pertained merely to details, the vast majority being of one mind. But things have taken a different turn, and assumed a much graver aspect since the schism created by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in the Punjab. Now, the difference between the orthodox minority (Hindus) and the Dayanandi minority does not amount merely to a matter of controversy, but to almost a life and death struggle".

\textsuperscript{12} P.N.N.R. 1901, p. 480; The Bharat Partap of Delhi, 5th August, 1901.
The stage for the missionary and native confrontation was set at the mission schools, where under the influence of the teachings of Christianity, many young pupils had become converts to the Christianity. These conversions sent shock waves through the Punjabi society. They started opposing the missionaries. Most of these opponents were, by and large, the former students of the mission schools and the colleges of the Punjab. The Western education at these institutions had been proving a blessing in disguise. It awakened the natives to the evils in their religion and society. The Western knowledge made the people aware of the shortcomings of their own religion. They "are endeavouring to reform their own religions of their abuses and improve them, and make them appear as good as possible. Dharam Sabha, Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj have been in full swing. The first two represent the orthodox Hindu and Sikh faiths. The last is a reformation in Hinduism. The first two are friendly to Christianity or tolerant to it. The last is unfriendly and makes most virulent and unjust remarks on it."

The missionaries feared the Aryas more and regarded them as a powerful hostile force. Unlike the Brahmo Samajists who, while denouncing the pollution of later Hinduism did also accommodate Christianity, the Aryas mounted

---

14a. Loc. cit.
a bitter attack on Christianity. They did not yield to the influence of the Western ideas. They preached that all knowledge, scientific as well as religious, was affirmed to be contained in the Vedas, and foreign Englishman had only borrowed from them. The Arya Samaj, therefore, appealed, much more successfully to the race feeling of the ordinary Hindu than did the Brahmo Samaj. It was this aspect of Arya Samaj which was dreaded by the missionaries more than anything else.

Meanwhile, during the summer of 1894, two youngmen at Lahore were baptized and a third from Forman Christian College, applied for baptism, broke his caste and put himself under the protection of the missionaries. The incident resulted in almost an all-Punjab crusade against the missionaries. "It roused the ire of the Hindus and the organised opposition against mission schools all over the province". Consequently, the missionaries had to close down one of their schools at Lahore and the number of pupils in another school was reduced to five. The missionaries had themselves testified to the fact that on the baptism of a student from any of the three denominations, they had to face an equal degree of opposition from the people. But still

16a. Loc. cit.
they were adamant in their objectives and maintained that although the baptism, "would again startle the scholastic serenity which now reigns and once more many would be thrown into a violent flutter, and many would be taking themselves to flights, while several conversions will nearly empty the classrooms and the institutes would, for a time, be shunned as a pastilenence-haunted place. But we are ready to face such a revolution and would welcome it if it comes. We should be glad to have it said of us, "these that have turned the world upside down"."17

Opposition to Girls Mission schools was no less strident than opposition to the Boys Mission schools. Here, in fact, the opposition was only more virulent. The missionaries in 1876 had to face the stiffest opposition from the Hindus in an effort to open a girls school at Ambala.18 The Muslims, too, opposed these schools. In 1885, a Maulavi had induced some Muslim parents to withdraw their daughters from the Mission schools. He also had a pamphlet printed and circulated with the same object in view.19 The conversion of a Brahman woman at Tarn Taran in 1895 provoked tremendous stir among the people. As a result of the antagonism, the missionaries had to suspend their public preaching. Their

17. L.M.R. 1895, p. 70.
18. L.M.R. 1876, p. 17.
schools were deserted and they had to close down the Mission Hospital. They charged that this antagonism was spearheaded by the Aryas. Soon, the controversy spread to the neighbouring towns and was taken up by the Vernacular press, which contained articles criticizing the work and character of the missionaries and Christians. The general feeling of alarm swept through the whole province.

In the beginning, most of the converts were from high society. But as the opposition gained intensity and winning over the high caste prospective converts became difficult, the missionaries opened out to the neglected and retarded lot of 'Chuhras' and 'Chamars'. In 1894, six persons belonging to the 'Chuhras' community were baptized at Rahon. A seventh, Hukam Chand, a 'Mazhabi' Sikh was purified before a crowd of Hindus and the Muslims. His hair (kesi) which being a symbol of the religious faith of the Sikhs, was cut off in the presence of the congregation, as an essential preliminary to baptism. The antagonism which was generated is described in the following words by C.B. Newton, "the rumour spread abroad that we had cut off 'Kesi' of high caste Sikh, and a growing feeling of hostile excitement pervaded in the towns people. This culminated in a vicious attack upon our camp by a mob of several hundred Hindus". The missionaries had to call in the police for their safety. A year prior to this, in 1893,

eight persons were converted at Lanke, a village in the Ferozepur district. The missionaries had to face 'the venomous hostility' from the 'Singh Sabha' and 'the Arya Samaj' combined together.23

These are a few of the many illustrations, where the missionaries had to face the opposition of all the three communities. The hostile movement was not only confined to the ignorant classes. It was regularly organised by the leading citizens of the towns, including men educated in English, and members of the municipal committees.24 The committees were formed and meetings were held and "spies were detailed to watch the schools; pupils were followed to their home and the parents warned to withdraw their children under 'penalty of caste-excommunication". Again "insult, slander, violence and persecution seem to be the normal state of affairs".25

The low caste 'Chuhras' and 'Chamars' entered the folds of Christianity mainly after 1890s. Here the missionaries had an unbelievable success. The disinherited and neglected section of the Punjabi society was lured to Christianity. The large scale conversions of this section came to be known as 'mass movement'. Coming to the

conversion of students, it can safely be concluded that they always formed a significant proportion of the converts. It was all the more true of the first fifty years of baptism. For the religious and social background of the Punjabi converts, see Table 39.

It were the Aryas, as already noticed, who led the Punjabis in their struggle against the Padries. They regarded the Christians and Muslims as the aggressor and the Hindus, the defensive side. They had volunteered "to fight on the side of weaker party" (the Hindus). The Aryas were pained to find that the Hindus were indifferent to their lot and wholly wanting in the love of religion and feeling of nationality. They constantly warned the Hindus against the designs of the Christians.


28. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 9; The Arya Gazette, Lahore, 12th December, 1897: "The propagators of Christianity having failed on every side, hit upon the device of dressing themselves like the Hindu Sadhus and organising the Salvation Army. The simple villagers who took these disguised preachers for Hindu were at first drawn towards them, but they were soon undeceived and found that these Sadhus were Christians and had disguise in order to secure converts to Christianity. The Gazette observed that it was the duty of every Arya to unmask these Christian Sadhus."
The missionaries, too, in their turn did not lag behind in giving the Aryas the same dose. The Nur Afshan, a Christian Paper, of 10th February 1899, took the Arya Updeshak to task for preaching that the disinterested efforts of the Christian missionaries "were likely to prove injurious to the true interests of the Indian people". The same paper resented the efforts of the Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharam to lay obstacles in the path of the Padrees. It remarked that the days of Hindu religion were numbered, as it was divided into numerous sections and sub-sub-sections. It advised that if "they want to preserve their nationality, they should not identify themselves with the futile attempts of the Arya Samaj to organise themselves into a nation, but embrace Christianity".

These are some of the examples of the kind of rivalry which was going on at that time. Meanwhile, the Arya Samaj went on crusading against the socio-religious evils of the Hindus. They were up in arms against idol worship; propagated widow remarriage; advocated inter-

caste marriage\textsuperscript{33}; performed Shuddhi, claiming back the Hindu converts from other religions and started converting Chamars and others to Arya Dharma. The Aryas began to perform widow remarriages and set up associations to that effect. One such 'Vidhwa Ashram' or Widow-Remarriage Association was established at Ludhiana in 1891. The management of the Ashram consisted of the following members\textsuperscript{34}:

1. Lala Raghunandi Lal, President
2. Lala Naubat Rai, Vice President
3. Lala Devi Chand, Mantri
4. Lala Ganeshi Lal, Treasurer
5. Lala Shadi Ram Deputy Mantri
6. Pandit Bihari Lal, Accountant
7. Shrimati Bishan Devi (Inspectress)
8. Shrimati Bheej Devi (Inspectress).

Moreover, the Aryas with their Shuddhi Sabhas, reclaimed Muslim and Sikh converts back to Hinduism. Thus, by their revolutionary reforms, the Aryans were not befriending many people. But it was because of their move to reform the fundamental rituals of the life-cycle, birth and death, marriage of the Hindus that they lost all orthodox allies. "The Aryas replacement of life-cycle ceremonies not only threatened existing beliefs but also, struck at the economic position of the Brahmanical castes"\textsuperscript{35}. Now the orthodox among the Hindus began to counter each and every move of the Arya Samaj. The Singh Sahai, a Sikh Paper of Amritsar lashed at Sat Dhararti Parcharak, 

\textsuperscript{33} P.N.N.R. 1893, p. 369; The Singh Sahai, Amritsar, the 15th July, 1893.

\textsuperscript{34} P.N.N.R. 1891, p. 47, para 66; The Arya Gazette, Ferozepur, 24th January, 1891.

\textsuperscript{35} Keneth W. Jones, Arya Dharam, Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab, Delhi, Manhar, 1976, pp. 96-97.
an Aryan Paper of Jalandhar for its statement that it was lawful for the Aryas to dine with the Christians and missionaries. The paper urged the Hindus to excommunicate Lala Munshi Ram and other Aryas who championed such opinion. The Akhbar-i-Am and The Singh Sahai took the Arya Samajists to task for 'abusing' and 'insulting' the orthodox faith. But the bitterest and the frontline foe of Arya Samaj was the Sanatan Dharma.

For instance, the Sanatan Dharam Gazette, sarcastically underwent the appeal of Lala Lajpat Rai, the editor of Arya Gazette, to the Hindus of the Central Provinces to save the orphans from the hands of the missionaries. Quoting the appeal that "if they fall into the hands of the Christians, who will perform the 'Sharads' of their parents", this Gazette commented:

"It is a matter of congratulations that Lala Lajpat Rai, although an Aryan, advocates the performance of 'Sharads'. The Hindus are, however, scarcely likely to believe that the Lala's views have undergone so radical a change and will regard his remark regarding Sharadhas as a piece of clever deception resorted to for the purpose of inducing the Hindus to contribute towards the fund started in aid of the Rophas, who are to be brought up as Aryas. But if Lala Lajpat Rai has really succeeded in inducing the Aryas to perform Sharadha, he is to be sincerely congratulated of his success."

37. P.N.N.R. 1891, p. 234, para 26; Akbar-i-Am, Lahore, 23rd June, 1891.
38. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 954, para 34; The Sanatan Dharam Gazette, Lahore, September, 1897.
Now it is a well known fact that the Aryas were the staunch opponents of the death rituals like Sharadhs. Keeping this fact in view, the tone of the above remarks can be well gauged. The Aryan interpretation of the Vedas was severely criticised and opposed by the Sanatan Dharam. And it warned the Hindus not to be misled by such incorrect commentaries.^

Again in 1897, Swami Ala Ram, a Sanatani condemned the Arya religion in a lecture. The Aryas sued him and the Swami had to pay a fine of Rs. 100/=. The incident irked the Sanatanis and they remarked that: "The Aryas should bear in mind that the Swami is not the kind of person to change his belief, or give up the idea of exposing the hollowness of the Arya religion simply for such mere annoyances. The Swami has taken a sacred vow to the effect that so long as he lives, he will try to the utmost of his power to bring about the ruin of the Arya Samaj. The Sanatan Dharam Gazette of January, 1898, expressed satisfaction that even the Aryas themselves did not consider Swami Dayanand 'an infallible being' according to the paper. The college party of the Arya Samaj believed that it was possible that while interpreting the Vedas the Swami might have made some mistakes. The editor expressed the view that even the followers of Swami Dayanand held such an opinion of him. He warmly welcomed the return of the Aryas to "ancient and original Hindu


40. Ibid, para 21.
The Aryans came in for severe hammering for their views on Niyog and idol worship and making Gayatri Mantra accessible even to the untouchable. The Sanatan Dharam also vehemently lashed at the Aryans idea of inter-caste marriages. They believed that the idea was calculated to fill the Indians with half-castes. They ridiculed the Aryan idea that the convert to Arya Samaj lost the caste to which he was born. The editor of Bharat Partap, Delhi, a Sanatan Dharam paper enquired "how is it that the originator of this brilliant idea (Munshi Ram) still uses the Hindu epithat 'Lala' before his name? Truly has the poet said "Our calf has grown old, but it is as far from being a cow as ever".

41. P.N.N.R. 1898, p. 159, para 30; The Sanatan Dharam Gazette, Lahore, January 1898.

42. P.N.N.R. 1898, p. 570; The Sanatan Dharam Gazette, Lahore, August 1898: "The rise of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and the establishment of the Arya Samaj in India took place a generation too early, and this is the reason why the Swami's work has borne no good fruits worthy of the name. The Hindus have not as yet made sufficient progress in practice the revolting doctrines of Niyog and permit their females to marry not two or three but eleven husbands. It is a matter for regret that the Gayatri by the mere recitation of which the "popes" of the Aryas could once work wonders and which was not accessible to everyone, is now printed in Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu, and distributed among the people, even a sweeper can now read the Gayatri. Again it excites laughter to see Aryan boys of tender age denouncing idol worship. It is a pity that a Hindu should have been instrumental in bringing Hinduism into ridicule and contempt".

43. P.N.N.R. 1901, p. 281, Bharat Partap, Delhi, April, 1901.
This was the kind of opposition which the Sanatan Dharam was handing out to the Arya Samaj. From the leaflets and newspapers, the battle of the two bickering sects entered the stage of legal persecution against each other. And by the period this study comes to a close, they still were going strong, their attacks on each other becoming more and more virulent.

The Muslim Versus The Hindus and the Sikhs

The same is the story of exchanges between the Mohammadans and the other two religions of the Punjab. The Mohammadans too were target of adverse, scurrilous criticism. The Singh Sahai, a Sikh paper from Amritsar maintained that the majority of Muslims were convert from Hinduism. In an article "to be proud of Mohammadans is a folly", the paper reminded the Muslims that by forsaking Hinduism, their original faith, the Muslims had degenerated themselves into the lower ranks of the society and had become untouchables to the Hindus.

The same paper of 26th January 1897 lamented that ever since the introduction of Islam in India, hostility, selfishness, licentiousness, concupisence, extravagence and cruelty, etc. have spread among the Hindus. The Mohammadan religion is suited to sandy desert like Arabia, but not to a fertile land like India. The paper then advised "the Indian Mohammadans to relinquish their religion and embrace their original faith (Hinduism)."

44. P.N.N.R. 1901, p. 98, para 26; The Sat Dharam Parcharak, Jalandhar, 25th June, 1901.
46. P.N.N.R. 1897, pp. 81-82, para 2; The Singh Sahai, Amritsar, 26th January, 1897.
Parcharak, Jalandhar clarified that Mohammadans blamed the Hindus for idol worship while they themselves indulged in the worship of graves, tazias, saints, angels and prophets contrary to the teachings of the Kuran. The Chaudhwin Saddi, a Muslim paper from Rawalpindi often repulsed such attacks on Muslims and their religion with zeal and vigour. It strongly retorted a Hindu complaint that the paper had created ill-feeling between the two communities. It alleged that the responsibility of the rift rested solely with the Hindu press "which has for the past 20 or more years pursued a policy of attacking the Mohammadans. The real fact is that the Mohammadans have been as completely deprived of all political rights and privileges as the Hindus could desire, and are now told by the latter that they (Mohammadans) have no connection or concern with the country. Now that one or two Mohammadan newspapers have commenced to give publicity to facts of the case, the Hindus charge these papers with creating ill-feeling between the two communities. Apparently, the Hindus desire that the Mohammadans, who have been reduced to a miserable condition, should still remain quiet and allow their throats to be cut without a murmur". "This being the case", the editor vowed to continue the fight even at the risk of his life.

47. P.N.N.R. 1897; pp. 937-38, para 28; The Sat Dharam Parcharak, Jalandhar, 22nd October, 1897.

48. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 33; The Chaudhwin Saddi, Rawalpindi, 8th January, 1897.
The emergence of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Kadian added fuel to the fire. The religious controversy took an interesting turn. The Mirza with his prophecies and remarks irritated already querreling communities and the religious rivalries became all the more intensified. The Sat Dharam Parcharak remarked that while the 19th century, on the one hand, had given birth to men like Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Raja Ram Mohan Rai and Syad Ahmad Khan, it has, on the other hand, produced men like Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who were trying to reduce mankind again to slavery. The paper asserted that the Mirza was a mad man and deserved to be treated with contempt. The editor warned "the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Aryas to take no notice of the Mirza, as he was "in the habit of talking nonsense"49. The Mirza, on his part, dismissed the sacred Vedas of the Hindus as useless books "beset with various doubts". He remarked that certain doctrines of Vedas were "such that no sensible person can put faith in them for a single moment"50. The Akhbar-i-Am advised Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to "exert himself to unite the different races inhabiting India"51. But the volume of Mirza's call for elimination of other religions was getting louder and louder. Even the Muslims felt uneasy and distressed at his utterances. On 21st June, 1897, a joint meeting of

50. P.N.N.R. 1901, p. 152, para 26; The Hakam, Kadian, 24th February, 1901.
51. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 426, para 15; The Akhbar-i-Am, Lahore, 26th May, 1897.
the Anjuman-i-Mulashrut Ulema and Anjuman-i-Numaniya, the leading Muslim associations, was held at Shahi Mosque, Lahore, and a resolution against the Mirza was passed. The resolution alerted the Muslims:

"That the commotion (fitna) raised by Mirza Chulam Ahmad, which is in no way less dangerous, should be put down by peaceful means as early as possible, and that meetings should be held in the principal mosques of the city with a view to putting the Mohammadans on their guard against the sinister designs (fitna) of the Mirza"52.

In this way, the leaders of different communities were poisoning the innocent people against each other. Khawaza Ahmad Shah, "a merchant and Rais" of Ludhiana was one such person. He incited both Shia and Sunni Muslims against a common enemy, Hinduism. He urged them to unite if they were to save the sinking ship of Islam and prevent their religion from being disgraced53.

It is interesting to note that the battle of hatred entered the field of education too. Mohammadans hated and feared the Arya examiner. The Chaudhwin Sadi suggested that "the Panjab University should pass orders to the effect that no candidate should in future write his name on the answer book, as many people suspect that most of the examiners, being bigoted Aryas, purposely pluck the Mohammadan candidates"54.

52. P.N.N.R. 1897, pp. 541-42, para 17; The Zafar Zatalli, Lahore, 27th June, 1897.
54. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 792, para 48; The Chaudhwin Sadi, Rawalpindi, 1st September, 1897.
The Sikh Verses Other Religions

The Sikhs too were perturbed over the propaganda against their religion. They regretted and opposed these attacks through papers, The Singh Sahai, The Nanak Parkash, The Khalsa Bhadar, and The Khalsa Gazette, etc. The Singh Sahai, Amritsar of 18th June, 1890, censured the conduct of religious preachers of Christianity, Aryas, Hindus and the Mohammadans, "who stand in the streets and abuse the founders of all other religions except their own. These people in order to serve their own selfish ends, sow the seed of disunion in the country, and should, therefore, be forcibly stopped from preaching"55. But more than anything, it were the remarks of Swami Dayanand in the Satyarath Parkash which aggrieved the Sikhs immensely. The Akhbar-i-Am of 13th March, 1901, held that the Swami's estimate of Guru Nanak's character, however, is not born out by facts and consequently deserves thrashing out. The paper clarified that contrary to being a worldly man, Guru Nanak, "never hankered after good things of life", and he never posed as a Sanskrit "Pandit", as was alleged by the Swami56. The Sikhs were also not pleased over the opposition of Aryas to their Shuddhi Sabha. The Sat Dharam Parcharak had condemned the Sikhs for starting a rival "Shuddhi Sabha". It alleged that the Sikhs were converting Mohammadans and

55. P.N.N.R. 1890, p. 239, para 35; The Singh Sahai, Amritsar, 18th June, 1890.

criminals through such Sabhas. Again, the Singh Sahai of Amritsar asked the simple-minded Sikhs to beware of "Clever Aryas". It alleged that the languages used regarding the Gurus in the works of Dayanand, Guru Dutt and Lekh Ram clearly showed that the founder of the Arya Samaj and his two disciples were thorough vilifier of the Gurus. "The Khalsa nation should be on their guard against the Aryas and must consider them as enemies". The paper asked the Arya Samaji Sikhs to disown the Arya Samaj and join the Sikh association.

This kind of propaganda, attacks and counter-attacks served no good to both the communities. Soon there surfaced a breach among the Sikhs and the Hindus. The rift was widened so much that the Hindu-Sikh riots were predicted. The Sikhs warned the government take serious note of books injuring Sikh sentiments, otherwise "riots will be sure to occur between the Sikhs and the Aryas, in which case the Sikhs will be ready to sacrifice their lives in obedience to the injunctions of their Gurus. The Sikhs will not submit to be abused by the Aryas. Up to the present, they have remained quiet because they wish to please the government."

The Muslims also annoyed the Sikhs when they made their Gurus appear as aggressors. The Chaudhwin Saddi illustrated that the relations between the Sikhs and the Mohammadan kings were cordial and

57. P.N.N.R. 1897, pp. 40-41, para 16; The Sat Dharam Parcharak, 8th January, 1897.
58. P.N.N.R. 1897, pp. 674-75, para 16; The Singh Sahai, Amritsar, 25th July, 1897.
59. P.N.N.R. 1890, p. 170, para 38; The Nanak Parkash, Kapurthala, 1st April, 1890.
the latter bestowed Jagirs on the Sikh Gurus. It alleged that the 5th Guru was responsible for giving about-turn to the friendly relations. 

"The 5th Guru Arjan Dev, instead of showing loyalty to his king (Jehangir) gave protection to his rebellious son. This conduct roused the ire of Jehangir, who put the Guru into prison, where he died. This was the beginning of the quarrel, which began with the Sikhs and raged so furiously during the reign of five succeeding Gurus. The Sikhs can judge from this short sketch who is to blame, the Mohammadan kings or their Gurus who were the aggressors".

But it was owning of Guru Nanak both by Muslims and Hindus that inflamed the Sikhs more than anything else. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Kadian claimed Guru Nanak as Mohammadan. The Mulla Zafar Zattali took exception to this claim and declared that "Kadian" was "wrong in saying that Guru Nanak was a Mohammadan". The paper explained that the "Guru has declared in no less than fifteen places that he was neither a Hindu nor a Mohammadan, but that he followed the creed of universal toleration". The Aryas, while denouncing the said claim of the Mirza, themselves showed that Guru Nanak was a "strict Hindu". They quoted many Sikh scriptures in support of their contention. The

60. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 664, para 38; The Chaudhwin Saddi, Rawaloindhi, 23rd July, 1897.


62. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 496, para 16; The Sat Dharam Parcharak, Jalandhar, 11th June, 1897.
Sikhs strongly refuted these claims and affirmed that "Nanak was neither a Hindu nor a Mohammadan, but he was sent to this world to save both"⁶³. Such was the altercation going on between the Sikhs and other communities. It was perhaps during this period that the idea that the Sikhs were a distinct nation began to be voiced and reiterated. It is interesting to note how in the beginning, the Sikhs themselves did not digest the idea being floated of Sikhs being a separate nation. They regarded themselves as one of the many sects of Hinduism⁶⁴. "It is a mistake to suppose that the Sikhs are a separate nation from the Hindus. A study of the history of the rise of the Sikhs shows that the latter form a part of the Hindu nation. When the Mohammadans began to persecute the Hindus, the Sikh Guru, finding that it was necessary to take up arms in defence of their religion, founded a new sect for the purpose. As the members of the new sect were required to serve as soldiers, the Gurus framed new rules for their guidance. It is, thus, clear that the Sikhs are not an insignificant nation numbering only from 2 to 2.5 millions, but they form the army of the Hindus. In fact, they are as much a part of the Hindu nation as any other of the numerous sects into which Hinduism is divided"⁶⁴a.

The Akhbar-i-Am observed that the Sikhs formed part and parcel of Hindu community and expressed great satisfaction at the manner in which this question, raised by some irresponsible and tuft-

⁶³ P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 874, Dara 874; The Khalsa Gazette, Lahore, 22nd September, 1897.
⁶⁴ P.N.N.R. 1890, p. 189, Dara 3; The Singh Sahai, Amritsar, 7th May, 1890.
⁶⁴a Loc. cit.
hunting individuals at the meeting held by the Hindus of Lahore”, was settled by Baba Khem Singh Bedi, the recognised leader of the Sikhs in the Punjab^65. The Singh Sahai and The Punjab Gazette, both thrashed Sher Singh of Mian Mir in floating the view that the Sikhs were not Hindus. The papers believed that "Guru Nanak was a staunch follower of Hinduism and always spoke reverentially of the Vedas and the Shastras"^66.

The Hindus too reacted to the separate theory very sharply. The Hindu press alleged that the theory was the handiwork "of some half educated and low caste Sikhs"^67. The Sanatan Dharam Gazette, etc. expressed great satisfaction over the views Maharaja of Patiala, who "openly declared that it was a mistake to suppose that the Hindus and Sikhs constituted separate nations, because the Khalsa always sacrificed their lives for the protection of Hindu religion"^68.

The Aryas also opposed the idea. The Sat Dharam Parcharak observed that "a new sect of Sikhs is endeavouring to alienate themselves from the Hindus". The paper, while condemning it, advised the Sikhs to stop the "artificial fanatacism"^69. The Arya Gazette

65. P.N.N.R. 1897, p. 146, para 8; The Akhbar-i-Am, Lahore, 22nd February, 1897.


68. P.N.N.R. 1899, p. 97; The Sanatan Dharam Gazette, Lahore, 15th January, 1899.

believed that the Sikh Gurus were sincere believers of the Vedas. The paper quoted some extracts from "Nanak Parkash" to show that the marriage of the first Guru was purely a Vedic ceremony. The cause of the separatists Sikh was taken up by newly started paper, The Khalsa. The Akhbar-i-Am observed that the Khalsa seemed to have made its duty "to abuse the gods and goddesses of the Hindus and to bring into disgrace those Sikh gentlemen who are ornaments of the Sikh nation. It represents those Sikh secessionists who, not likely to be called Sikhs, style themselves as 'Khalsas' after the manner of the Aryas, who detesting appealation "Hindu" call themselves 'Aryas'. The paper alleged that The Khalsa had been making vigorous attempts "to win over the Sikhs to its cult by forsaking the Hindus. With this end in view, it is poisoning their minds with a distorted version of the teaching of Guru Gobind Singh". The paper predicted that, however, "this new school of Sikhism was not destined to last long, for it is based on weak foundation". But the efforts of the 'Khalsa' and its follower succeeded in creating a breach between the two communities. They were superficially united against their common foe, the Mohammadans, but under the surface their division was sure and definite. But why the Sikhs drifted apart? The records show that most of the propagandists of the Sikhs as a separate nation were so-called 'low caste' educated people. It is probable that the neglect

70. P.N.N.R. 1899, p. 584, para 20; The Arya Gazette, Lahore, 28th September, 1899.
71. P.N.N.R. 1899, p. 112, para 8; The Akhbar-i-Am, Lahore, 18th February, 1899.
and hatred of the high caste Hindus and the practice of 'Chhut' so often raised about by the Hindu press might have caused their drift. It is still interesting to know that upper caste Sikhs often sided with the Hindus in opposing the alienating activities of the propagators of the theory that the Sikhs were a separate nation.

Thus, the study reveals that during the last two decades of 19th century, the Punjab was in transition. The Western education and thought seemed to have given the forces of change a start. It had made the people aware of the shortcomings of their society and religion. The newly educated Punjabis were bubbling with confidence. They began to analyse every aspect of their life critically. They knew full-well that no person could be 'Chhut' by birth. They began to throw off anything which did not weigh right in their scale. It was revolution, a complete revolution. The revolution in the society. A revolution in the religious thought of the Hindus, Sikhs and the Muslims.

It is interesting to study the reaction of the government in this atmosphere. "Faced with a multiplicity of religions and aware of the potentially explosive nature of offended religious feelings, the British found themselves in a situation that demanded understanding of Indian values and tact in dealing with the population"72. The British government moved with care and tact. One of the factors which enabled the British to carve out an Indian empire was that they learnt their lessons fast and sure. They never repeated a mistake which

endangered their sway over India. The 1857 revolt had taught them a lesson. They had learnt that Indians were immensely sensitive in respect of their religious beliefs. It was such a lethal weapon to which they had virtually no answer. To neutralise this weapon, they evolved a policy of 'religious neutrality': the policy of non-interference in the religious affairs of the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Mohammadans. The government left their religion, their temples, their festivals, their worship, their ceremonies entirely in their own hands. In accordance with this policy, they favoured or disfavoured none, although, in the early years of British administration in the Punjab, they had a soft corner of the missionaries. In educational institutions, the government observed the principle of religious neutrality in the government schools only. It did not make secularism a condition in the missionary schools. These institutions despite their religious teachings continued to be favoured with government aid. But after 1857, they observed the principle of 'religious neutrality' strictly. But were they silent observer of the religious communalism of the Punjabis? The answer is both yes and no. Yes, as long as the movement remained "quietistically apolitical or adopted a loyalist position". No, if they threw a political challenge and endangered their rule. Thus, "the strength which crushed the political challenge of the Namdhari was the same power which could hold the anti-reform sanctions of the orthodox society under restraints and permit reform to flourish".

74. Ibid, p. 280.
Thus, the religious reforms were not a difficult task under the British rule. On the other hand, these movements benefitted immensely from the British presence. They ensured complete religious freedom. The reformers moved freely and attacked the orthodoxy openly. They were fearless in condemning the cherished beliefs and practices of their audience with the assurance that the police protection against physical assault was at hand. In fact, Swami Dayanand accepted such police protection in 1874 at Surat and in 1875 at Poona\(^75\). But for the availability of such British protection, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Quadian could have been beheaded at the single nod of the orthodox Ulama\(^76\). It is interesting to note that many a time the quarreling rivals had intimated the government the excesses of their opponents and the dangers resulting out of such excesses. It was like a warning and a complaint to a Papa, who would thrash the guilty, restore justice and ensure peace. The conditions which distinctly contributed to the growth and development of these reform movements were "first, a compelling desire for reform, second examples of successful programmes and organisational methods to function as an inspiration and model and, finally, a legal structure within which the new organisational reform, the association, could


\[76\] P.N.N.R. Vo. XXI, 1908, pp. 508-09; Hakam Quadian, August 6, 1908.
originate and sustain itself". The first two conditions were provided by the Western education, the missionaries and the organisational experience and skill of the Brahmo Samaj. The legal base was provided by the British government. Their policy of granting religious freedom and encouragement to the natives to foster and promote the moral and material progress of their country, resulted in the Registration of Societies Act (No. XXI) of 1860. "The Registration of Societies Act of 1860 became the Charter for Volunteeristic associational religion and was, therefore, a document of great historical significance in facilitating the Punjab reformation".

As such, the Punjab was ripe for socio-religious reforms in every way. It is interesting to note that both the traditional and modern reform movements appeared side by side with the older traditional sects and religious communities. Stanley E. Brush has classified the typology of these movements into "traditional quietist, traditional activist; modern activists, and modern quietist". The traditional quietist included the Gulabdasi (1841); The Nirankari (1869), The Nirankar (1869), The Chet Rami (1870), The Sat Sanghi (1870s) and The Radha Swami (1891). The Namdharis (1846); The Brahmo Samaj (New Dispensational 1881); The Ahmadiya (1889); The Arya Samaj (Mahatama) (1893); The Dev Samaj (1892) were the

traditional activists. The missionary societies such as American Presbyberian Mission (1834); The Church Missionary Society (1843); and the United Presbyberian Mission (1855) and among the Hindus, the Punjab Brahmo Samaj (1863); The Sat Sabha (1866); The Arya Samaj (1877); The Sanatan Dharam Sabha (1873); The Khalsa Diwan (1888); and among the Muslims; The Ahl-i-Hadith (1860); The Anjuman-Himayat-i-Islam (1886); The Ahl-i-Quran (1902) were the modern activist movements. These modernised reform movements were led by Presidents, Chairmen, Secretaries rather than Gurus and Pirs.

The Social Reforms

The emergence of the societies, the clubs, the Anjumans, the associations, the sabhas and the orphanages, was a great water-mark in the social amelioration of the 19th century Punjab. These institutions played a tremendous role in bringing about a revolutionary change in the Punjabi society. Some of the prominent institutions engaged in this good work are given in Table 40.

In addition to these, there were numerous societies and managing boards attached to the most of the schools and colleges run by the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs and, of course, the Christians. Many castes too, stirred by the reforms, had formed their own associations. The Walchar Sabha, Rawalpindi (1882); The Kayasth Self Improvement Society, Delhi (1883); The Aror Bans Sabha, Lahore (1886); The Jat Panchayat, Lahore (1887); The Sari Sabha, Hoshiarpur (1889); The Gaur Sabha, Simla (1894); The Aggarwal Sabha, Hansi

80. Stanley E. Brush, op. cit., Table No. 17, p. 268.
81. Loc. cit.
were prominent among them. Thus, the fountain of clubs, societies, Anjumans and Sabhas seemed to have gushed out of oblivion. Most of these societies' major object was social reform. These societies and clubs opened schools, colleges and orphanages and other charitable institutions, and were actively and devotedly engaged in the uplifting of their fellow beings.

The Delhi Literary Society was one of the oldest institution of its kind. It was established in 1865. Its main objects were the advancement of learning and science and the encouragement of the social and intellectual intercourse. The society wielded a considerable influence in its hay-days.

The Anjuman-i-Punjab

The jewel among the societies was established in 1865 with a view to promote and foster oriental learning. Dr. Leitner was a champion of the cause of oriental learning. The society opened the Oriental College in Punjab and played a leading role in the establishment of the Panjab University in 1882.

The Sat Sabha

It was established at Lahore in 1866 with a view to impart the elementary truth of the Western knowledge, through the language of the people, i.e., Punjabi. The religious and social advancement of the Hindus was (its) another aim.

82. Stanley E. Brush, op. cit., Table No. 17, p. 268.
83. P.A.R. 1901-02, New Delhi, p. 185.
84. Ibid, p. 183.
The Guru Singh Sabha, Lahore

It was established in 1879. Its main function was the representation of the interests of the Sikhs, to encourage the Punjabi language and to maintain the original purity of Sikh doctrines and customs.

The Khalsa Diwan

The society was established in 1883 at Lahore. Its main functions were:

1. The diffusion of useful knowledge among the Sikhs;
2. The advancement of female education;
3. The religious instruction of the Sikhs.

The society was chiefly instrumental in the establishment of the Khalsa College^85.

The Khalsa Tract Society

This society was established at Amritsar in 1890. Most of its aims were similar to those of the Khalsa Diwan. But its chief aim was the conveying of simple truths of Sikhism in the Punjabi language and bringing about social reforms^86.

The Indian Association

The Indian Association was established in 1883 at Lahore. It advocated the cause of political advancement and social reforms in the Punjab. One of its presidents was S. Dayal Singh Majithia, the Tribune tycoon.

86. Loc. cit.
The Punjab Association

The association was established at Lahore in 1886. It was a branch of the "National Indian Association, London". Its main objects were the advancement of female education and the encouragement of friendly intercourse between the English and the Indians. It published "Punjab Magazine" which was a monthly journal.

The Punjab Science Institute

The society was founded in 1886 through the exertions of Prof. J.C. Oman. Its aim was to promote the cause of scientific learning and practical education in Punjab.

Among the Hindus, besides Sat Sabha, the Hindu Sabha, Amritsar (1880), the Arya Samaj, Jalandhar (1885), the Arya Samaj, Rawalpindi (1877), the Arya Samaj, Lahore (1879), did a commendable work in bringing about many reforms in the traditional Punjab society. Although their foundation was basically religious, their great work in the advancement of education and the amelioration of the conditions of the women cannot be underestimated.

The Mohammedans also did not lag behind the missionaries, the Hindus and the Sikhs in establishing societies called the 'Anjumans'. The Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore (1869); The Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar (1874) and Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore (1886), were some of the early and leading societies of the Muslims of the Punjab. Like their counterparts, these societies were too religious-oriented, but they also looked after the social and political well-being of the Muslims. They supported orphans and destitute children. They opened schools and colleges for the Mohammedans. The.

---

Himayat Islam maintained 'a flourishing school with college classes' and ran 'an orphanage'.

The Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore strongly pleaded the case of the backward condition of the Muslim education in Punjab before the Hunter Commission (1882) and was able to win many concessions for the Mohammadans. The Anjuman came into limelight under the dynamic leadership of Barkat Ali, who became its Secretary in 1877. He was the man who fought the Aryan attacks on the Mohammadans. He was instrumental in transforming the Anjuman into a reform society. He was supported by Sayad Ahmad Khan, great Muslim benefactor and social reformer. Many new schools and Anjumans were established. A network of newspapers was started. Newly educated college students were attracted to these Anjumans. This kind of social reform activities were going on in the 19th century Punjab.

The Religious Reforms

One of the good things which happened to the Punjab after its annexation was the migration of the English educated job seekers from other parts of India. The Punjabis were not ripe yet for the new administrative responsibilities. Hence, in the early years of their administration, the British relied on imported clerks, subordinate inspectors of schools, junior civil servants and doctors, etc. The chief suppliers of this want was Bengal. The missionaries too needed trained personnel for their mission stations.


89. N.G. Barrier, "Muslim politics in Punjab 1870-90", The Punjab Past and Present, April, 1971, p. 86.
As such, the Western educated Bengalis, Brahmans, Vaidyas, native Christians and a small number of Kayasthis from Uttar Pradesh, migrated and settled in the New Province. The missionaries too played their role. They employed the Bengali Christians in their mission stations and schools. These were the people who formed the nucleus of a new social class in the Punjab. They brought with them their institutional experience and skill. "These non-Punjabi Indians formed a new stratum of society directly below the British." They infused a new spirit of thought and outlook into Punjabis. They were pioneer in setting up early societies and clubs which eventually gave way to reforms.

The Brahmo Samaj

The earliest of the religious reform movements was Brahmo Samaj which was brought into Punjab by the Bengalis. Debendra Nath Tagore is stated to have visited the Punjab in 1856 and brought with him the Brahmo ideology. The movement was initiated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828. Its second leader, Debendra Nath Tagore "regarded himself as a true Hindu. He stuck to the old institutions of castes

and opposed widow remarriage\textsuperscript{94}. These ideas separated him from Keshab Chander Sen, the third leader of the Samaj, who was to spearhead the movement in Bengai and other parts of India. Both Raja Ram Mohan Rai, its founder and Keshab Chander Sen were deeply influenced by Christianity. Raja Ram Mohan Rai himself testified to this effect. "The consequence of my long and uninterrupted research into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conductive to moral principles and better adopted for the use of rational beings than any other which have come to my knowledge"\textsuperscript{95}. The Samaj had acquired many organisational features of the Church. "The common worship was the type practised by Protestant Christians, with a weekly congregational service featuring group prayer and hymn singing, scripture reading and offering a sermon. Such worship was a radical innovation in Indian sectarianism"\textsuperscript{96}. This christianised organisational skill of the Brahmos was to become a model for other socio-religious movements in the Punjab.

The Brahmo Samaj actually came into existence in the Punjab in 1863, when first Samaj was founded at Lahore by a Bengali railway employee, Navin Chander Roy. He was able "to attract like-minded associates who met regularly for discussion in the house of one of their members"\textsuperscript{97}.

\textsuperscript{94} J.N. Farouhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, New Delhi, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Indian ed., 1977, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{96} Stanley E. Brush, op. cit., p. 290.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid, p. 296.
A section of the educated Hindu community of the Punjab was attracted to the Brahmo ideology. They were prominent Khatris of Lahore who were engaged in "academic and legal profession". Ruchi Ram Sahni, Lala Sunder Das Suri, Lala Dharam Das Suri, were the early Brahmos of the Punjab. They impressed and brought Dayal Singh Majithia into the ranks of Brahmo Samaj. It was a momentous entry for Dayal Singh Majithia proved a pillar of strength to the Punjab Brahmo Samaj. He was resonsible for starting a college, a library and an English newspaper, The Tribune. Barring Dayal Singh Majithia who belonged to the upper layer of the society, most of the Punjab Brahmos were "drawn from the ranks of the well-to-do middle class of the native society of Lahore", the upper and lower class drew almost a blank. Encouraged and spurred by the visits of Keshab Chander Sen, Shiv Nath Shashtri and P.C. Majumdar, "these early Punjab activists began to preach the message of monotheism, personal commitment and social reforms". Their efforts won them a large number of converts, and the Samaj made inroads into other parts of the Punjab as well. The Rawalpindi Samaj came up in 1867, Amritsar in 1873, and Multan in 1875. The Sialkot, Delhi, Ferozepur, Mianwali, Isakhel, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bhera and Ropar followed in next two decades.

Dayal Singh Majithia and other Brahmos actively propagated the Brahmo ideology. "The Brahmo culture influenced social, educational and religious institutions in the Punjab and enriched the quality of education, literature and journalism."\(^{103}\)

The flame of the Brahmos burnt brightly for about three decades in the Punjab, and by 1890s their influence had definitely declined. The Punjabis developed a dislike for the Brahmos. A Brahmo became a most 'hateful of the persons. People began to desert the Brahmo Samaj meetings. Ruchi Ram Sahni, a Brahmo noticed that "the mere mention of the Christ or Mohammed with respect led to the emptying of Samaj hall of practically everybody, except the few Brahmos"\(^{104}\). It is interesting to know why the wheel turned back for the Brahmos. The reasons were not far to seek. The Brahmo ideology was too radical for the Punjabis. Most of its Hindu members while wearing the mask of modernity and progress were Hindus in their heart of hearts. The Brahmo Samaj ideology relentlessly attacked and challenged the orthodox Hinduism. The Bengali Brahmos tended to be extreme in their rejection of contemporary Hinduism. They proclaimed widow remarriage acceptable, ate communal meals, discarded the thread of orthodoxy, and rejected established forms of Hindu worship. The Priti Bhojan or love feasts held by Brahmo Samaj were too daring for

\(^{103}\) Nina Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

the Punjabis. Similar points of division rose over intercaste marriages sponsored by the Brahmo Samaj. "The Punjabis in this movement were unwilling to break with Hinduism, choosing rather to call for a change while retaining these caste ties intact"105.

"Diversity of social and regional background characterised the Lahore Samaj membership. Diversity turned into divergence"106. The Punjab Brahmo Samaj was completely dominated by the Bengalis, and the Punjabis could not be dominated for a longer period. They were restless to break away with the spirit of Bengal and, thus, were growing increasingly indifferent to the Brahmo Samaj movement. The Punjabi element in the Samaj started looking for new association. Lala Lajpat Rai identified it as "the new Punjab spirit"107. Another factor which irritated the Punjabis most was the admiration and adoration of Christ and Christianity in the Brahmo Samaj meetings. The perennial talk of Christ and the Bible earned "the ridicule of ardent young Punjabis"108. These factors alienated the educated young Punjabis from the Brahmo Samaj. Now they ventured out to ally themselves with Sat Sabha and Arya Samaj, which appealed to them most. During the 1860s and 1870s the Brahmo Samaj provided many Hindu and Sikh intellectuals of the Punjab with an acceptable pattern of action and identification. "In time they would reject it"109. Although the Brahmo Samaj

107. Loc. cit.
108. Loc. cit.
annealed only for a few decades and failed in universalising its ideology, yet it succeeded in teaching the organisation skill to the budding socio-religious reform movements in the Punjab. It stirred the minds of new educated Punjabis and they began to give an analytical look to their religion and society.

The Sat Sabha

The Sat Sabha came into existence as a break-away reaction of the Punjab Brahmos from the Bengali Brahmo dominance and outlook. The Sabha was established at Lahore in 1866 by Lala Bihari Lal with a view to impart the elementary truths of Western knowledge through the language of the people, the Punjabi. The religious and social advancement of the Hindus was another aim[^10].

The Sat Sabha resembled the Brahmo Samaj closely. It followed the way of worship and the organisational structure of the Samaj in toto. The Sabha also could not be rid of the ideology of the Samaj completely. Like Brahmo Samaj "it too was eclectic and theistic", and incurred criticism "for its willingness to borrow from Christianity"[^11]. These features stood it in seclusion. The educated and orthodox Punjabis 'labelled both Sat Sabha and Brahmo Samaj tainted with foreignism"[^12]. Although it established a school in 1882[^13] yet its success was small. It lasted barely through 1880s and then faded into oblivion.

[^10]: P.A.R. 1901-02, o. 183, para 682.
[^12]: Ibid.
The Ahmadiya Movement

The reforms which were sweeping through the 19th century Punjab had their impact on Islam too. It was Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam (educational activities) in the case of the Hindus, Singh Sabha connecting the Sikhs, and Ahmadiya and Ditta Shahi with respect to the Mohammadans. Three factors, viz., the Western education, Syed Ahmad Khan's efforts at modernising Islam and Calcutta Mohammadan Association Memorandum of February 6, 1882, were prominent in stirring up the Muslims to awakening. By 1870, a number of Muslim societies such as Aniuman-i-Islamia and Anjuman-Himayat Islam had cropped up in the Punjab. They were primarily aimed at development of education and social reforms. The cause of the Muslim religion was taken up by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Quadian in 1889-90. It was a period when the religious controversy was gaining new ground in the Punjab. The Mirza defended and repulsed the attack on Islam with zeal and vigour. "He became the most conversial reformer in this age of controversy since his provocating declarations were stated in vigorous language containing strongly critical statements about the beliefs, practices and sacred history of the non-Muslim communities. These views were often accompanied by the prophecies of disaster and death of his opponents"¹¹⁴. He was indeed a controversial figure. His oroclamation to be the Avtar of Krishna and his claims that Guru Nanak was a Mohammadan had greatly offended and irritated both the Hindus and the Sikhs. He stoutly refuted Arya Samaj and challenged

its leaders to debates and discussions. The Aryas were greatly infuriated by his prophecy of the impending death of Pt. Lekh Ram. He was not befriending the Christians either. He shook the missionaries with his research and revelation that Christ had actually and eventually died in Kashmir.

The Ahmadiya movement took birth in 1890 when Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be the Mahdi of the command of God. He claimed that God had revealed Himself to him, proclaiming:

"In thy person are fulfilled the prophecies of the previous prophets. Thou art clothed in the garments of all the prophets (i.e. thou art invested with their power and spirit). All praise is due to God Who has made thee the messiah Ibn-i-Maryan. Nobody can question Him as to why He had done so, but men will be questioned concerning their failure to bow to His decree. Thou art the Master and the Messiah whose time and labour shall not be spent in vain. It will not be well for men to oppose the Prophet who is like the prophets of the Brahmans. Thou art the Blessed Krishna, the cherister of cows, and they praise is chanted in the Gita."\(^{115}\)

The revelation marked the commencement of the Ahmadiya movement on one hand and, on the other hand, it also triggered off bitter and determined opposition from all the denominations.

The first to oppose were the Muslims themselves. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's claim to be the promised Masiha and his condemnation of the traditional Sunni understanding of Jehad had greatly disturbed

---

the Muslims. His describing himself as Nabi "did grave offence to Muslim sensibilities", and "raised a storm of protest among the Muslims of north India". Mirza Bushir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, second successor of the Ahmadiyas regrettingly wrote about this hostility in the following words:

"The Muslims, who should have rejoiced at the advent of this champion of Islam were, and still continue to be his bitterest enemies. The Ulema of Islam issued decrees against him, condemning him as an imposter and an infidel, and to read his books, or to talk to him, or even to shake hands with him, were declared to be offences heinous enough to put a man beyond the pale of Islam".

Notwithstanding the opposition, the religion of Ahmadiyas continued to grow steadily. From 1893 to 1898, the Mirza and his activities came into forefront of religious rivalaries in the Punj. During this period, he rose to defend Islam against the Arya Samaj, the Sikhs and the Christian missionaries. He continued this defence and offence until the time of his death in 1908. After his death, Hazrat Maulavi Noor-u-Din was elected as the first successor of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Maulavi Noor-ud-Din died in 1914 and Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad became the second successor.

---

117. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud, op. cit., p. 5.
118. Ibid
119. Spencer Lavan, op. cit., p. 52.
120. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, op. cit., p. 8.
It is interesting to know the people who were attracted to the Ahmadiya movement. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad wrote in Urdu and his early followers were the men educated in Islamic and sometimes, English tradition. They formed the Muslim middle class. They were primarily land-owner and professional class of Muslims. They were not of the class of intelligencia found in Aligarh, and Brahmno Samaj movements. Unlike Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha and Brahmno Samaj which were clearly urbanised movements, the Ahmadiayas began as a rural and small town movement. During the last two decades of the 19th century and the time of this study closes in 1904, the movement remained cornered around Quadian in Curdaspur district. The large scale growth of the movement was hampered by Ghulam Ahmad's proclamation as the promised Messiah. The movement was an attempt by a group of the Muslims in north India and particularly in the Punjab to find a sense of identity for themselves.

The Singh Sabha

In the opening decade of the British rule in the Punjab, Sikhism was referred to as a fading faith and the Sikhs as a dwindling race. Sikhism as a faith “had waned incredibly. A sense of lassitude pervaded the Sikh society which had sunk back into the priest-ridden debilitating cults, anti-thetical to Sikh monotheism.

122. Spencer Lavan, op. cit., p. 11.
123. Loc. cit.
124. Loc. cit.
126. Spencer Lavan, op. cit., p. 5.
The learning of the Gurus had been forgotten and the Holy Granth, confined to the Gurdwara and the Dharamsala, had become the concern of only the Bhai and the Granthi.\textsuperscript{128} The Sikhs as a race faced grave danger from two fronts, i.e. the Christians, and even more from the Hindus. The Christians focussed their evangelistic designs on the Sikhs who they believed were more vulnerable and accessible to Christianity than the Hindus and the Mohammadans.\textsuperscript{129} They succeeded in converting many Sikhs to Christianity, the prime examples, being Maharaja Daleep Singh and Kanwar Harnam Singh, a nephew of Raja of Kapurthala. They were preaching the Gospel in the neighbourhood of the Golden Temple.\textsuperscript{130} It was a danger signal and a matter of great alarm for the Sikhs. But more than the conversions to Christianity and Islam, it was the lure of Hinduism which greatly dwindled their number. Their "tendency to abandon old customs and symbols and to move towards orthodox Hindu practices probably accounts for most of the loss in number."\textsuperscript{131} The drift towards Hinduism became almost irresistible. Idols found their way not only into the homes of the people but into the Sikh temples. Castes crept back, and all the evils of Hindu social life.\textsuperscript{132} It is an irony of fate that this

\textsuperscript{128} Harbans Singh, op. cit., p. 281.
\textsuperscript{129} Robert Clark, The Mission in the Punjab and Sindh, Church Mission Society, 1904, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{130} Harbans Singh, op. cit., p. 280.
\textsuperscript{131} N.G. Barnier, The Sikhs and Their Literature, New Delhi, Manohar, 1976, p. XIX.
\textsuperscript{132} J.N. Farquhar, op. cit., p. 340.
doctrine had actually started during the reign of Ranjit Singh. "The faith was weakened by the influence of large number of those who had adopted the Sikh form to gain worldly advantage, but whose allegiance to its principles and traditions was tentative"\textsuperscript{133}. And by 1860s the decadence of Sikh ideals and institutions was so complete that many felt that the religion might disappear. Even Sikh leaders were at sea to define their scriptures and past\textsuperscript{134}. Now the search for identity, past tradition and orthodoxy became the watchword of the Sikh intelligencia. Prominent among them were Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Bhai Kahan Singh, Giani Gyan Singh and Bhai Dit Singh. They were extremely offended by Dr. Trump's interpretation of the 'Adi Granth'. They began to produce their own works. They wrote commentaries, histories and glossaries on their religion and literature. Efforts of Bhai Kahan Singh and Bhai Dit Singh were outstanding in this respect. The latter produced forty works between 1880 and 1900 on "martyr, history and theology" of Sikhism\textsuperscript{135}. These writings went a long way in restoring the lost confidence and reconstituting the forgotten values, institutions and ideas. A new spirit was infused into the disappointed hearts. They began to feel proud of their religion. At the same time, they were being alienated from Hinduism by the attacks of the \textit{Arya Samaj} and the \textit{Sanatan Dharam}. They were greatly offended by the utterances of Swami Dayanand and Sharda Ram Phillouri on their

\textsuperscript{133} Harbans Singh, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 275-276.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Loc. cit.}
Guru and religion. The drift had definitely begun. Another factor which necessitated the defence of their community was that "the Muslims had begun to question the Sikhs over representation in the services and land grants" 136. Thus, the search for identity, the onslaught of the Christians, Muslims, the Hindus, and the economic attacks of the Muslims, resulted in the emergence of the revivalist movement - The Singh Sabha. It was founded at Amritsar in 1873 by Thakur Singh Sandhwnwalia, Baba Khem Singh Bedi and Kanwar Bikrama Singh. It undertook to "restore Sikhism to its pristine purity; edit and publish historical and religious books; propagate current knowledge using Punjabi as the medium and to start magazines and newspapers in Punjabi; reform and bring back into the Sikh fold the apostates; and interest the highly placed Englishmen in, and ensure their association with the educational programme of the Sikhs" 137.

The Lahore Singh Sabha was established in 1879. Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Ditt Singh were the stalwarts of this association. Soon the Sabhas were founded at Ferozepur, Bhasaur and Tarn Taran. These associations were led by the personal examples of Takhat Singh, Baba Teja Singh Overseer, and Mohan Singh Vaid. The Singh Sabha movement made rapid strides, and by 1899, the province was dotted by over one hundred and twenty Singh Sabhas 138. The people from

138. N.G. Barrier, The Sikhs and Their Literature, New Delhi, Manohar, 1970, p. XXV.
all walks of life and classes were attracted to these branches. They
included the classes and castes prominent in Sikhism, the aristocracy
and landlords, zamindars, merchants, professional men and menials,
drawn from the Jats, Khatri, Aroras and even the depressed castes.139

The added strength of the Sabhas was the moral and material support
of the Sikh soldiers of the British Army. In April, 1883, Khalsa
Diwan was founded at Amritsar. It was a central committee formed to
look into the various activities of the Singh Sabhas. Its second chief
motive was to end the rivalry between Lahore and Amritsar Singh
Sabhas. Another important development in the history of Singh Sabha
movement was the creation of Chief Khalsa Diwan in 1902. With this,
leadership of the Sikhs passed into the hands of the educated and
enlightened Sikhs.140

The birth of Singh Sabha was an epoch-making event in the
history of Sikhs and Sikhism in 19th century Punjab. It ushered a
new era in the moral, social, religious and economic amelioration of
the people. It was instrumental in opening a large number of
educational institutions which went a long way in eradicating illiteracy
among the Sikhs. "It was a great regenerating force. It articulated
the inner urge of Sikhism for reform and gave it a decisive direction
at a crucial moment of its history quickening its latent sources of
energy. The Singh Sabha touched the very base, the mainsprings of
the Sikh life and resuscitated the essential content of Sikh belief and

139. Gurdarshan Singh, "Origin and Development of Singh Sabha
Movement Constitution Aspects", The Punjab Past and Present,
April, 1973, p. 49.

140. Ibid, p. 50.
exercise. It enhanced the intellectual capacity of Sikhs and restored to them their creedal unity and their religious conscience. It opened for them the doors of modern progress and endowed them with the strength and adaptability to match the pressures created by new trends in man's thinking. The momentum which the Singh Sabha gave to the Sikh renaissance still continues\textsuperscript{141}.

The Sanatan Dharam

Dayanand and his Arya Samaj shook the foundations of the Hindu orthodoxy. He completely denounced each and every aspect of Hinduism in the 19th century Punjab. The Sanatan Dharam rose in defence to save Hinduism from Arya Samaj catastrophe\textsuperscript{142}. The Sanatan Dharam was founded in 1889, "with the view of imparting systematic religious instruction to Hindu youth in accordance with the teachings of the Sanatan Dharam"\textsuperscript{143}. The movement was clearly orthodox in nature. It rose to defend and preserve what was old, traditional and Sanatani in Hinduism. It was an arch enemy of Arya Samaj which stood for modernity and reforms. Pt. Sharda Ram Phillouri was the first propagandist of orthodoxy. Initially, he opposed Brahmo Samaj but later, he mustered up his loins against Arya Samaj. He along with Pt. Bhanu Dutt formerly of Sat Sabha, organised the Sanatan Dharam Rakshani Sabha at Lahore. Its chief purpose was the defence of

\textsuperscript{141} Harbans Singh, The Heritage of the Sikhs, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, pp. 146-147.

\textsuperscript{142} Stanley E. Brush, op. cit., p. 295.

\textsuperscript{143} P.A.R. 1901-02, p. 184.
Hinduism against the attacks of Swami Dayanand. By the concluding years of 1870s, Shardha Ram Phillouri was the chief spokesman of the Hindu orthodoxy and until the time of his death in 1882, he "toured, lectured, debated, wrote, founded temples and orthodox organisations in support of the Sanatani cause." After his death, his work was continued by Swami Kesamand and Pandit Din Dayal Sharma. As a result of this propagation, an increasing number of traditionalists came into the folds of Santan Dharam. With the advent of orthodox press, the activities of the Sanatan Dharam increased manifold. During the late 1880s, the Sanatan Dharam literature was critically condemning the claim of Arya Samaj as representing true Hinduism. The major bone of contention between Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharam was the practice of idolatry and the position of Brahmans. The Sanatan Dharam Gazette was the chief spokesman of the Sanatan ideology. By 1890s, a network of Sanatan Sabhas had been founded in Lahore, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Phillaur. Like its antagonist, 'Arya Samaj', the Sanatan Dharam Sabha opened schools and Sanskrit Pathshalas, but instead of modernity, it stuck to Sanatani and what traditional was in Hinduism. Thus, the Sanatan Dharam movement is a study in contrast.

146. Stanley E. Brush, op. cit., p. 298.
The Dev Samaj

The Dev Samaj was founded by Pandit Shiv Narayan Agnihotri on February 16, 1887 at Lahore. A teacher by profession, he came under the influence of Brahmo Samaj and became its missionary in 1879. He proved to be "one of the most promising youngman of Lahore Brahmo Samaj. A brilliant speaker, a publicist of considerable note, Pandit Agnihotri was one of the few young Punjabis to dedicate himself in the Brahmo cause". But subsequently, he developed independent ideology and broke away with the Brahmo Samaj. By all means, Dev Samaj was a progressive movement. They rejected "caste distinctions, intercession, redemption and pilgrimages". They were for female education and supported all civilized movements of the 19th century Punjab. However, they opposed Arya Samaj bitterly, which according to them, "was constituted of diehard religious fanatics".

The year 1895, however, marked a fundamental change in Dev Samaj ideology. Pandit Agnihotri proclaimed himself as Dev Guru Bhagwan and "placed himself as the personality to be worshipped by his followers". This factor alone reduced the importance of the

150. Loc. cit.
151. G.S. Chhabra, op. cit., p. 437.
Dev Samaj movement. Nevertheless, the movement rendered extremely good service to the female education. They opened schools and colleges. At present, the sect is running a female Teacher Training College at Chandigarh and a college each at Ferozepur and Ambala.

The Arya Samaj

The Sat Sabha founded in 1866 was probably the first organised effort at reforms by the Punjabis. However, the attempt too came to be branded as less Hindu and more foreign and Christian. At the time, the influence of the Western education, the 'Bengali' reformers and the fear of the Christian crusade were making life uneasy for the young educated and aspiring Punjabis. They yearned for reforms and were always in constant search for a new and an indigenous opening. The opportunity came their way in 1877, by the vist of Swami Dayanand. The Swami was assisted by Kanihya Lal Alakhdari, Sardar Vikram Singh Ahluwalia, Pandit Manphal Munshi, Harsukh Rai to fulfill the aspirations of the Punjabis for reforms. "The wandering Sanyasi would provide the catalyst for a coalescence of this ferment, a channelling of unrest into organisational action directed at transforming Punjabi Hinduism into a faith capable of commanding the respect and commitment of a culturally lost generation".


The Swami's whirlwind tour of Punjab began in April, 1877 and lasted about sixteen months. He himself founded the first Arya Samaj at Lahore on 24th June, 1877\textsuperscript{156}. R.B. Mulraj was its first President and Lala Sain Dass, the Secretary\textsuperscript{157}. Its aim was "to promote the study of Sanskrit and to bring people back to the purer religion of the Vedas as distinguished from that preached by the Puranas\textsuperscript{158}." From April, 1877 to July, 1878, besides Rawalpindi, nine more Arya Samaj surfaced at Lahore, Amritsar, Curdaspur, Ferozepur, Rawalpindi, Jehlum, Gujrat, Wazirabad, Gujranwala and Multan\textsuperscript{159}. The tour was a crusade against the orthodoxy. No religion escaped his condemnation. He severely attacked Hinduism. He "denounced virtually every aspect of popular Hinduism, including the primacy of the Brahmans, the authority of all the non-Vedic scriptures, the belief in gods and goddesses, the making and use of images, the traditional rites and rituals and most importantly, the efficacy of spiritual preceptorship\textsuperscript{160}." On the other hand, he "called for the acceptance of the Arya Dharam, the religion of the Aryan nation, recorded in accordance with the Vedic virtues defined as honesty, discipline and action\textsuperscript{161}." This was what the Punjabi Hindus

\textsuperscript{156.} Harblas Sarda, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 182.
\textsuperscript{157.} R.B. Mulraj, \textit{Beginning of Punjabi Nationalism}, Hoshiarpur, V.V. Vedic Research Institute, 1975, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{158.} P.A.R. 1901-02, p. 185.
\textsuperscript{159.} Harblas Sarda, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 176-199.
\textsuperscript{160.} Stanley E. Brush, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 294.
\textsuperscript{161.} \textit{Loc. cit.}
were so desparately looking for. They wanted to reform Hinduism, and Swami Dayanand's message "energetically dissminated in public debates and Shastras, in private conversations and in his writings, aroused great public interest"\textsuperscript{162}. The Punjabis avidly responded to his teachings. More and more people were joining the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj of Dayanand appealed more to the educated elites\textsuperscript{163}. They began to join the Samaj in great numbers. "It was a remarkable and rapid achievement illustrating both the impact of the Swami and the way in which he fulfilled a pressing need of the Punjabi Hindus\textsuperscript{164}."

Here is an example of the dominance of the Arya Samaj by the educated elite. The Lahore Arya Samaj committee had twenty-two members. Half of its members had a university degree. There were five M.As., three doctors, one lawyer and two B.As. in it. The committee, indeed, represented "the cream of the educated Punjabis". Most of them were from the trading castes of the Khatris and Vaishyas and the number of "the professionals and the government servants was very high\textsuperscript{165}. "Literacy led to an understanding of Vedic truth, the golden age of ancient Hinduism, and a reformed purified future". It became "an obligation for all who would follow the new path, and stemming from this obligation was the rejection of all traditional limitations on learning that barred outcastes and women from hearing or studying the sacred texts\textsuperscript{166}.

\textsuperscript{162} Stanley E. Brush, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 294.
\textsuperscript{163} Keneth, W. Jones, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{165} J.T.F. Jordens, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 173.
\textsuperscript{166} Keneth W. Jones, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 33.
It was natural then for the trading and educated castes of Khatris, Aroras and Banias to fill the ranks of the Arya Samaj just as they had dominated the educational and professional spheres. Their premier position in Arya Samaj is evidenced by the following statement:

### The Classification of Castes in Arya Samaj

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Membership of the Arya Samaj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>3,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arora</td>
<td>1,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohyal Brahman</td>
<td>1,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banias</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajput</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The early and leading Arya Samajis like Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Munshi Ram (Swami Shradanand), Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Sain Dass and Bhagat Ishwar Dass belonged either to the above mentioned castes. They were all college students and belonged formerly to the Brahmo Samaj. They crossed over to the religion of Arya Samaj under the influence of Swami Dayanand. Thus, the gain of Arya Samaj was, in fact, the loss of the Brahmo Samaj. The "failure of the Brahmo Samaj to retain support of the young Punjabi Hindus limited the future of that organisation". And for the eager and aspiring...

---

Punjabis, the Arya Samaj was the in-thing now. Soon the Arya Samaj of Swami Dayanand became the beloved religion of the educated Punjabis. Lala Lajpat Rai testified to the influence of the new religion in the following words:

"Whatever was good and creditable in me, I owed to the Arya Samaj. It was the Arya Samaj that taught me to love the Vedic religion and to be proud of Aryan greatness. It was the Arya Samaj that linked me with the ancient Aryas and made me their admirer and devotee. It was the Arya Samaj that instilled into me the spirit of truth, of dharma and of liberty. It was the Samaj again that taught me that society, dharma and country commanded our worship and that those shall inherit kingdom of heaven, who made sacrifice to serve those."  

The sentiments echoed by Lala Lajpat Rai were the sentiments of the other early Arya Samajis.

Under the impact of the socio-religious reforms, the people began to emerge from the shell of superstitions. The rigidity of the caste system was lessened to some extent. The status of woman was given a fresh look and the spirit of nationalism was developed. At the same time the communal feelings were aroused tremendously.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>No. of baptism</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Sikhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Ambala</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Ludhiana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (Corahwala, Cardhiwala, Maiili)</td>
<td>1 Lahore</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Lahore</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (1-Rajput)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1-Khatri)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Jalandhar</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ropar and surrounding Village Morinda)</td>
<td>4 Jalandhar</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Jalandhar</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Jalandhar, Ropar, Morinda)</td>
<td>4 Jalandhar, Dasuya, Tanda, Cardhiwala</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>118 (Hindu &amp; Muslims)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ferozepur (Lanke)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ferozepur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Jalandhar</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>1,206</td>
<td>100 (Hindu &amp; Muslims)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Lahore</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Ludhiana Mission Reports.
Table 40
Prominent Social Reform Institutions in the Punjab: 1860-1893

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Institution</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anjuman-i-Peshawar</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Peshawar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi Literary Society</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjuman-i-Farzam-i-Am</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjuman-i-Islamia</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngmen’s Christian Association</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab Club</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Club</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammadan Union Club</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu Sabha</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majlis-Akhlaqiya</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjuman-i-Himat-i-Islam</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arya Samaj Orphanage</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Ferozepur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow Marriage Association</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istri Samaj</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Jalandhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo Indian Children Relief Association</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Khalsa Tract Society</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Khalsa Diwan</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indian Association</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punjab Association</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: A.R. Punjab; P.N.N.R., Stanley E. Brush.)