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**Syed Jamaat Ali Shah:
A Political Biography**

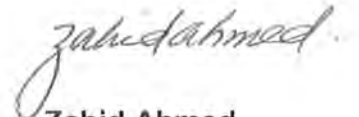


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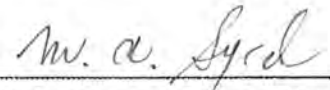
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other University for any other Degree.


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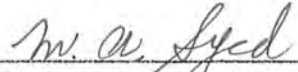
I hereby recommend that the dissertation prepared under my supervision by **Zahid Ahmad**, entitled **Syed Jamaat Ali Shah: A Political Biography**, be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in History.



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FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by **Zahid Ahmed** and it is our judgment that this dissertation is of sufficient standard warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of **Degree of Master of Philosophy in History.**

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Sufis are an important component of the Muslim society. Islam and Sufism came to South Asia almost simultaneously. The spread of Islam in South Asia is generally attributed to the proselytizing efforts of the Sufis. Owing to their teachings and exemplary lives, they attracted large following, which make them one of the most influential groups of the Muslim society. The teachings and behavior of some of them implied a subtle and guised protest against the highhandedness of the rulers and socio-political abuses of the age, whereas some of them publicly criticized the Kings and state policies.

After almost eight centuries of political rule, the Muslims of India were reduced to a dependant status by the British by the beginning of the 19th century. This political hegemony in India as well as in other parts of the Muslim world was attributed by the Europeans not only to their superiority in science and technology, but also to their religion.

The failure of the uprising of 1857 had brought diverse and multiple challenges to the Indian Muslims; the institutions on which they had relied for centuries were undermined. The hostile treatment of their religion and history by the Christian missionaries and the British administration mortified their feelings. Their educational backwardness further contributed to their

economic misery. The start of *Shuddi* and *Sangathan* Movements by the Hindus to convert Muslims to Hinduism by every means were bitterly resented by the Muslims. Those who were Sufism-oriented were aggrieved by the conscious efforts of the *Ahli-Hadith* ulema to defame Sufism and to 'purify' Islam in line with the Wahhabi Movement.

It has been alleged that Sufis of the colonial era played an 'intermediary' role between the rulers and the ruled. No doubt, some of them did play the role of collaborators, and indeed facilitated the consolidation of the British rule in South Asia. Nevertheless, there were some exceptions, as some Sufis rose to occasion and resisted the colonial rule by criticizing their policies, mobilizing masses against the British, and in some cases, by offering armed resistance to the British. At this time of great political and religious upheaval in the history of the Indian Muslims, Sufis tried to provide both religious as well as political leadership. In the religious sphere, they started Sufi Revivalist Movement, and in the political field, they tried to safeguard the interests of the Muslim community. Syed Jamaal Ali Shah was one of these Sufis, who played a crucial role in the 19th century South Asia, particularly in its North-western frontier regions. Yet it is true that not a single scholarly work has been produced about his political leadership.

The present study is significant, as no serious, systematic and scholarly attempt has been made to study the political life of Syed Jamaal Ali Shah. Before we analyze and assess at length his role in politics, let us examine briefly the literature available on this subject.

Literature Review

There is not much literature available on Syed Jamaat Ali Shah's life. An important work is Syed Akhter Hussain and Tahir Farooqi's *Sirat-i-Amir-i-Millat*, a book written by his grandson and his disciple. Unfortunately, it lacks criticism and has some factual errors as well. Sadiq Kasuri's two works *Jahan-i-Amir-i-Millat* and *Anwar-i-Amir-i-Millat* deal with various aspects of the life of Jamaat Ali Shah. The first book focuses more on his religious contribution, and only refers to his political activities in passing. Similarly, the second work, which is an edited collection of articles on his life by various authors, is also devoted to the study of his religious activities. Arthur Frank Buehler's doctoral thesis *Charisma and Exemplar: Naqshbandi Spiritual Authority in Punjab (1857-1947)* deals with the Sufi Revivalist Movement of Syed Jamaat Ali Shah. It exclusively deals with the religious aspects of his multi-dimensional activities. It does not discuss his political views and activities.

There are other books that deal with the political activities of Jamaat Ali Shah with reference to various political events. These include, for instance, Janbaz Mirza's work *Tahrik-i-Masjid-i-Shaheed Ganj*, which treats the Shaheed Ganj Movement in a historical perspective. Though it gives us some information about him, it does not cover his other activities, particularly those in the 1940s. Similarly, Jalaluddin Qadiri's two works, *Khutbat-i-All India Sunni Conference* and *Tarikh-i-All India Sunni Conference* discuss his role with reference to All India Sunni Conference. There is no literature available

dealing with the political biography of Jamaat Ali Shah. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap.

Methodology

The methodology pursued during the course of the study is both historical and analytical. Both primary and secondary sources have been consulted. Primary sources like Punjab Police Abstract (1872-1947) give valuable information about Jamaat Ali Shah's role in the Shaheed Ganj Movement. In addition, Hakim Muhammad Musa Amritsari Collection in the Central Library of the University of the Punjab contains valuable research material, such as issues of journal *Anwar-i-Sufiyya*, which have been consulted and cited. In order to consult primary sources, library research has also been undertaken.

Organization of the Thesis

The study is divided into five chapters. After introduction, the first chapter deals with the advent and growth of Sufism in South Asia. Sufis relations with the Medieval State and the role of the Sufis during the Colonial period have also been discussed in this chapter. The second chapter briefly unfolds the social and political profile of the province of Punjab in the 19th century, with special reference to various associations and organizations working for the betterment of the Muslims. In the third chapter, Jamaat Ali Shah's brief biographical sketch, his religious and social services, and his entrance into the politics of India by joining *Anjuman-i-Khadam-i-Ka'ba*, supporting the Cawnpur Mosque Movement and severely condemning the Child Marriage Act are briefly discussed. The fourth chapter tries to evaluate and assess his

role in the Khilafat Movement, Hijrat Movement, All India Sunni Conference and Shaheed Ganj Movement. The fifth and the last chapter focuses on his services for the success of Pakistan Movement such as touring, issuing *fatwa* in favour of Muslim League, image-building of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and his participation in the election campaign of 1945-46. This is followed by bibliography and appendices.

CHAPTER 1

South Asian Sufism and Politics

Islam and Sufism came to South Asia almost simultaneously. The early Arab traders, who came and settled in Sri Lanka (then known as Serandip), Islands of Maldives and on the eastern coast of India, known as Malabar Coast, in eighth century A.D., were accompanied by Sufis. These Sufis played an instrumental role in converting the local people to Islam. With the advent and conquests of the Arab conqueror, Muhammad bin Qasim between 712-15 A.D., parts of Sindh, Multan and Gurjat became part of the Umayyad Empire. The annexation of these regions to the Umayyad Empire facilitated the process of conversion. Later, under Ghaznavids, when the provinces of Punjab and Multan became part of the Ghanavid Kingdom, a number of Sufis from Persia, Iraq and Central Asia migrated to these areas, and made cities such as Lahore, Multan and Uch the center of their missionary activities. Up till that time, the relationship of the Sufis with the state had not been crystallized. With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate in 1206 A.D., the relationship of the Sufis with the State took a definite shape.

The present chapter is an attempt to briefly narrate the advent and growth of Sufism in South Asia. While doing so, Sufis relations with the Medieval State are also discussed. In addition, the role of the Sufis during the colonial period has also been briefly highlighted.

1. Sufism and its Growth in South Asia

There are several theories about the origin of the term *tasawwuf* (Muslim mysticism, generally referred to as Sufism). According to the author of the oldest extant Arabic treatise on Sufism, Abu Nasr al Sarraj, the word Sufi is derived from *Soof* (wool), for the woollen raiment is the habit of the prophets and the badge of the saints and the elect, as appears in many traditions and narratives.¹ This is considered as the most valid view, which is also generally accepted by a majority of scholars of Sufism. Therefore, *tasawwuf* literally means wearing wool, and a Sufi is literally a person who wears wool.

An early Sufi of Islam Hasan of Basra (624-728 A.D.) is of the view that "He who wears wool out of humility towards God increases the illumination of his insight and his heart, but he who wears it out of pride and arrogance will be thrust down to Hell with the devils."² Every individual wearing coarse garments of wool is not a Sufi. In view of Trimmingham, "Sufi is one who believes that it is possible to have direct experience of God and who is also prepared to go out of his way to put himself in a state whereby he may be enabled to do this."³ Another eminent Sufi Shahabuddin Suhrawardi (1145-1234 A.D.) in his work *Awarif al-Ma'arif* corrects Sarraj, who had tried to prove that the word Sufi was used in pre-Islamic Arabia.⁴ According to him, the word was the product of a period of political change and unrest. His description suggests that Sufism implies a particular mode of life, which was based on the life pattern of a section of Buddhist monks.⁵ Derivation of the word Sufi from *Soof* (wool) is also affirmed by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

According to a renowned scholar, "Sufism is universalistic and humanist Islam striving for spiritual purity. Its foundations are love and peace, *Sulh-i-kul*, peace with all. The Prophet's life provides inspiration to the Sufis--his clothes of wool, *Suf*, give them their name. The gentleness, contemplative, solitude and universal tolerance of the Prophet are reflected in Sufi behaviors. Ali, too, is a source of Sufi inspiration. The Sufi spiritual genealogy is thus impeccable. Sufism is the endearing-and enduring-side of Islam."⁶

The great Muslim philosopher-historian, Abd al-Rahman Ibn-i-Khaldun (1332-1406 A.D.) has said that Sufism belongs to the sciences of the religious law that originated in Islam. Furthermore, it is based on the assumption that the practices of its adherents had always been considered by the notable early Muslims, the men around the Prophet (PBUH) and the Muslims of the second generation, as the path of trust and right guidance. The Sufi approach is based upon constant application to divine worship, abstinence from immoderate indulgence, prosperity and position to which the great mass aspire, and retirement from the world into solitude for worship. These things were common in the men around Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the early Muslims.⁷

Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (1058-1111 A.D.) has said that the Sufis alone are the great traverses of the path of God. Their character is the best character, their path is the straightest path, and their moral attributes the most correct and refined. The wisdom of the wise, the sagacity of the sages, and the knowledge of scholars of *Shariah*, all combined, could not present

anything nobler than their character and morals. All their overt and inner actions are derived from Prophethood, and there is no light or source of light on the Earth's surface greater than the light of Prophethood.⁸

Others connect Sufism with *saff* (rank), as though the Sufis were spiritually in the first rank in virtue of their communion with God.⁹ Yet another derivation of the word Sufi is from '*Suffah*' (a platform or veranda in the Prophet's Mosque in Madinah), where some of the most ardent devotees from amongst the Companions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) known as "*Ashab-i-Suffah*" used to stay and pray day and night.¹⁰ But whatever the variations in definition, its essential role, as recognized on all hands, is to set in motion a process of spiritual culture, operation in one form or another, for spiritual tranquillity. It represents the inward or esoteric side of Islam.

There are many Sufi orders (known as *silsilahs*), such as Rifaiyyah deriving from Ahmad Ibn al-Rifai (d. 1181 A.D.); the nomadic Yasaviyyah of Ahmad al-Yassavi (d. 166 A.H.); the Kubraviyyah of Najmuddin Kubra (d. 1236 A.D.), also attributed to Abu al-Hasan Ali Shazili (d. 1258 A.D.); the Maulawiyya inspired by the Persian poet, Jalaluddin al-Rumi, (d.1273 A.D.) a disciple of Shams Tabrizi, the Badviyya of Ahmad al-Badvi (d.1276 A.D.), centered in Egypt, Qadiriyya, Suhwardiyya, Chishtiyya and Naqashbandiyya, etc. The last four Sufi Orders are more renowned than others in South Asia, as these were the major orders of Sufis, which proliferated here.

Though it was popularized quite late in South Asia, the Qadiriyya Order is the earliest mystic order founded by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani (1077-1166 A.D.), who was born in Gilan (Iran), South of the Caspian Sea. At the age of eighteen, he went to Baghdad, the then seat of learning, in search of knowledge. There he studied law, hadith (Traditions of the Prophet) and philosophy under eminent scholars. His interest in Sufism was sparked off by Abu Khair Hammad al-Dabbas (d. 1129), but he obtained his *Khirqah* (literally meaning robe, but symbolizes spiritual succession) from Shaikh Al-Mukharrimi. The Qadiri order has had a considerable extension in the Indian sub-continent, especially in modern times. It was introduced into India by Syed Muhammad Ghaus, who migrated from Baghdad to India and settled down in Uch Sayyidan in Bahawalpur in 1482 A.D., and died there 35 years later. His tomb at Uch is still kept up by the members of his family. The Qadiri order emerged into prominence during Mughal era under the stewardship of Mian Mir Qadiri (1550-1636 A.D) with his *Khanqah* (hospice) situated in Lahore.¹¹

The Suhrawardiyya Order is attributed to Shaikh Najibuddin Abu Najib Suhrawardi (d. 1168), but it's real founder is his nephew, Shahabuddin Hafs (1145-1165 A.D.), who developed and popularized it.¹² This order spread to many parts of the Muslim world and became one of the two most significant orders of early Sufism in India. Shaikh Shahabuddin learnt theology from Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani and a number of other prominent theologians, but was initiated into Sufism by his uncle. Shaikh Shahab travelled in Iran, Khurasan, Transoxiana, Syria and Turkey and made many pilgrimages to

Makkah. During his lifetime, he wrote several books, the most popular being the *Awarif al-Ma'arif*, which marks a watershed in the reconciliation of Sufism with orthodoxy. To later generations of Sufis, it became the most authoritative text on Sufism. A number of his disciples took refuge in India from the disturbed conditions in Persia and Iraq. One of them was Bahauddin Zakariyya, established the order in Multan in the thirteenth century in the Sultanate era.¹³ Another migrant Suhrawardi Sufi, Jalaluddin Tabrizi introduced the order in Bengal.¹⁴

The Chishtiyya Order derives its name from Chisht, a village near Herat in Afghanistan where the founder of the order, Khwaja Abu Ishaq resided for some time in the twelfth century. The Chishtiyya Order was introduced in India by Muinuddin Sijzi (d. 1236). He arrived in India shortly before the conquests of Mohammad Ghori, and chose Ajmer as the location for his hospice. Chishti Sufis, Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaki, Khwaja Fariduddin Masood and Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya spread the order in India.¹⁵

The Naqashbandiyya is the most outstanding of the Sufi orders in India. Its foundation is attributed to Bahauddin Naqashband, a resident of a town Naqashband situated near Bokhara. It was developed by Ahmad Ata Yaswi (d. 1116 A.D.). The order was established in India by Muhammad Baqi Billah (1536-1603 A.D.) in the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.). The order was further popularized by the great Indian Naqashbandi Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624) in the 17th century.¹⁶

2. Sufis Relationship with the Medieval State: An Overview

In South Asia, the Sufis relationship with the medieval state during the Sultanate and Mughal eras can be explained with the help of two general thematic categories of the types of Sufi responses to the state. These include the 'associational' and 'oppositional' responses.¹⁷ The two types of responses offered by the Sufis to the Indian state are discussed at some length here.

(a) 'Associational' Response of the Sufis

The associational attitude of some of the Sufis with the state meant that they had cordial relations with the kings, nobles and the ruling elite. They used to sit in their company. But it does not mean that Sufis became a part of the state structure. Since Sufism implied a guised protest against the high-handedness of state, one of the Sufi goals was to reduce state's authoritarianism by getting the grievances of the masses addressed or compensated in some way or the other. This associational attitude can be interpreted as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. These Sufis wanted to help the masses which in their view was possible only when they had cordial relations with the establishment. But despite this association, the same Sufis used to publicly criticize the government policies and the attitudes of the kings, nobles and state functionaries. However, given the circumstances and necessities, the associational approach of these Sufis varied from person to person. Given below is its empirical evidence.

An eminent disciple-caliph of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi was Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria, who established the order in Multan. Shaikh

Baha-ud-din maintained his hospice in Multan, which was then governed by Nasiruddin Qubacha. The King of Delhi, Sultan Altumish (1210–1236 A.D.) wanted to annex Sindh and Multan to the Sultanate. The Shaikh enjoyed good relations with the Sultan and openly sided him in his struggle for political supremacy. Shaikh Bahauddin invited Sultan Altumish to capture Multan and Sindh in a letter addressed to him. In 1228 Multan and Sindh were annexed by Altumish after defeating the forces of Qubacha. Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi, a disciple of Shaikh Bahauddin was appointed as *Shaikh-ul-Islam* by Altumish.¹⁸ However, despite that, the Shaikh did not get deeply involved in the political matters. After the death of Altumish, the Shaikh did not interfere with the power struggle waged among various claimants to the throne.

Shaikh Bahauddin's grandson Shaikh Ruknuddin was a frequent visitor to the court of Delhi. The roof of his palanquin used to be loaded with petitions of the needy people, which the Shaikh used to recommend to the reigning Sultan for consideration.¹⁹ He had the humility proper to be a Sufi and was aware that in acting as he did, he was exposing himself to the contamination of worldliness. Once he met Shaikh Fariduddin's grandson, Shaikh Alauddin at Ajodhan. They embraced each other. Shaikh Ruknuddin was told later that, after he had left Shaikh Alauddin bathed and changed his clothes. Shaikh Rukh-ud-din replied that it was the right thing to do, as he reeked of the world and Shaikh Ala-ud-din was unpolluted by it. He refused to become a party to Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Shah's crude attempts to undermine the prestige and influence of Shaikh Nizamuddin. On two occasions, when Multan became involved in rebellions, the influence of the Suhrawardis was exercised

effectively to mitigate punishments.²⁰ But being in the world to this extent and still not being part of it, required strength of character and spiritual self-confidence, which only few are endowed with. Shaikh Ruknuddin was an efficient administrator, besides being a genuine Sufi. It is also recorded that only after seeking permission from the governor of Multan, Shaikh Ruknuddin used to allow people to stay in his *khanqah*.²¹

In the reign of Firoz Tughlaq, Shaikh Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahanyan (the one served by the people of the world) was kept as a state guest when he came to Delhi.²² His influence on the political policies of the day was no doubt healthy. But this did not reduce spiritualism in him. The appointment to the Suhrawardi spiritual seat of Multan and the administration of its estates came virtually into the hands of the government. Similarly, Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi, the disciple-caliph of Shaikh Shahabuddin was held in high esteem by Sultan Altumish. Another disciple of Shaikh Shahabuddin, Maulana Majeduddin Haji accepted the position of *Sadr* (minister for religious affairs) on the insistence of Sultan Altumish. Yet another disciple-caliph of the Shaikh named Qazi Hamiduddin of Nagour is said to have good relations with Sultan Altumish.²³ Though the Sufis of Chishtiyya order generally preferred to stay away from state and its affairs, some of them did associate themselves with the state. For instance, Baba Farid's successor and grandson, Shaikh Fariduddin Masud had cordial relations with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and accepted an honoured place in his court. Similarly, the descendants of Shaikh Hamiduddin were



given important administrative posts and land grant by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.²⁴

In a similar way, Shaikh Budruddin Sulaiman, the disciple-caliph and the third son of Baba Farid also joined the politics of the state. His son Shaikh Alauddin of Ajodhan was also an eminent Sufi. Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq is said to have entered the fold of his discipleship and appointed Shaikh Alauddin's son, Shaikh Ilmuddin as *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of the Kingdom.²⁵ Likewise, Shaikh Badruddin Ghaznavi, an eminent disciple of Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, is said to have participated in political affairs of the state. A great number of Shaikh Nizamuddin's disciples such as Shaikh Ilmuddin, Khwaja Karimuddin Samarqandi, Shaikh Moizuddin, Syed Qutbuddin Husain Kirmani, Shaikh Mazharuddin and Shaikh Kamaluddin played key role in politics.²⁶

Shaikh Najmuddin Sughra of Delhi, a Sufi of Firdawsiyya Order, was appointed *Shaikh-ul-Islam* by Altumish and continued in office till his death.²⁷ Another Firdawsi Sufi, Shaikh Sultan Yahya of Manyar, is said to have settled in a *khanqah*, which was built by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was not only given a land grant by the Sultan but also the money, which was spent on the poor.²⁸

The Qadiriyya Order was introduced into India by Sayed Muhammad Ghaus in 1482, but it emerged into prominence under Shaikh Mir Muhammad known as Mian Mir Qadiri. He was the spiritual preceptor of Shah Jahan and his son Prince Dara Shikoh and daughter Princess Jahahara. Qadri Sufis like

Mulla Shah of Badakhshan and Mian Mir considerably influenced the religious policy of the Mughals.²⁹

As for the Naqashbandiyya order, its adherent Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaidullah Ahrar (d. 1490) played a significant role in its development. His disciples not only went to India, but also to Turkey, Iran and Arabia. The Naqashbandia political agenda, among their other goals, was to influence political leaders to establish and enforce Islamic practices.³⁰ The Mughals in India had close ties with the Naqashbandis. As Zahiruddin Babur moved on to conquer portions of northern India in 1526, the Naqashbandis continued to find a receptive climate to spread their teachings. Khwaja Ahrar's third son, Muhammad Amin accompanied Babur when he conquered Kabul and India. The Naqashbandis, particularly the descendants of Khwaja Ahrar, held government posts during Humayun's reign, e.g. Khwaja Ahrar's great grandsons Khwaja Abdul Kafi and Khwaja Qasim. Sultan Khwaja Naqashbandi, a disciple of Khwaja Abdul Shahid, was appointed the *Sadr* (in-charge of religious endowments and land grants) from 1578-1584 A.D. during Akbar's reign. Muhammad Yahya, the principal successor to his father, Abu Faiz, a grandson of Khwaja Ahrar, was appointed *Amir-i-Hajj* for the year 1578 by Akbar.³¹ In addition, Ahraris also intermarried with the Mughal ruling family. Babur's daughter was married to Nuruddin Muhammad Naqashbandi, and their daughter was married to Akbar's tutor, Bairam Khan, and later became one of Akbar's wives after her first husband's death. Similarly, Humayun's daughter was given in marriage to Khwaja Hasan Naqashbandi by Akbar's half brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the Governor of Kabul.³²

Khwaja Baqi Billah and his disciple-caliph Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, had in one way or the other good relations with the rulers. Khwaja Muhammad Masum, son and successor of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, was requested by Aurangzeb for support in his war of succession with Prince Dara Shikoh. Khwaja Masum ordered his nephew Shaikh Sa'duddin, son of Muhammad Said and his own son Muhammad Ashraf, both of whom were preparing to go on pilgrimage, to go immediately to Aurangzeb and to stay by his side. Khwaja Masum and his eldest son, Sibghatullah, went to Mecca. The former went to mobilize the support of ulema and Sufis in the holy city to pray for Aurangzeb's victory. After Aurangzeb's accession, Sirhindi's spiritual and physical descendants continued to advise him. Many Naqashbandi-Mujaddadi family members and disciples continued to find employment in the Mughal administration. Naqashbandis remained associated with the later Mughal Emperors in one way or the other.³³

(b)'Oppositional' Response of the Sufis

The oppositional response of the Sufis to the State in India had many historical, legal, psychological and religious reasons behind it. First, this kind of response to the state was not a new thing for the Indian Sufis. There were many examples of Sufis' oppositional response to the state in Middle East and Persia, which demanded from them a complete abstention from the company of kings and nobles, and feeling of hatred and abhorrence towards the government and of government service. Secondly, the income from the government service was considered illegal. Thirdly, the Sufis believed that the government service distracted a Sufi from the path of spiritual progress.

Fourthly, the Muslim political organization was considered secular by the Sufis, which they considered condemnable. Imam Ghazzali stated in his work *Ihya-ul-Ulum* that it was obligatory to have the belief that the atrocities of the governing class deserved to be condemned. Lastly, the Sufis believed that as a result of association with the state, a Sufi might isolate himself from the masses.³⁴ Therefore, many Sufis had developed anti establishment attitude. These Sufis rejected official titles, positions, grants and even avoided the company of the kings and nobility.

The real founder of Chishtiyya Order in the Indian subcontinent was Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti Ajmeri (d. 1236). He kept himself aloof from the government affairs and court life in Delhi.³⁵ His disciple Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagouri (d. 1276) was offered land and grants by the Sultan, but he refused.³⁶ Similarly, Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1235) a notable disciple of Khwaja Muinuddin refused to accept the official title and post of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* offered by the Sultan Altumish.³⁷ Shaikh Fariduddin Masud (d. 1265), popularly known as Baba Farid, continued with the tradition of his spiritual guide, and refused to take land grant offered by Sultan Nasiruddin's Prime Minister Ulugh Khan (later known as Sultan Balban).³⁸ He not only used to warn his disciples against participating in politics but also expressed his displeasure when Shaikh Badruddin constructed a *khanqah* with the help of donation from a state official.³⁹

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (d. 1325), the most eminent disciple-caliph of Baba Farid throughout his life, manifested oppositional response towards

the state. He only once visited the royal court to participate in a public debate (*manazara*) regarding music.⁴⁰ Once he rejected Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji's offer of a grant of a village.⁴¹ His contemporary nobles and Sultans of Delhi tried their best to give him money and lands but he refused to accept. "Dervishes have nothing to do with the conduct of the state"⁴² was the reply of Nizamuddin when he received a letter of Sultan Alauddin Khalji. He also refused to meet the Sultan.⁴³

Shaikh Naseeruddin Mahmud, famously known as Chiragh-i-Delhi, the most distinguished disciple-caliph of Nizamuddin Auliya also kept himself away from the royal court.⁴⁴ Other disciple-caliphs of Nizamuddin, namely Syed Muhammad Banda Nawaz Gesudaraz (1321-1422), Fakhruddin Zaradi, Shaikh Munawwar of Hansi (d. 1358) and Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib of Deccan (d. 1443) avoided association with the ruling classes and nobility.⁴⁵

Sufis of other orders like Suhrawardis too abstained from associating themselves with the ruling classes. Shaikh Wajeehuddin Usman of Sunnam (d. 1337/8), a disciple of Shaikh Ruknuddin, had refused to accept any of the gifts offered by Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughluq.⁴⁶ Son and successor of Bahauddin Zakariyya, Sadruddin Arif (d. 1285) preferred like the Chishtis, a life of ascetic poverty.⁴⁷ Similarly, Shah Abdul Latif, famously known as Bari Imam, an eminent Sufi of the Qadiri Order is said to have refused to meet Bahadur Shah I.⁴⁸ Sufis of other less renowned orders also avoided their association with the state.

3. Sufis and the Colonial State

With the collapse of Muslim Political authority and the establishment of alien, Non-Muslim colonial rule, Sufis were generally replaced/represented by *sajjada nasheens* (hereditary successors to the spiritual seats), who were often a pale shadow of their ancestor Sufis. Some of these *sajjada nasheens* had collaborated with the colonial state. On the other hand, some *sajjada nasheens* and Sufis focused their attention towards the Sufi Revivalist Movement and avoided their association with the colonial State.

Now we discuss these two different responses of *sajjada nasheens* towards the state. The *sajjada nasheens* of the Shrines of Bahawal Haq and his grandson, Shah Rukn-i-Alam, in Multan had assisted the British during the siege of Multan in 1848-49 against the Sikh regime. Makhdum Murid Hussain Qureshi, who ascended as *sajjada nasheen* of Bahawal Haq Shrine in 1921, closely collaborated with the state administration.⁴⁹

Syed Mehr Shah, the younger brother of Pir Fazal Shah, *sajjada nasheen* of the shrine of Jalalpur Jhelum district of Punjab during World War I, through his elder brother Pir Fazal Shah did not involve himself with the government recruiting efforts. Syed Mehr Shah actively used the religious influence of the Shrine to encourage army recruiting and was rewarded for his efforts with the title of 'Nawab' from the government. Subsequently, he capitalized on his position by standing successfully for election to the Punjab Council in 1923, when he cooperated with the Unionist Party. He extended

the political involvement of the Jalalpur family by alliance with Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan Khokhar who was elected to the Central Assembly in 1923.⁵⁰

Similarly, the family of the Taunsa *sajjada nasheens* over the issue of ascending the prestigious seat of *sajjada nasheen* of Shrine of Taunsa Sharif were split into two rival groups. Mian Mahmud, who was also a contender for *sajjada* (spiritual seat) used to visit local government officials, while on the other hand, Khwaja Hamid who had been officially installed as *sajjada nasheen* in 1911 of the Shrine of Taunsa Sharif avoided contact with British government officers.⁵¹

Now we discuss those Sufis who tried to avoid their association with the State and whenever they got a chance, they severely opposed colonial government and its policies. In 1920 the *sajjada nasheen* of the Shrine of Jalalpur Sharif was Syed Muhammad Fazal Shah, the grandson of Syed Ghulam Haider Ali Shah, himself a *Khalifa* of Khawaja Shamsuddin Sialvi. Syed Fazal Shah maintained deep commitment of many religious principles of his grandfather. He asserted his cultural independence of the British and remained wary of dealing with the government.⁵²

In 1927, Pir Fazal Shah formed an organization called the *Hizbullah* (Party of God). This organization was designed to provide cultural leadership, independent of the colonial state and to give political expression to many religious concerns of the Sufi revival.⁵³ Pir Mehr Ali Shah of Golra Sharif (b. 1856-d. 1937) was one of the most influential spiritual descendants of Khwaja

Suleman of Taunsa (b. 1770-d. 1850) who was the leading Sufi revivalist of the 19th century of India. Under his influence Mehr Ali Shah transformed Golra into a major Chishti centre. His influence can be judged from the fact that many tribal leaders such as Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan were among his followers and supporters. Like his spiritual predecessors, he refused to be drawn into direct contact with the British government.⁵⁴

Pir Sibghatullah Shah of Pagara the spiritual leader of *Hurs* had fought against the British occupation of Sindh and gave a tough resistance to the colonial state.⁵⁵ Similarly; Maulana Shah Ahmed Raza Khan (b.1856-d. 1921)⁵⁶ an eminent scholar and Sufi of India strongly opposed the British government and popularized the two-nation theory which became the backbone of the Pakistan Movement. His eminent disciple-followers like Maulana Naeemuddin Muradabadi,⁵⁷ Maulana Shah Abdul Aleem Siddiqui (b.1892-1954)⁵⁸ furthered the cause of Maulana Ahmed Raza Khan and opposed the British Government. With the help of other leading Sunni ulema and *mashaikh*, they founded All India Sunni Conference in 1925, which not only opposed the British and Congress anti-Muslim policies but also wholeheartedly supported All India Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement.⁵⁹

Maulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahalli (b.1878-d.1926),⁶⁰ a distinguished scholar and Sufi, who had thousand of followers all over India, opposed the British Government. Pir Muhammad Ameen-ul-Hasanat of Manki Sharif

(b.1923-d.1960)⁶¹ and Pir Abdul Latif of Zakori Sharif (b.1916-d.1978)⁶² were the two most prominent *sajjada nasheens* of NWFP, who had got large followers in the NWFP also opposed the colonial state and supported the Pakistan Movement. Though the structure of the colonial political system limited these Sufis' ability to develop an independent stance and resistance movement to the imperial regime, they were strongly attracted to the politics of Islamic symbols. They often reminded the Muslims that, even without a Muslim State, they were all part of a wider Islamic world.⁶³ They showed their anti-British sentiments by supporting and actively participating in the Khilafat Movement, Cawnpur Mosque tragedy, Child Marriage Act, Shaheed Ganj Mosque Movement and the Pakistan Movement.

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CHAPTER 2

Punjab in the 19th Century: A Socio-political Profile

The Punjab lies at the gateway of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Its geographical location determines much of its historical significance. Etymologically, it encompasses the land of five rivers – the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. Historically, it has been a cradle of civilizations with successive waves of migrations sweeping across its plains to the subcontinent, from Central Asia and beyond. This gave the Punjab a history of continuous change, quite unique in South Asia. The Aryans, the Scythians, the Greeks and the Muslims, all left their mark on it. The oldest battles of the subcontinent in the pre-historic epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were fought here. Buddhism found its highest expression in this land. The Muslim conquests introduced a new faith of human equality and egalitarianism to counteract the rigid caste system of Hinduism. It was here that the Muslims founded one of the greatest empires of the world. The Sikh religion was the last to find a home here.

The Punjab was the last region to be annexed by the British in 1849¹. The Muslims had lost political power long before that. Under the Sikh rule, they suffered immensely. The Sikhs devastated Lahore in 1764, and ravaged the country between Sutlej and Attock². They were not merely content with making their religion, Sikhism, supreme³, they unleashed a revanchist policy towards the Muslims, who were thereby reduced to the position of agricultural

labourers.⁴ The Sikhs crushed the Muslims as political power, ruined their property and dispersed them as a religious community. Once constituting a privileged class and occupying a leading position in the Punjab society, the Muslims were reduced to the level of common subjects under the Sikh rule. Their position was further lowered by the changes brought about by the British rule, their educational policy, introduction of English, teaching of Western ideas and missionary activities made the Muslims all the more weary of the British rules.

When the British conquered the Punjab in 1849, they gave recognition to the Sikh aristocracy. Indeed, according to one analyst: "The British Government did all it consistently could do to mitigate the reverses of the feudal nobility of the defunct Sikh realm".⁶ The Government protected their hereditary claims to land, which had originated in Muslim deprivation. The Sikhs were allowed the custody and income of their holy places, while, in contrast, the mosques continued to suffer desecration. Although the Badshahi Mosque of Lahore was nominally restored to the Muslims in 1856⁷, and the Muslims of the Punjab expressed their gratitude to the Government⁸, it continued to stand as a half-ruined monument till the end of 19th century. The *Eidgah* in Multan which had been closed in 1848 was restored after a number of years, in 1863.⁹ The Golden Mosque of Lahore, when released by the Government in 1875, was "lying in a dilapidated state".¹⁰ In Ludhiana, one mosque was occupied by the sweepers of the Municipality, and the other was annexed by a Christian Mission School.¹¹ Apparently, the Government policy

was to hurt the Muslim sensibilities as much as they could and to weaken and impoverish them politically and economically.¹²

The pro-Sikh policy of the British Government paid off during the 1857 uprising when 7,000 Sikh troops, sent by the Rajas of Patala, Jhind and Nabha, helped the British to subdue and control Delhi.¹³ The revolts at Lahore, Sialkot, Jhelum, Multan, Hazara and Ludhiana were essentially perceived as Muslim uprisings. The Sikhs fully supported the British. They also enabled the British to keep their communications open with the Punjab and Peshawar. The Sikh refusal to join the Muslims in their struggle against the British, though symptomatic of their old antagonism, also meant that, in the Punjab, the Muslims had to contend with the Sikhs as well as with the Hindus.

The Muslim - Sikh problem was peculiar only to Punjab politics. As they stood low in Government estimation, first the Sikhs and later the Hindus outstripped the Muslims in wealth and education.¹⁴ Tragically enough, there was hardly any sound basis for the growth of leadership among the Muslims of the Punjab. Muslim landlords of the Punjab, devoid of education and helpless pawns in the hands of Hindu money-lenders, were the least qualified to give a lead to the Muslims at large. In the Punjab, thus, much of backwardness of the people was caused by a lack of political leadership. Although the Muslim rural communities were backward all over the subcontinent, it was particularly marked in villages and towns of the Punjab.

In contrast to other communities, the Muslim response to the British rule was one of resistance. But they soon found their progress thwarted by their poverty and their sullen attitude towards an alien system of education. For nearly two decades, they had stood aloof from the mainstream and declined to avail themselves of the opportunities provided by the new rulers in the field of education. Under the Sikhs, the Muslims had enjoyed a virtual monopoly¹⁵, since Persian had remained the court language in the Punjab and the Muslims were masters of the medium. The Punjab enjoyed one of the highest rate of literacy in the British provinces. Schools were mostly attached to the mosques where, besides teaching of the Quran, instruction was provided in Persian classics. Muslims maintained their leading position in the sphere of education until 1860.¹⁶

The Muslim tradition of classical and Islamic culture inclined them to prefer instruction in vernacular rather than western education. But this had little relevance to job opportunities in the government sector. Instead of adapting themselves to English education and availing themselves of the opportunities it offered, the Muslims became inward-looking. Their efforts were mainly devoted to the establishment and maintenance of upper level *Madrassahs* for religious and Arabic education.

The prejudice against the learning of English prevented Muslims from taking advantage of socio-economic progress of the country. Whereas the Muslim children remained pre-occupied mainly with the primary education, the Hindus stole a lead in secondary and higher education. In 1871, there were

only 13 Muslims in colleges of the Punjab province compared to 84 non-Muslims.¹⁷ That is why Sir Syed Ahmed Khan warned Muslims of the Punjab that oriental education would bar them from progress and deprive them of their rights; for they would then remain ignorant of their rights and therefore unable to fight for themselves.¹⁸

Important Muslim Associations of the Punjab and their Role

The Punjabi Muslims responded to these numerous and diverse pressures following annexation in 1849 by organizing and joining associations which tried to protect and strengthen the Muslim community. Within Muslim society of the Punjab these associations came to fulfil two broad needs or functions:¹⁹

First, they were used as instruments for restoring and perpetuating traditional customs and institutions such as preserving *auqaf*, collecting zakat and sponsoring schools. These had deteriorated as a result of Muslim loss of political power and impoverishment and in some instances had been further eroded by Governmental, judicial, educational and settlement reforms. These associations provided a new organizational base for these activities and represented a renewed interest in these matters by certain groups.²⁰

The second need fulfilled was that of helping the Muslim community cope with the new challenges of the late nineteenth century. Most important issues in the minds of most Muslims at this time were combating and refuting attacks by missionary and Hindu groups, petitioning and convincing the British Government of legitimate Muslim interests, promotion of Muslim unity, and introducing reforms, largely cultural, within the community. It is in the late 1870's and 1880's that the urban, educated Muslim responded to these

problems by founding these societies in large numbers.²¹ These associations played instrumental role in these issues, in addition to publishing activities.

An important part of the assessment of the Muslim situation by Muslims was the increasing awareness that their interests and fortunes must be separated from those of the Hindus. Associations established in the 1860's and 1870's were joint Hindu and Muslim societies, whereas those founded in the 1880's were almost exclusively Muslim and directed more to specific Muslim needs. The fact that there were more Hindu groups than Muslim (see table below) was cause for some uneasiness among the Muslims.²

Table: Societies in different Cities/Districts of Punja

Cities/Districts	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Joint
Julundur	2	1	4	1
Lahore	12	1	6	4
Hoshiarpur	2	1	0	0
Bannu	0	1	1	0
Amritsar	3	1	5	1
Multan	1	0	1	0
Simla	4	1	0	1
Amballa	0	0	2	0
Dera Ghazi Khan	0	0	0	0
Gujrat	2	0	2	0
Dera Ismail Khan	2	0	0	1
Muzaffargarh	1	0	0	1
Sealkote/ Sialkot	3	1	0	0
Jhang	3	0	1	0
Total	35	7	22	8

Source: Edward D. Churchill, JR. *Muslim Societies of the Punjab, 1860 – 1890* in the Punjab Past and Present, Vol. VII, No.15, April 1974, pp.72-73.

These societies* were founded by different groups to meet different and changing needs. Six types can be identified according to their goals and activities:²³

1. The early literary societies were among the first voluntary associations of North India, e.g. Anjuman-i-Punjab Lahore (1865), Delhi Literary Society Delhi (1865), and Anjuman-i-Farzandan-i-Gujranwala (1866). Their membership was exclusively open for the elite of all communities and their outlook was secular. Their primary goals were to spread useful knowledge through translations of important works into vernaculars. They sponsored lectures, discussions, founded libraries, reading rooms and museums, promoted scholarship in oriental learning and took interest in industry, commerce and social reforms. They published journals and proceedings in addition to their translations. They also supported the British rule. The literary societies faded in 1870s because of the increased activity of the education department in translating texts from English into Urdu and because of increased communal friction. Many of the reading rooms and libraries, however, continued to exist after 1870s.²⁴

* See Appendix I for a brief discussion on membership and activities of the Muslim societies established in the Punjab during 1860-1890.

2. There were number of comparatively early groups concerned with preserving or restoring aspects of Muslim culture e.g. Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore (1869), Anjuman Mufid-i-Am Kasur (1873), Anjuman Mawahidin Amritsar (1873), Anjuman Rifah-i-Riaya-i-Hind Delhi (1875) and Anjuman-i-Islamia Delhi (1870). Many of their members also belonged to the literary societies and many had received inspiration to attend to Muslim literary tradition from the Muslims involved in classical learning. The Anjuman Islamia had its origins as a society to restore mosques and re-establish *auqaf*. The Anjuman Mufid-i-Am which published a literary journal at its own press also sponsored a handicrafts school to preserve traditional crafts. Both societies provided a new institutional base for traditional activities.²⁵

3. Some associations were founded to promote the interests of a particular community or religious sect, such as Anjuman Ithna Ashar Ambala (1876), Anjuman Numania Lahore (1888) and Anjuman Taid Islam Amritsar (1884), Anjuman Madrasa Islamia Gujrat (1883), Anjuman Miran Jullundar (1880), which represented the Shia Sayyids, Hanafis, Ahl-i-Hadith and the Mir Community.²⁶

4. A number of societies appearing in the 1880s were formed to promote the interests of professional or occupational groups e.g. Anjuman Islah Zamindaran Baghbanpura (1883). Medical Club Lahore (1885), Muhammadan Union Club Lahore (1886), Majlis Anwar Muhammadia Amritsar, and Union Council Amritsar, Hamalyan Council Club Simla.

Some started as joint societies but the poison of communalism eventually affected their membership. The professions they represented included both modern and traditional, and their members included attorneys, astronomers, doctors, feudals and Imams.²⁷

5. The most common types of associations were those which supported a wide range of cultural reforms and social change such as Anjuman-i-Islamia (1869), Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam (1884), Anjuman City School Bannu (1884), Anjuman Ghamkhar Islam Jullandar (1885), Anjuman Hami-i-Qaum Kapurthala (1885), Anjuman Hami-i-Qaum Jullundur (1889), Anjuman-i-Ahsan-ul-Akhlaq Lahore (1886) and Anjuman-i-Ittihadia Amritsar (1884) etc. Among many goals espoused was that of Muslim unity. Their activities included founding schools, publications, religious philanthropy, public meetings, petitions, memorials and scholarships. The ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were of great interest and inspiration but they did not always get unanimous support.²⁸

6. Finally, some societies were established primarily for political purposes. These were of two kinds: first which were formed to protest and petition about a particular issue, e.g. Anjuman Hamdard-i-Islamia Amritsar, Anjuman Hazara, Hazara (1883), Anjuman Muhammadia Lahore (1888), Anjuman Rifah-i-Am Amballa (1884), Majlis Islamia Lahore, Majlis Islamia Ludhiana, Anjuman Mufid-i-Am Ludhiana (1884), and Muawanat-i-Urdu Amritsar (1882), and secondly, organizations devoted to mobilizing Muslim opinion in several provinces on numerous

issues, e.g. Indian Association Lahore (1883), Anjuman Ghamkhar Islam Jullundur (1888), and United Indian Patriotic Association Aligarh (1888).²⁹

The Anjuman Islamia and the Anjuman-i-Himayat Islam represented the most progressive forces in the Punjab. These two were the wealthiest societies with 7,000 and 10,000 rupees credit respectively. As a result both were able to carry on impressive publishing programs. Together they formed a single network covering most of the Punjab.³⁰

The Anjuman Islamia of Lahore was established in 1869.³¹ It was originally set up to take over and maintain the Badshahi Mosque which had been converted, during the Sikh rule, into a storehouse of weapons and gunpowder, etc., but was now being restored to the Muslims by the British. Gradually the Anjuman extended the field of its activities which came to include efforts "to improve the social and intellectual conditions of the Muhammadans of the Punjab and further Muhammadan interests generally".³² In addition to the Badshahi Mosque which was repaired at a cost of one lakh of rupees, the restoration of the shops attached to the Golden Mosque, Lahore, and the custody of the holy relics of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) formerly kept in the fort, it also instituted scholarships for Muslim students.³³ The Amritsar branch (1882) founded an Anglo-oriental school at Amritsar on the lines of M.A.O. College at Aligarh.³⁴ The Anjuman arranged visits to Lahore by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1873 and 1884. The Lahore and Amritsar branches of the Anjuman Islamia were unquestioning supporters of

Sir Syed and served as his most vigorous representatives in the Punjab. The Anjuman affiliated itself to the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lahore in 1888.³⁵

The Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam was founded in 1884³⁶. It was considered a natural corollary to Sir Syed's movement. The objectives of the Anjuman were:

- I. (a) Rationally and intelligently to answer through verbal discussion or in writing, any accusation advanced against Islam, and to further its propagation.
 - (b) To impart suitable and necessary education to Muslim boys and girls and save them from abjuring their own true faith.
 - (c) To take upon itself the maintenance and education, to the best of its ability, of Muhammadan orphans, and to render all possible educational aid to poor Muslim boys and girls, so as to save them from falling into the hands of the followers of other religions.
 - (d) To improve the social, rural and intellectual conditions of the Muslim community and initiate measures conducive to the creation and preservation of friendly feelings between the different sects of Islam.
 - (e) To bring home to the Muhammadans the advantages of loyalty to the British Government.
- II. For the realization of its objective the Anjuman shall appoint preachers, issue a monthly magazine, establish educational institutions and orphanages, and to make use of other necessary means³⁷.

The Anjuman's activities upto 1890 were impressive and included the founding of a number of schools, the publishing of a journal and several educational texts, the founding of two orphanages, one for boys and the other

for girls. It seems to have been the only organization at this time that managed to draw the support of the urban middle classes. Its membership was large, for instance, in Lahore it had 900 members in 1890, and 350 members in Amritsar in 1888.³⁸

The Anjuman was patronized by prominent scholars, religious and political leaders such as Nazir Ahmad, Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali, Maulana Shibli Nomani, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah. Their speeches at its annual meetings, and various writings, stirred Muslim imagination and put new life into the community across the country.

This was all the more important, given the threats it faced from a host of sources. The Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayanand, posed the greatest threat to the Muslim community of Punjab. The activities of the Arya Samaj created bitterness among the Muslims, and indeed led to the communal tension and riots.³⁹ More than twenty major riots took place between 1883 and 1891, the most serious ones were at Multan (1881), Ambala, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur (1886) Rohtak (1881) and Isa Khel 1893).⁴⁰ The Christian missionaries and Qadianis were also active in their anti-Islamic preaching which caused further distress and hurt to the Muslim community.

In the light of the above, there was no denying that the Muslims of the Punjab were socially, economically and politically backward and were in a state of despair. They were badly in need of a leadership that could alleviate

their distress and show them a way out of their difficulties. Among other notable leaders, Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was ready and willing to give the lead.

Notes

1. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849 – 1947*. New Delhi, 1988, p.33.
2. "Jahan-i-Kharab Shuda", that is "A World Devastated", was his chronogram for this disaster. See Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1889, p.287.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 586.
7. Muhammad Yusuf Abbasi, *Muslim Politics and Leadership in South Asia, 1876-92*, Islamabad, 1981, p.35.
8. Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present*, Lahore, 1952, p.333.
9. Latif, *Punjab*, p. 586.
10. Baqir, *Lahore*, p. 334.
11. Abbasi, *Muslim Politics*, p.35.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Latif, *Punjab*, p.630.
15. Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's: A Case Study of Muslims*, Karachi, 1997, p.9.
16. *Ibid.*, p.10.
17. *Ibid.*, p.11.
18. Sheikh Muhammad Ismail Panipati, *Maqalat-i-Sir Syed*, (Urdu) Vol.III, Lahore, 1962, p.38.
19. Edward D. Churchill, JR, 'Muslim Societies of the Punjab, 1860-1890', in the Punjab Past and Present Vol. VII, No.15, April, 1974, p.73.
20. *Ibid.*, p.72.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, p.73.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p.74.

26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, p.75.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. N. Gerald Barrier, 'Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1870-1890', in the Punjab Past and Present Vol. VI, No.9, April 1971, p.86.
31. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan 1885-1951*, Lahore, 1977, p.203.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Churchill, *Muslim Societies*, p.77.
35. Ikram, *Muslim India*, p.203.
36. Syed Razi Wasti, *Political Triangle in India 1858-1924*, Lahore, 1976, p.26.
37. *Ibid.*, p.27.
38. Churchill, *Muslim Societies*, p.78; Gerald, *Muslim Politics*, p.87.
39. Ikram Ali Malik, 'Role of Administration in the Punjab Riots, 1849-1900' in Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. V, No.1, January to June 1984, p.35.
40. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 3

Jamaat Ali Shah: Life and Early Social and Political Activities

Continuing from the last chapter, which briefly dealt with the social and political profile of the province of Punjab in the 19th century, with special reference to the various associations and organizations founded by the Muslims, the present chapter presents a brief life-sketch of Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah, a renowned sufi reformer of the Punjab. It also highlights the services of Syed Jamaat Ali in religious and social spheres. While doing so, it particularly sheds light on the activities and role of Anjuman-i-Khuddam-as-Sufiyya, a religious organization, founded by him to substantiate his sufi revivalist movement.

1. Syed Jamaat Ali Shah: A Brief Life Sketch

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah (b. 1841- d. 1951) was a renowned Naqashbandi sufi of late 19th and early 20th century. He headed a sufi revivalist movement in order to reform sufism 'from within', and purge it of all un-Islamic accretions, and influences. To further his movement, he founded a sufi organization, *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-as-Sufiyya* with the aim of unifying the disparate sufi orders and disseminating the knowledge of sufism. He also took active part in politics, particularly in Khilafat Movement and the movement for the recovery of Shaheed Ganj Mosque in Lahore. He was also elected the founding president of All India Sunni Conference (1925) and presided all three All India Sunni

Conferences held respectively in Muradabad (1925), Badaun (1935) and Benarus (1946). In addition, he played an instrumental role in Pakistan Movement by supporting All India Muslim League and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was born in 1841 in the Village Alipur Sayyidan in Narowal District of Punjab¹. Before discussing his early education, it seems pertinent to briefly deal with his ancestors and family background. Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was Syed from both maternal ² and paternal ³ sides ⁴. His parents were lineal descendants of Syed Muhammad Saeed Nauruz Shah Shirazi, who had come to India along with a large contingent of Persians accompanying the second Mughal Emperor Humayun, (d. 1556) in his campaign to reconquer India.⁵ It is said that Humayun went to see Syed Hussain Nauruz Shah Sharizi who was a saint of his time (father of Syed Saeed Nauruz Shah) and requested him to pray for his success. He not only prayed for the Emperor's success but also prophesied of his regaining the throne of India.⁶ On Humayun's request he sent his brother Syed Hussain Shah and son Syed Saeed Nauruz Shah to India.⁷

When Akbar ascended the throne of India he granted a cultivated piece of land some nine miles from present day Narowal City to Syed Saeed Nauruz Shah, where he settled down with his followers. This new settlement was named as 'Alipur Sayyidian'. With the passage of time Syed Nauruz Shah's descendants settled down in four different villages i.e. Alipur Sayyidan, Kharullahpur Sayyidan, Fathepur Sayyidan and Ounchipur Sayyidan. Syed

Nauruz Shah was later buried in Ounchipur Sayyidan. A descendant of Syed Nauruz Shah, Syed Shujahuddin settled down in Abhalpur Sayyidan, Tehsil Kharian District Jhelum.

Emperor Akbar also granted some land to Syed Hussain Shah, in District Gurdaspur. In 1947 the descendants of Syed Hussain Shah migrated to Pakistan and settled down in Kharian Walla Tehsil and district Sheikupura, Dohla and Panjgarian district Sialkot.⁸

Jamaat Ali Shah's father Syed Karim was a Sufi scholar as well as the landowner of Alipur Sayyidan. He had three sons; Syed Najabat Ali Shah, Syed Jamaat Ali Shah and Syed Sadiq Ali Shah.⁹ At the age of four Syed Jamaat Ali started his early education in a nearby mosque. After learning some parts of Quran, his father took the services of Hafiz Shahab-ud-Din Kashmir, to help his son learn Quran by heart. He was taught Urdu and Persian by Maulana Abdur Rashid Alipuri; Maulana Qari Hafiz Abdur Wahab Amratsari taught him grammar and logic. After that he joined Dar-ul-Uloom Numania, Lahore where he benefited from Maulana Ghulam Qadir Bahirawi, and learnt religious sciences from him.¹⁰

He studied religious sciences in India from two well-known reformist Naqshbandi Sufis Maulana Irshad Hussain Rampuri (b. 1832- d. 1893) writer of the famous book *Intesar-ul-Haq* in the answer of *Meary-i-Haq* by Mian Nazir Hussain Delhvi (d. 1902) in which he (Mian Nasir Hussain) criticized Imam Abu-Hanifa. Alama Shibli Nomani also Studied *Fiqha* from him, and Maulana Shah

Fazl Rehman Ganj Muradabadi (b. 1794- d. 1895) disciple-caliph of Shah Muhammad Aafaq (d. 1835) and a renowned theologian of his time. He also studied from Maulana Abdullah Tonki (b. 1850- d. 1920). He was a great authority on Islamic *Fiqh*. He taught Arabic in the Oriental College and Government College Lahore. Jamat Ali Shah also studied from the first Rector of *Nadwat-ul-Ulama*, Maulana Muhammad Ali Mongiri. He received permission to transmit *Hadith* from Muhammad Abdur Rahman Panipati and when he travelled to Makkah, Maulana Shah Abdul Haq Allahabadi Makki gave him authorization to narrate additional *Hadiths*.

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah also studied religious sciences from Maulana Faizul-Hussain Saharanpuri, Maulana Hassan Kanpuri, Maulana Mir Muhammad Abdullah, Maulana Muhammad Mazhar Saharanpuri and Maulana Muhammad Omar Ziauddin Istanbuli.¹¹ All his teachers were well known theologians and scholars of their times.

Coming from a family of Qadiri¹² *Sajjadanishins*, Syed Jamaat Ali Shah's first informal contact with Naqshbandiyya order was through his father who had been initiated by Syed Hussain Shah, (Syed Jamaat Ali's maternal grandfather). Baba Faqir Muhammad Churahi (d 1897) formally initiated Syed Jamaat Ali into the Naqshbandiyya - Mujadidiyya order¹³ in 1891¹⁴. Soon after, he received permission to initiate disciples into the Naqshbandiyya order. He "stands out as the most well-known Indian Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi of the twentieth century India prior to Independence".¹⁵

He strongly opposed the Child Marriage Act and considered it un-Islamic. He and his organization also worked hard to check the anti-Islamic activities of *Shuddhi* and *Sanghtan* Movements. He also played a leading role in Anti-Qadiani Movement, and remained at the forefront of ulema-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat's campaign against Ibn-i-Saud and Wahhabism. He also took an active part in the religious and social welfare of the Muslims.

After the independence of Pakistan he with other leading ulama and *Mashaikh* started a movement for the enforcement of *Shariat* in Pakistan. He died on 30th August 1951 and is buried in Alipur Sayyidian. The annual festival celebrating Syed Jamaat Ali Shah's death anniversary (*urs*) is held on the second month of the semi-solar *sambat* calendar, *Bisakh* 28-29, roughly corresponding to May 11-12 of the Gregorian calendar is attended by hundreds and thousands of his followers from all over the world.

2. Jamaat Ali Shah's Role in Sufi Revivalist Movement

Though the need for reform in the Sufi orders had been felt by genuine Sufis for a long time, because many un-Islamic customs and practices had crept into Sufism. Shaikh Abdul Hasan Ali bin Usman al-Julbabi al-Hujwiri (famously known as Data Ganj Bakhsh) in his monumental treatise entitled *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* divided Sufis into twelve groups. Data Ganj Bakhsh says: " The whole body of aspirants to Sufism is composed of twelve sects, two of which are condemned (*mardud*), while the remaining ten are approved (*maqbul*). The latter are the Muhasibis, the Qassaris, the Tayfuris, the Junaydis, the Nuris, the Sahlis, the Hakimis, the Kharrazis, and the Sayyaris. All these assert truth and

belong to the mass of orthodox Moslems. The two condemned sects are firstly, the Hululis, who derive their name from the doctrine of incarnation (*Hulul*) and incorporation (*Imtizaj*), and with whom are connected the Salimi sect of anthropomorphists; and secondly, the Hallajis, who have abandoned the sacred law and have adopted heresy, and with whom are connected the Ibahtis and the Farisis."¹⁶

Every true Sufi condemned the false Sufis and their un-Islamic practices. At the time of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhandi (d. 1624), the *Shariat* and *Tariqat* are considered different from each other; it means that Islam and Sufism are two different things. It is evident from the letters of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhandi and the account given by Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi, he divides the false Sufis into three groups:

1. Those, who were not familiar with the decrees of the *Shari'at* and had not even heard of the traditions and aphorisms of the ulema. They were thus illiterate and needed to be educated and brought back to the truth.
2. Those who completely ignored the *shari'at* and held to the skirts of the Almighty and attached no importance to others, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq considered them to be *kafirs* (infidels) .
3. Those who mainly and strictly adhered to the practices and traditions of their *pirs* (spiritual guides). Further they held that their *pirs* had never indulged in acts ordinarily considered unlawful on good authority¹⁷.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi pioneered the first major reform movement in Indian Subcontinent (which was simultaneously a Sufi revival movement). His

efforts were directed towards the reform of Muslim Society in general and Sufism in particular.

He was not only concerned, as were the mystics of the preceding era, with expanding the faith amongst non-Muslims; he also aimed at consolidating it by reforming it and removing its un-Islamic trappings. An uncompromising monotheist, he did not agree with those religious experiments of Akbar, which he had made with the ideological support of the pantheistic thinkers. He condemned the prevalence of *bid'at* (innovation). He permitted the exercise of *Qiyas* (analogical reasoning) and *ijtehad* (independent reasoning), provided it was within the framework of the Quran and the Sunnah. He condemned those ulema and sufis of his day who encouraged deviations from the Sunnah under the garb of *ijtehad*. He approached the rulers, the sufis and the ulema in order to bring about a change in their outlook on life. It was due to his efforts that Jahangir (R.P. 1605-1627, 4th Mughal Emperor) abandoned Akbar's (R.P. 1556-1605, 3rd Mughal Emperor) policy of making religious experiments; the Sufis came closer to the *Sharia* and rejected the doctrine of *Wahdat-al-Wajud* (Unity of Being), and the ulema turned to the revival of religious learning.¹⁹

The 18th century A.D. was an era of regeneration of Islam in India. Shah Wali Ullah (1703-63) and Shah Kalim Ullah (1650-1729) were two outstanding figures who attempted to revive the original teachings of Islam-one at the intellectual, and the other at the spiritual level. Shah Wali Ullah gave a new impetus to the revival of the religious science. He laid down the foundation of a new school of scholastic theology, bridged the gulf between the jurists and the

mystics; softened the controversy between the exponents and the critics of the doctrine of *Wahdat-al-Wajud* and awakened a new spirit of religious inquiry. He addressed all sections of Muslim Society-rulers, nobles, ulema, mystics, soldiers, traders etc. and tried to infuse a new spirit of dedication in them. Shah Kalim Ullah's work was in a different direction. He revived and revitalized the Chistiyya order on the line of the saints of its earlier Sufis, checked the growth of esoteric tendencies.¹⁹

The 19th century saw the decline of the Muslim political power in South Asia and emergence of new masters of India in the form of the British. This era also witnessed the decline of the Muslim society in India in all fields of life. To meet the new challenges of the western thought and culture to the Muslim society in India, Sufis started their Sufi Revival Movements,²⁰ which attracted western educated urban Muslims to Sufism.

Jamaat Ali Shah established his religious leadership in the Sufi revival movement by actively propagating Islam as he travelled on foot to many villages and towns throughout the Punjab. Not only encouraging regular performance of obligatory religious duties according to Islamic law but also supervised the construction of mosques.²¹

The type of Sufism he represented and promoted was bolstered by the erudite Maulana Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilvi (d. 1921) who formulated an original school of religious thought with his thousands of legal opinions and prolific writings. He is also considered to be the founder of a Sunni sub-sect

named after him as 'Brelvis'. "Maulana Ahmed Raza Khan Brelvi legitimized the Sufi revival movement...which Syed Jamaat Ali Shah utilized to support his activities. The distinctive Brelvi perspective, legitimized by Maulana Ahmed Raza's innumerable *fatawa* (erudite legal opinions) bolstered the program of revival of Sufis as their same Shaykhs transmitted Brelvi ideas and practices to their disciples".²²

With this learned support, Syed Jamaat Ali departed radically from his Naqshbandi predecessors and a new expression of Naqshbandi religiosity came into being. Hence the new inspiration of Jamaat Ali Shah was in fact one of the corner stones of the Sufi revivalist movement in India.²³

(a) The Sufi Organization: *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-as-Sufiyya*

In 1904 Syed Jamaat Ali Shah attempted to institutionalize his Sufi revival movement and to expand its activities beyond the Punjab by founding and heading the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-as-Sufiyya* (Association of the Servants of Sufis).²⁴ In this way he established the first successful Sufi organization in the Punjab. The genesis of the *Anjuman* began with an English educated District Judge and land-owner from Rohtak, Punjab, Anwar Ali. A Sufi disciple and successor of his Naqshbandi-Mujaddai Shaykh, Muhammad Shah Jalandhari; Anwar Ali achieved a modicum of fame as an author of a book explaining Sufism. Shortly, after the turn of the century he founded the Muhammadan Sufism Society, which only attracted a few members. In 1904 this Sufism Society was renamed as the "Voluntary Association for Sufi Servants" with Jamaat Ali Shah as its head.²⁵

The fundamental intent of this organization was to unify Indian Sufis. The goal of unification of disparate sufi orders acquires immense significance keeping in view the conflicts and controversies among them on various spiritual issues. Therefore, the organization primarily aimed at reconciling the various sufi groups. However, this measure was specifically meant for countering neo-Scriptural groups such as the *Ahl-I-Hadith*, who had been pejoratively been labelled *Wahhabis*.

These groups are said to have advocated an alternative Sunni orthodoxy, devoid of traditional schools of law. Moreover, these groups were vehement critics of Sufism, and had rejected Sufism altogether.

It is significant to point out here that Jamaat Ali Shah not only tried to counter the anti-Sufism views and notions of these groups, but had simultaneously been making efforts to revive Sufism by clearing it of all corrupt practices, which had crept into it. It was mainly because of these corrupt practices that anti-Sufism groups had emerged. One such significant and powerful anti-Sufism movement was launched by Mohammad bin Abdul Wahhab of Nejd²⁶ (Arabia). Another important contemporary critic of Sufism was Muhammad Abduhu²⁷ (d. 1905), an Egyptian reformer.

Turning back to the *Anjuman*, its explicit goals written in large script on the front page of the first issue of the *Risala-i-Anwar-us-Sufia* were;

1. To unify all the Sufi groups e.g. Naqshbandiyya, Chistiyya, Qadiriyya, and Suhrawardiyya.
2. To spread knowledge of Sufism.

3. To make books on Sufism available.
4. To circulate the *Risala (Anwar-as-Sufiyya)* in which exemplary character and conduct of Sufis are featured.²⁸

The sufi activity of Syed Jamaat Ali and Anwar Ali was unprecedented in the history of Naqshbandi order. He with his traditionally impeccable credentials of a Sufi Shaykh and religious scholar complemented Anwar Ali's modern qualifications as an English-educated Sufi who wrote about Sufism in both Urdu and English. Moreover, both these Sufis availed themselves of modern conveniences to propagate Sufism.

The enterprise of propagating Sufism was itself a modern phenomenon. Syed Jamaat Ali rather than have seekers come to him, as educator Shaykhs had done for the prior millennium, took advantage of the geographical mobility provided by the modern rail road and travelled the length and breadth of India.²⁹ Seldom could he be found at his home in Alipur. In 1908, for example, he remained out of station for at least eight months of the year, spending five months in Mysore, Banglore and Hyderabad Deccan. For the long return train trip to north, the Nawab of Hyderabad rented him a private car. In the words of a biographer, "[a]s the train stopped along the way, people wanted to see him and to give him fruit and flowers, a small scale version of how Mahatama Gandhi was greeted when travelling".³⁰ Six years later, after a long absence from the Punjab, eager followers in Sialkot decorated Jamaat Ali and his son, Khadim Hussein with flower garlands. The pressure of people waiting to see him was so great that the disciples had to cordon off a path for him to leave the station. It is said that when he returned to Alipur shortly after, people from

Sialkot to Alipur (it is thirty miles from the city of Sialkot to Alipur) lined up for a mile outside the village to receive the Shaykh.³¹

It is beneficial to point out here that many contemporary religious scholars had outrightly rejected the use of modern tools and technology, which were introduced in India by the British. These scholars represented an extreme reaction to the technological advancement achieved in the West, and imported in India by the colonial rulers. Being reactionary in their approach, these scholars had kept themselves aloof from modern facilities, and thus had bereft themselves of their advantages. On the contrary, Jamaat Ali Shah's approach to the technological advancement was modern, as he not only appreciated these, but also made use of them for the purpose of fulfilling his mission.

Jamaat Ali Shah's modern approach can also be assessed from the fact that he organized *Anjuman* along the organizational lines of modern voluntary associations of the British type. He appointed Zafar Ali Peshawari as the first secretary of the *Anjuman*, who was followed by Master Karamullah Sialkoti.³² The *Anjuman* had branches in Gujrat, Kunjah, Kohat, Rawalpindi, Jhang, Lyallpur (now Faisalabad), Karachi, Lahore, Amritsar and Muradabad, with local officers appointed by Jamaat Ali.³³ Thus, he had organized a network of the branches of the organization in Northern India.

Anwar Ali encouraged English educated Muslims to join the *Anjuman*. In the first opening speech given at the *Anjuman's* first annual meeting at Alipur

Sayyidan, he emphasized the need to include English speakers in the *Anjuman's* activities.³⁴

Not only was Anwar Ali acquainted with the British organizational patterns, he also utilized the latest publishing techniques to disseminate Jamaat Ali Shah's teachings among Indian Muslims located geographically and culturally outside his circle of influence. With Syed Jamaat Ali's taking to train travel and Anwar Ali utilizing the Urdu press to circulate the former's ideas, the *Anjuman* spread its revivalist message throughout India by exploiting the available modern technology. People who could not meet him in person and hear his message, could be reached through various publications. He enjoyed tremendous respect and devotion of the people. "Seeing Jamaat Ali in a mobbed train station or on a distant raised platform surrounded by thousand of other devotees at an annual meeting was an experience of a kind of personal charismatic authority, albeit on certainly different from that of his Naqshbandi predecessors".³⁵

The *Anjuman* included many influential educated urban members who made concerted efforts to attract more anglicized Indians. Buehler comments, "It is a unique blend of ruling Punjabi Shrine cults and modern urban institutions that has produced a distinctive South Asian perspective on Islam and on the practice of Sufism which continues to attract adherents today".³⁶ The *Anjuman* successfully promoted Sufism and countered the attacks of *Deobandis*, *Qadiyanis*, *Ahli-i-Hadith* and *Arya Samajis*.

(b) Mouth-piece of the *Anjuman: Risala-i-Anwar-as Sufiyya*

After the year 1880 there was a publishing boom of newspapers and journals in the Punjab, as each religious group attempted to win converts and to defend its orthodoxy.³⁷ Indeed the number and circulation of these publications served as a barometer of the political and religious ferment of the time. The *Risala-i-Anwar-as-Suffiya*, the first issue of which was personally funded by Syed Jamaat Ali Shah, became established as the first Sufi journal in the Panjab.³⁸ Unlike most other religious journals written and published by Muslims, it assiduously avoided to act as a forum for a religious debate. Although there were occasional references to Qadiranis and 'Wahhabis', most of the issues interpreted diverse facts of Sufism, explaining how one arrived near God by loving Muhammad (peace be upon him) and one's spiritual mentor. In addition, nearly every issue had a special section on Jamaat Ali's latest travel and where he was expected to be in the following month.³⁹ The *Anjuman* used the magazine to advertise its own annual meeting and to summarize the highlights of the conference for those who were unable to attend, in addition to notifying its subscribers of other sufi revivalist activities.

Many of the articles in the *Risala* had an educational tone. Some were explicitly instructional, advising readers how to respond to detractors of Islam and Sufism. Other *Risala* articles assisted followers of Jamaat Ali in defending controversial practices by providing numbers of Quranic references and proofs from *Ahadith*, particularly for defending the necessity of having a spiritual guide and the benefits of visualizing the Shaykh.

The *Risala* included articles urging good moral character with examples of earlier Muslims, in addition to hagiographies of famous Sufis. Moreover, explanatory tracts on repentance, initiation (*bayt*) and remembrance (*dhikr*), proper conduct in the Shaykh's presence, Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the greatest Prophet, the way of salvation, law and the sufi path, and cleaning the *nafs* (self).⁴⁰

In 1923, the *Risala* added a regular section on the 'calamity of apostasy' and on monthly progress of the *Anjuman* in propagating Islam. Along with other Muslim groups, the *Anjuman* started its campaign to defend and fight against the activities of *Arya Samajis* whose goal was to reconvert the Muslims whose ancestors had been Hindus.

By 1925, Jamaat Ali had led thirty-one delegations all over the Punjab to counter the Arya Samaj Movement. In 1923, the *Risala* began featuring monthly articles describing the *Anjuman's* efforts in building schools, mosques, hospitals--a shift in emphasis that was already foreshadowed in 1915 in an article. "The *Tariqa* should help people." He conceived of these concrete efforts to improve people's lives as active propagation of Islam.⁴¹The *Risala* was monthly delivered to subscribers by using modern postal services.

3. Early Social and Political Activities

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah took keen interest in the religious and social welfare of the Muslims. It is important to note that he not only worked for the Muslim community in the Indian sub-continent, he was concerned with the Muslim

Ummah all over the world. It can be well assessed from the fact that he donated several lakhs of rupees for the construction of a railway line to Madina and founded Madina fund for the drought-affected people of Hijaz.⁴²

In the Indian sub-continent, Jamaat Ali Shah consistently worked for the welfare and betterment of the Muslims. He contributed to the provision of basic social services in spheres of education and health. He built schools, mosques, *madaris*, inns, hospitals and orphan houses for Muslims. Similarly when fund-raising campaign started for the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University, he donated one lakh rupees for this cause.⁴³

It not only shows his generosity for the cause of educational uplift of the Muslims, it also sheds light on his positive response towards modern education in general, and towards M.A.O College Aligarh founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in particular.⁴⁴ Here it is worthy of mention that many contemporary religious leaders and traditionalist ulema or scholars had condemned Sir Syed Ahmed's Aligarh movement, which was aimed at educational uplift of the Muslims, and also getting them acquainted with modern education to meet the challenges of modern times. Not only that, Sir Syed was branded as infidel by these scholars, particularly for his rational interpretation of fundamental Islamic doctrines.⁴⁵ It is in this context that Jamaat Ali Shah's positive response towards Aligarh movement and Sir Syed's views can better be appreciated.

Pir Sahib spent his whole life in preaching Islam. He travelled through out the length and breadth of India to spread the message of Islam. He also

went to Afghanistan and Ceylon for this purpose.⁴⁶ It was due to his preaching that many non-Muslims accepted Islam.

Jamaat Ali Shah remained at the forefront of ulema-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat's campaign against Ibn-i-Saud and Wahhabism.⁴⁷ He also played a leading role in Anti-Qadiani movement.⁴⁸ It was he who prophesied Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani's death within 24 hours on 25th May, 1908 in a public meeting at Lahore which came true.⁴⁹

After the occupation of Tripoli and Benghazi by Italy in 1911 and a combined attack on Turkey by Balkan States in October 1912 had threatened the independence of Turkey and other holy places of Islam had been threatened by European Powers. The leading Muslims of India founded *Anjuman-i-Khudam Ka'ba* in May 1913 for the protection of Makkah and other holy places of Islam from non-Muslim encroachment. Jamaat Ali Shah joined the *Anjuman-i-Khudam Ka'ba* and worked for the *Anjuman's* success.⁵⁰

In July 1913, the Government of U.P. while pursuing its welfare works demolished a part of Cawnpur Mosque in order to widen a road. The Muslims launched a massive demonstration to condemn it. The protestors clashed with the authorities, and as a result, nearly 30 people were killed, which gave birth to an All India Movement known as Cawnpur Mosque Movement. Jamaat Ali Shah fully supported the movement and worked for its success.⁵¹

Child Marriage Act declared it unlawful to marry under 18 years for boys and under 12 years for girls. When this Bill was presented in the Indian Legislative Assembly by a Hindu Member named Pandit Herbasas Sarda in 1921.⁵⁰ Muslim members of the assembly suggested modification in the Bill that Muslims should be exempted from this act but with the help of Hindu members this Bill became an Act.⁵²

From the very beginning Syed Jamaat Ali Shah opposed it and declared that if the Bill would become an act, I would be the first person to violate it. He also sent a telegram to the Viceroy and asked him to exempt Muslims from this act. He also addressed public meetings in different parts of India to mobilize public support against it.⁵³

Notes

1. Arther Frank Buehler, "Charisma and Exemplar: Naqshbandi Spiritual Authority in the Panjab, 1857-1947", Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993, p.305; Muhammad Sadiq Kasuri, Tarif-Amir-I-Millat, Kasur, 1994, p. 4.
2. Maternal ancestral lineage of Jamaat Ali Shah is as follow. 1) Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him), 2) Fatima (RH) D/o Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him) W/o Ali (RH), 3) Hussain Bin Ali, 4) Ali Bin Hussain, 5) Muhammad Baqir, 6) Jafar Sadiq, 7) Muhammad Mamun, 8) Ali Ariz, 9) Hussain, 10) Syed Tahir Ahmad, 11) Syed Ibrahim, 12) Syed Arif, 13) Syed Khusro, 14) Syed Asadullah, 15) Syed Kamal-ud-Din, 16) Syed Noorullah, 17) Syed Abdullah, 18) Syed Shamsudin, 19) Syed Khalilullah, 20) Syed Habibullah, 21) Syed Nizamuddin, 22) Syed Mansur, 23) Syed Jala-ud-Din, 24) Syed Alo-ud-Din, 25) Syed Ali, 26) Syed Imam-ud-Din, 27) Syed Meer Ahmad, 28) Syed Muhy-ud-Din, 29) Syed Hussain Shirazi, 30) Syed Muhammad Saeed Norouz, 31) Syed Ali, 32) Syed Meer Muhammad, 33) Syed Abdul Raheem, 34) Syed Aziz-ul-Raheem, 35) Syed Muhammad Khalil, 36) Syed Dasundhi Shah, 37) Syed Hassan Ali, 38) Noor Fatima d/o Syed Hassan w/o Syed Kareem Shah , 39) Syed Jamaat Ali Shah.
3. Paternal ancestral lineage of Jamaat Ali Shah is as follow: 1) Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him), 2) Fatima (RH) D/o Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him) W/o Ali (RH), 3) Hussain Bin Ali, 4) Ali Bin Hussain, 5) Muhammad Baqir, 6) Jafar Sadiq, 7) Muhammad Mamun, 8) Ali Ariz, 9) Hussain, 10) Syed Tahir Ahmad, 11) Syed Ibrahim, 12) Syed Arif, 13) Syed Khusro, 14) Syed Asadullah, 15) Syed Kamal-ud-Din, 16) Syed Noorullah, 17) Syed Abdullah, 18) Syed Shamsudin, 19) Syed Khalilullah, 20) Syed Habibullah, 21) Syed Nizamuddin, 22) Syed Mansur, 23) Syed Jala-ud-Din, 24) Syed Alo-ud-Din, 25) Syed Ali, 26) Syed Imam-ud-Din, 27) Syed Meer Ahmad, 28) Syed Muhy-ud-Din, 29) Syed Hussain Shirazi, 30) Syed Muhammad Saeed Norouz, 31) Syed Ali, 32) Syed Meer Muhammad, 33) Syed

- Amanullah, 34) Syed Muhammad Abid, 35) Syed Munawar Ali, 36) Syed Muhammad Hanif, 37) Syed Munawar Ali, 38) Syed Karim Shah, 39) Syed Jamaat Ali Shah.
4. A person whose parents, ancestral tree is traced to the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).
 5. Buehler, *Charisma*, p.305.
 6. Syed Akhtar Hussain and Muhammad Tahir Farooqi, *Sirat-i-Amir-i-Millat*, Alipur Sayyidan, 1975, p.38.
 7. *Ibid.*, p.39.
 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
 9. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, p.50.
 10. *Ibid.*, p.53.
 11. Muhammad Sadiq Kasuri, *Asatidha-yi-Amir-i-Millat*, Lahore, 1996.
 12. For the Qadiriyya order see page no 2 of chapter 1.
 13. Lineage of Naqshbandiyya-Mujadidiyya Order is as follow. 1) Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him), 2) Abu Bakar Sadique (RH), 3) Suleman Farsi (RH), 4) Qasim bin Muhammad bin Abu Bakar, 5) Jafar Sadiq, 6) Khawaja Bayazid Bastami, 7) Khawaja Abu-al-Hasan Kharqani, 8) Bu Ali Farmadi, 9) Khawaja Abu Yusuf Hamdani, 10) Khawaja Abdul Khaliq Ghajdani, 11) Baba Samasi, 12) Khawaja Meer Kalal, 13) Khawaja Baha-ud-Din Bukhari Naqashbandi I, 14) Khawaja Alo-ud-Din Aatar, 15) Khawaja Yaqub Charki, 16) Khawaja Obidullah Ahrar, 17) Khawaja Muhammad Zahid Wakhshi, 18) Khawaja Darvash, 19) Khawaja Muhammad Muqtadi, 20) Khawaja Muhammad Baqibillah, 21) Mujadid Alfsani Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, 22) Farooqi Sarhandi, 23) Khawaja Muhammad Masum, 24) Khawaja Hajatullah Naqashban II, 25) Khawaja Muhammad Zubair, 26) Khawaja Qutab-ud-Din Hyder, 27) Khawaja Hafiz Jamal Ullah, 28) Khawaja Muhammad Iesa, 29) Baba Faizullah Tirahi, 30) Khawaja Noor Muhammad Tirahi, 31) Baba Faqir Muhammad Churahi, 32) Syed Jamaat Ali Shah.
 14. Buehler, *Charisma*, p.305.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

16. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra, 1965, p.3
17. Muhammad Umar, *Islam in Northern India during the eighteenth century*, New Delhi, p. 3.
18. Muhammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India (1605-1748)*, Lahore, n.d. pp. 142 – 148.
19. Sayyid Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman, ed., *History of Islamic Philosophy*, Vol.I, London, pp. 663-670.
20. Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam*, London, 1988, pp. 56-62.
21. Buehler, *Charisma*, p.281
22. *Ibid.*, p.295.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p.306.
26. Qayyum-ud-Din Ahmad, tr. Prof. Muslim Azeemabadi, *Hindustan main Wahabbi Tehrik*, Karachi, 1972; also see Ayyub Sabri Pasha, *Wahhabism and its refutation by the Ahl as-Sunna*, Istanbul, n.d.
27. Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 1115-1128.
28. *Ibid.*, p.310.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311; and Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, p.350.
30. For Syed Jamaat Ali Shah's religious tours for propagation of Islam see Punjab Police Abstract of Intelligence (here after PPA) Vol. XVIII No.37, 12 Sept. 1896, para 1141; PPA, Vol. XXX No.37, 19 Sept. 1908, para 2626; PPA, Vol. LV No.44, 18 Nov. 1916, para 1655; PPA, Vol. LVII No.45, 30 Nov. 1935, Para 730.
31. *Risala-Yi-Anwar-as-Sufiyya* Vol. 4, No.4, p.3.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, No.3, pp. 25-36.
33. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, p.351.
34. *Ibid.*, p.357.
35. Buehler, *Charisma*, pp. 313-314.
36. *Ibid.*, p.282.
37. N. Gerald and Paul Wallace, *The Punjab Press, 1880 – 1905*, East Lasing 1970, p.159.

38. Buehler, *Charisma*, p.315.
39. Risala-Yi-Anwar-as-Sufiyya, Vol. 19, No.7, p.15.
40. Buehler, *Charisma*, pp. 316-317.
41. *Ibid.*, p.318.
42. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp. 371-372.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 375-397.
44. Alltaf Hussain Hali, *Hayat-I-Javid*, Lahore, 1957; George F. Irving Graham, *The life and work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, London, 1909; Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim modernization in Indian and Pakistan*, 1998; Mohsin-ul-Mulk, *Note on the progress of the Mahomedan Anglo Oriental College Aligarh*, Aligarh, 1903.
45. J.M.S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore, 1958; Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore, 1957.
46. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp. 375-397.
47. PPA, Vol. XIV No.40, 15 Oct. 1892, Para 475; PPA, Vol. XXXIV No.24, 22 Jan. 1912, Para 1288, PPA, Vol. XLVI No.45, 22 Nov. 1924, Para 289, PPA, Vol. XLVIII No. 41, 6 Nov. 1926, Para 226 and Vol. XLVIII No.48, 11 Dec. 1926, Para 273; Zarina, *The Punjab in 1920's*, pp.360-365.
48. PPA, Vol. XXX No.23, 14 June 1908, Para 1570; PPA, Vol. XXXIII No.42, 14 Oct. 1911, Para 3144; PPA, Vol. XXXV No.18, 5 Apr. 1913, Para 1066; PPA, Vol. XLVII No.12, 21 March 1925, Para 82, PPA, Vol. LV No.44, 18 Nov. 1933, para 1232, and PPA, Vol. LVI No.14, 7 March 1934, Para 333.
49. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, p.248.
50. *Ibid*, PPA, Vol. XXX No.23, 14 June 1914,
51. Qureshi, *Pan Islam*, p. 176 for detail of Cawnpur Mosque incident see Spencer Lavan, "The Cawnpur Mosque Incident of 1913" in *Punjab Past and Present*, April, 1974, pp. 46-99.
52. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp. 448-450.
53. *Ibid* .Muhammad Jalauddin Qadari,Sarda Act aur Ulema-i- Haq, Gujrat,1999.

CHAPTER 4

Role in Politics: From Khilafat Movement to Shaheed Ganj Dispute

In the preceding chapter, Jamaat Ali Shah's religious and social services have been discussed at length which made him a leading Sufi and religious figure of the Indian sub-continent. As he enjoyed the support of a large following in India, he could not isolate himself from the political issues concerning and affecting the Muslims. The present chapter deals with his role in the Khilafat Movement, Hijrat Movement, All India Sunni Conference and Shaheed Ganj Movement.

It was the period of political awakening for the Muslims of India so it has become all the more important to discuss in detail his response as a sufi and as a representative of Brelvi point of view.

1. Khilafat Movement and Jamaat Ali Shah

The first World War ended in 1918, with the Allies emerging as conquerors. The victorious Allies were bent upon demolishing the Ottoman Caliphate of Turkey, which fought, by the side of Germany. The Indian Muslims were greatly perturbed over the fate of Turkey and desired that a respectable *rapprochement* be concluded between the British and Germany,¹ and demanded that *Jazirat-ul-Arab* including Mesopotamia Arabia, Syria and Palestine and the holy places situated there in must always remain under the direct suzerainty of the Khalifah.

The 'Khilafat Day' was observed on October 27, 1919 and the well known Khilafat Movement was started. A Khilafat Committee was set up with Maulana Shaukat Ali (b.1873-d.1938) as its secretary. A body known as the 'Khilafat Conference' was instituted at a meeting, on November 23, 1919, at Delhi for safeguarding the institution of Khilafat.

The Khilafat Conference held its first session in December 1919 at Amritsar under the presidentship of Maulana Shaukat Ali. It was at this session that the decision was taken to send a delegation to Europe to plead the cause of Khilafat and explain the Muslim point of view. This deputation headed by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar reached Europe early in March, 1920 but returned home in October unsuccessful to achieve its aims and objectives. To add fuel to fire, the treaty of Sevres had been published, which imposed severe restrictions on Turkey and under it all that remained of the Ottoman Empire was a small Turkish State, confined mainly to the interior of Asia Minor³¹. It greatly damaged the sentiments of the Muslims. It gave birth to a great protest movement in the history of Indian Sub-continent by the name of Khilafat Movement, which shattered the foundations of the British Raj in India for some period of time.

When the Khilafat Movement started, Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah not only supported it but also actively participated in it and contributed generously to the Khilafat fund.³ In order to get the support of the Muslims, he even declared: 'Khilafat is of God and Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him), he who does not love Khilafat is not a Muslim'.⁴ He toured the far flung areas of Madras and Malabar to mobilize support for the cause of Khilafat. As a result of his activities, his

entry in the NWFP, Baluchistan and Kashmir were banned by the British Government.⁵

A District Khilafat Conference was held in Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) on March 4, 1921.⁶ Syed Jamaat Ali Shah presided over the meeting. The meeting was attended by Maulana Shaukat Ali and other prominent leaders of the Movement. In his presidential address, he appealed to the Muslims of India to actively participate in the Khilafat Movement. He strongly condemned those who propagated that he had no sympathy for the cause of Khilafat, and declared that "he who had no sympathy for Khilafat (cause) is a non-believer".⁷ In this meeting Maulana Shaukat Ali Khan gave Jamaat Ali Shah the proud title of '*Sanusi-i-Hind*' ('Sanusi' of India) for his services to the cause of Khilafat.⁸

In the wake of Khilafat Movement, another movement was also launched. The Hijrat Movement started with the issuing of *Fatwa* (religious decree by a religious scholar) by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (b. 1888- d.1958) that India was a *Dar-ul-Harb* (Home of War), where the religion of the Muslims was not safe. He urged the Muslims to migrate to a place where their image and religion was not jeopardized. Maulana Muhammad Ali too declared the British Government as an infidel government no longer to be obeyed. He also asked the Muslims to leave the country where infidelity prevailed and go to a place where Muslims found it possible to live according to their religion.⁹

The Brelvi point of view, as articulated by Maulana Ahmed Raza Khan was against considering India *Dar-ul-Harb*.¹⁰ Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was also of the same opinion. He along with other *Pirs* and Brelvi ulema strongly

opposed the Hijrat Movement on the grounds that it was irrelevant, unnecessary and harmful to the interests of the Muslim community.¹¹

The aftermath of the Hijrat Movement proved this assertion. Nearly 18,000 Muslims migrated to Afghanistan, and most of them belonged to Sindh and NWFP. Though initially the Amir of Afghanistan was ready to welcome these emigrants, later under the pressure from the British authorities, the borders of Afghanistan were sealed. Consequently, hundreds of these emigrants were left to hunger and died on the road-side. Those who returned, found themselves homeless and penniless, as they had sold their properties before leaving for Afghanistan.¹²

2. Establishment of All India Sunni Conference

The leading Sunni ulema at the meeting at *Jami'ah Na'imiah*, Muradabad on March 16-19, 1925 set up an organization by the name of *Jamiyyat-I-Aliyah-al-Markaziah*¹³ commonly known as All India Sunni Conference (AISC). At its inaugural session, Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was elected its president and the convener of the meeting, Maulana Nazimuddin Muradabadi its *Nazim-i-Ala* (General Secretary).¹⁴

The aim and objectives of AISC were:

- a) to unite the Sunni majority of India on one platform;
- b) to establish Islamic organizations in every corner of India and link them with AISC;
- c) to organize missionary activities and to open special seminaries for this purpose;

- d) to provide religious education to the western educated Muslims and open night schools for the working classes.
- e) To improve social conditions of the Muslims by encouraging them to invest in trade and business; and
- f) To fulfil the daily needs of the Muslims by providing them jobs and making them free from the clutches of loans.¹⁵

The presidential address of Syed Jamaat Ali Shah, which he delivered at the first annual AISC session, holds historical significance. He not only surveyed the political, social and religious problems of the Muslims in the Indian sub-continent, but also highlighted the contemporary issues of the Muslim world. For instance, commenting on the politics of the then Arabia, he condemned the massacre of innocent Muslims in Hijaz carried out by the descendants of King Saud. In addition, he vehemently criticized the fundamental doctrines of Wahabism, which were fast spreading in India, and were attractive to a considerable section of the Muslim population. In a likewise manner, he also condemned the emergence of other minor sects in Indian Islam. Moreover, he shed light on the calamity of apostasy while upholding the truthfulness of Islam. He also brought to the forefront anti-Islamic customs in the Muslim society and how to avoid them, need for brotherhood among the Muslims and the role and work of the leaders of *Ahl-i-Sunnat wal Jamaat* in the preaching of Islam. In addition, he also stressed need for acquiring modern education for Muslims.¹⁶ This first All India Sunni Conference was attended by three hundred ulema, *Mashiakh* (Sufi / pirs) coming from all over India.¹⁷

The Second All India Sunni Conference was held in Badaun in October 1935 under the presidentship of Jamaat Ali Shah. He was re-elected as its President. In his Presidential address, he highlighted the need for unity among the ulema and common Muslims and the role/responsibilities of ulema in Masjid Shaheed Ganj Movement. While criticizing Ibn-i-Saud's policies in Arabia, he demanded to respect the sacred places of the Muslims.¹⁸

The Third All India Sunni Conference was held on 27-30 April 1946 at Benaras under the presidentship of Syed Jamaat Ali Shah which was attended by five hundred *Mashaikh*, seven hundred ulema and some two lakh people.¹⁹

There were reports that some Congress agents conspired to disrupt the meeting. They prepared a resolution according to which Mr. Jinnah was to be denounced as infidel and apostate from the platform of AISC. Moreover, it was demanded of Jamaat Ali Shah to retract his high praise for Mr. Jinnah, or resign from the presidentship of the conference. It is important to mention here that many nationalist Muslim leaders and nationalist Muslim groups such as *Ahrar* condemned Muslim League, and denounced its prominent leaders such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah for his westernized and un-Islamic way of life. Now denouncing Jinnah from the platform of AISC and particularly from Syed JammataAli Shah was planned by pro-Congress leaders within AISC. Since Jammata Ali had a large following among the Punjabi Muslims, the ulterior motive behind the move was to discredit Jinnah among them.

Pir Sahib got wind of the plan but remained cool and calm. When he stood up to deliver Presidential address, he spoke in a voice "People dub Jinnah as infidel, but, I call him a saint, people express their own opinion but I say it in the light of Quran and *Hadiths*. 'Those who believe in their Allah and obey Him Allah creates love and reverence for them in the hearts of people' (Quran). Now is there anybody other than Jinnah who is loved and respected by ten crore Muslims of India. Therefore, you may call him infidel, but in my eyes he is a Saint". After these arguments, nobody dared to pressurize him to change his stance²⁰.

In the same meeting, a resolution was also passed, whereby the leaders of the AISC and other prominent leaders present in the meeting pledged to support the demand for Pakistan. It will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

3. Shaheed Ganj Dispute and 'Amir-i-Millat'

In 1935, Shaheed Ganj Movement was launched in the Punjab. It generated a great enthusiasm among the Punjabi Muslims in particular, and all the Muslims of the subcontinent in general. Before going into details of the movement, it seems pertinent to briefly deal with the history of the issue of Shaheed Ganj Mosque, which was the focal point of the dispute. There was an old mosque in Lahore on the way to the Delhi gate from Lahore Railway Station near the Polytechnic Institute known as Shaheed Ganj²¹. The mosque was built by Abdullah Khan, a cook of Dara Shikoh, elder son of Shah Jehan, the Mughal

Emperor in 1753 A.D., who rose up to the position of *Kotwal* (city magistrate) of Lahore for his services.²²

Near the mosque, there was a place where criminals were given punishments during the tenure of Nawab Moeen-ul-Mulk, a Mughal governor of the Punjab in the 18th century. In those days, Taro Singh, a Sikh Saint, was slain there. After that incident, Sikhs named that place as 'Shaheed Ganj' and built a *gurdwara* (sikh temple) on that place. Finally, they also occupied the adjoining mosque during the Sikh occupation of Lahore. According to another version, Sikhs used to call their *gurdwara* 'Shaheed Ganj' as Muslims, following the foot steps of the Sikhs named the mosque as 'Shaheed Ganj Mosque' instead of naming it as 'Abdullah Khan Mosque', which would have been an appropriate name for it.²³ In short, a mosque and a *gurdwara* were situated very close to each other and after the Muslims had left the place due to oppression of Sikhs, the latter got hold of the place and consequently occupied the Mosque also.

The Muslims tried to take over the charge of the mosque through the help of courts but failed. The government wanted to safeguard the religious assets of the Sikhs, so it accorded sanction to the Gurdwara Act in July 1925.²⁴ Legislative legitimacy and its basic rights were accorded to Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC). With the passing of SGPC Act in 1935, SGPC, from its inception, intended to extend its control over all gurdwaras rather than a few that had been taken from or given up by the priests.²⁵

After taking over charge of the Shaheed Ganj mosque and gurdwara in March 1935, the local SGPC of Lahore decided to demolish the mosque 'to uplift the condition of *gurdwara*'. The mosque was finally demolished on the midnight of July 8 and 9, 1935. Consequently, Masjid Shaheed Ganj Movement²⁶ was launched by the Muslims in which Syed Jamaat Ali Shah played a leading role.

He was elected *Amir-i-Millat* (leader of the Muslim Community) in a Conference convened by Maulana Muhammad Ishaq of Mansehra at Rawalpindi on August 31- September 1, 1935²⁷. About 70 representatives from different parts of the Indian sub-continent attended the conference. It was presided over by Syed Jamaat Ali Shah. The Conference recommended that September 20, 1935 should be observed as a 'Protest Day'. It was also decided by the Conference that the Government should be warned that if by the 20th instant nothing was decided in favour of the Muslims, they would be compelled to start civil disobedience. It also appointed an Advisory Committee to carry out propaganda in all villages and cities.²⁸

Jamaat Ali in his address advised the Muslims to unite as without unity nothing could be achieved. He said that according to Muslim law, every one should be prepared to die for the cause of Islam and he would be the first to receive bullets in his chest. He advised them to wait until 20th of September when 'Shaheed Ganj Day' would be observed and civil disobedience started²⁹.

With Jamaat Ali Shah became its Amir, the Shaheed Ganj Movement got support of the Muslims of the rural areas and got new momentum. The Government felt worried about the situation in case of civil disobedience.^{30 *}

Jamaat Ali Shah had collaboration with a contemporary organization known as *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat*[■] whose principle goal was to agitate for the Shaheed Ganj issue. It was founded on July 30, 1935.³¹ After the Pindi Conference *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat* started its campaign for the Shaheed Ganj day. Speaking at Sialkot on the September 12, 1935 Syed Jamaat Ali Shah urged the Muslims to wear black mourning badges at Friday prayers on the protest day and organize peaceful processions. At the conclusion of his speech, M. Munawar Hussain of Delhi explained the aim and objectives of Jamaat Ali Shah's policy and stated that he did not desire to regain possession of the Shaheed Ganj Mosque either by aggression or by means of a civil disobedience campaign but that he would endeavor to obtain his objective by lawful means³².

It clearly shows that Jamaat Ali Shah did not believe in the politics of violence, agitation and confrontation. Like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, he too believed in peaceful means and legal recourse for getting things done.

Shaheed Ganj Day was observed on September 20, 1935. Complete strike was observed by the Muslims of Lahore. Over one lakh people gathered

* See Appendix II for the letter by F.H Pukle Chief Secretary of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab on the latest development of Shaheed Ganj Movement

■ See Appendix III for the members of Working Committee and Parliamentary Board of *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat*

for Friday prayers at the Badshahi Mosque. After the prayers, outside Mochi Gate Jamaat Ali Shah presided over a meeting of about 60,000 people. In his address he announced that after visiting Ajmer and exchanging views with important Muslim leaders he would call on the Advisory Committee to draft a programme of action for the future.³³

On September 27, 1935 a delegation of Muslim members of the central legislature met and presented a memorandum to Viceroy* and discussed▪ with him for an amicable settlement of the Shaheed Ganj dispute.³⁴ They demanded the release of all prisoners, the grant of suitable relief to the families of the persons killed and seriously wounded; the maintenance of the status quo at the site of the mosque, Government to introduce legislation or accord in respect of a mosque of the property of a *Waqf*, can never be claimed in future and cancellation of the orders of forfeiture of the securities of the *Ahsan*, *Zamindar* and *Siyasat* newspapers for articles and notes published in connection with Shaheed Ganj affairs.³⁵

Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was represented by Mr. K.L. Gauba.³⁶ The other members of the delegation were Maulana Shaukat Ali, Syed Murtaza, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Ghulam Bhik Nairang and Syed Abdul Hafiz. As this meeting brought no change in the situation, the *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat* decided to observe the second Shaheed Ganj Day on November 8,³⁷ Malik Inayat Ullah, president of Central *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat*, issued a statement to the press to

* See Appendix IV for the memorandum presented by the Muslim Member of the Central Legislature to Viceroy for the settlement of the Shaheed Ganj Dispute.

▪ For Discussion between Viceroy and Muslim delegation see Appendix V

the effect that in accordance with the instructions of Pir Jamaat Ali Shah, the following program should be observed throughout India on November 8 for the observance of Shaheed Ganj Day:

- 1) Friday prayers should be offered in *Jamia* Mosques only.
- 2) Peaceful processions and meetings should be organized.
- 3) Strong demand should be made for the release of Shaheed Ganj Mosque detenus; financial aid to the survivors of the Shaheed Ganj martyrs, and for the return of securities to the newspapers.
- 4) Every Muhammadan should wear a green armlet bearing the words 'Fidai-i-Islam'.
- 5) Muhammadans in the Punjab should arm themselves without further delay.
- 6) No slogans except 'Allah-hu-Akbar', 'Masjid Shaheed Ganj Zindabad', 'Shaheed Ganj Masjid Shaheed Ganj Zindabad' and 'Islam Zindabad' should be shouted.
- 7) All demonstrations should be carried out in a peaceful manner.
- 8) In the course of meetings or processions no attack should be directed against the religious susceptibilities of others.³⁸

The second 'Shaheed Ganj day' was observed as scheduled on November 8, 1935.³⁹ At Lahore about 40,000 Muslims were present in the Shahi Mosque when Jamaat Ali Shah, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and many other Muslim leaders both from Punjab and other provinces joined in the prayers. Later on a public meeting was held outside Delhi Gate under the presidentship of Syed Jamaat Ali Shah. Other prominent leaders present there included Maulana Shaukat Ali, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Mr. K.L. Gauba, Dr. Muhammad Alam, M. Mazhar Din, Maulana Hamid Raza Khan, and Inayat Shah.⁴⁰ Resolutions concerning

disapproval of the attitude of the Punjab Government, condemning the inflammatory articles published in the Hindu press and showing full confidence in the *Amir-i-Millat* were passed.⁴¹

To chalk out the future programme, a private meeting of the Advisory Committee of *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat*⁴² was held in the Barkat Ali Muhammadan Hall on the evening of November 10, under the presidentship of Jamaat Ali Shah. The question of inauguration of a civil disobedience campaign was discussed but taking a final decision on the future program of action was postponed until January 9.⁴³

Over the issue of civil disobedience a split occurred in the ranks of *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat*, extremists were led by Aminuddin Sahrai and Haji Ghulam Jilani. They demanded an immediate start of civil disobedience movement, but Jamaat Ali was against it. He was in favour of the legal solution of the problem because he thought that civil disobedience movement would result in the loss of innocent lives, as already many innocent Muslims had been killed.⁴⁴

It amply shows that Syed Jamaat Ali preferred constitutional and legal course of action to agitational politics. To him, the lives of the Muslims were precious, and at no cost he wanted their blood to spill in vain. Therefore, he avoided to make any overt and direct confrontation with the authorities, and insisted on making a positive engagement with the government for solving the issue of Shaheed Ganj Mosque and other related questions.

Jamaat Ali Shah arranged an All-India *Ittihad-i-Millat* Conference at Amritsar from January 17-19, 1936.⁴⁵ Its purpose was to secure the restoration of Shaheed Ganj Mosque and the tomb of Kaku Shah, the present attitude of the Government, Sikh atrocities, measures to assist the relations of those who have been killed or injured in the Shaheed Ganj agitation, the action taken against the Muslim Press, measures to secure the release of those who have been interned and imprisoned as a result of the agitation; and the future program of *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat*.⁴⁶

The Conference was attended by 100 delegates from various districts of the Punjab, the NWFP and the United Provinces and presided over by Jamaat Ali Shah. The question of civil disobedience program was hotly debated. Maula Bakhsh, Maulvi Abdul Qadus, Abdul Marghub and Syed Akbar supported the civil disobedience program but the majority of those present opposed it, where upon Maula Bakhsh walked out of the meeting in protest and the question was dropped.⁴⁷ The extremists tried to disrupt the meeting but failed.⁴⁸

The Conference passed the following resolutions: expressing complete confidence in the person of the *Amir-i-Millat*; demanding from the Punjab Government the immediate and unconditional release of all those interned in connection with the Shaheed Ganj agitation, the restoration of securities taken from Muslim newspapers and the cancellation of orders placing persons under security in connection with the Shaheed Ganj agitation; suggesting that all Muslims should help the families of those who had been killed in connection with the Shaheed Ganj agitation by all possible means and asking the *Majlis-i-*

Ittihad-i-Millat to take practical steps to see that this was done; requesting the government to arrange for an *Auqaf* Act for the protection and management of Islamic Holy places to prevent a recurrence of incidents similar to those which had taken place at the Shaheed Ganj Mosque and the tomb of Kaku Shah; requesting Muslim leaders, ulema and the editors of newspapers to make efforts to unite the Muslims of the Punjab and appointing a sub-committee⁴⁹ with K.L. Gauba as Secretary to achieve this end; requesting the *Amir-i-Millat* who was proceeding on a Hajj pilgrimage to delegate his powers in connection with the Shaheed Ganj agitation to the Central *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat*, which would work under the patronage and guidance of *the Amir-i-Millat*.⁵⁰

While winding up the Conference, Pir Jamaat Ali Shah exhorted the Muslims of India to render all possible assistance to the Central *Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat* and to discharge a national duty by collecting funds and enlisting volunteers so that the Central *Majlis -i- Ittihad-i- Millat* might become a strong and organized body.⁵¹

Nevertheless, the Masjid Shaheed Ganj Movement failed to achieve its aims. David Gilmartin has alleged that Jamaat Ali Shah's leadership proved to be a failure for the Shaheed Ganj Movement.⁵² In fact, this was not the case. Both extrogenous and endogenous factors were responsible for the failure of the Movement. As for the extrogenous causes, the British Government of Punjab remained adamant in its stance not to resolve the issue at any condition because Government could not afford, after Kashmir Agitation (1931), another country-wide movement. So to weaken the Shaheed Ganj Movement, the

Government forfeited the securities of the Muslim newspapers such as *Ahsan*, *Zamindar* and *Siyast*. Moreover, the Government restricted Muslims not to carry swords in six districts of the Punjab by imposing the sections 13 and 15 of the Arms Act, while in these six districts Sikhs were exempted from any restriction of carrying *Kirpans* (daggars) and swords.⁵³ Sikhs who were direct party to Shaheed Gangj dispute "made all negotiations impossible by, in fact, refusing to negotiate" with the Muslims or the Government.⁵⁴

Internally, the Shaheed Ganj Mosque Movement too suffered from organizational problems and internal schisms. After the departure of Syed Jamaat Ali Shah to Makkah, the leadership of the movement came into the hands of the extremist faction. The extremists wanted to have confrontation with the government, but their efforts could bear no fruit. Syed Jamaat Ali Shah's departure proved a set back for the movement, as the leadership gap or vacuum which was created, could not be adequately filled by those who succeeded him as leaders of the movement. In addition, another important factor which contributed to the failure of the movement was non-cooperation from the Ahrars, who came into prominence in 1931 in connection with the agitation of the Kashmiri Muslims against the Hindu ruler of the State. Though Syed Jamaat Ali Shah supported Ahrar in their struggle but Ahrar did not cooperate in the Shaheed Ganj Movement. They kept themselves aloof from it by saying that it was a conspiracy against them. The Ahrar who considered themselves the champions of the rights of the Muslims and interests 'became silent spectators while whole Lahore was burning over the issue of Shaheed Ganj'.⁵⁵

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah despite his old age and deteriorating health, worked for the success of the Movement. On the contrary, leaders and parties which considered themselves as the representatives of the Muslims i.e. Ahrar, Khaksar, Unionist, Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind and nationalist ulema like Abul Kalam Azad kept themselves aloof from one of the most burning issues of the Muslims of India in 1930s, and did nothing substantial for the solution of the Shaheed Ganj Dispute.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the Hindus, the Congressite nationalist leaders, who were not direct party to the dispute, were in full support of Sikhs by condemning Jamaat Ali Shah and Shaheed Ganj Movement.⁵⁷

NOTES

1. M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics. A study of the Khilafat Movement 1918-1924*, Leiden, 1999.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p.411.
4. *Ibid.*, PPA, Vol. XLIII No. 13, 2 April 1921, Para 893.
5. Muhammad Sadiq Kasuri, *Jahan-i-Amir-i-Millat*, Kasur, 2001, p.33.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.
7. PPA, Vol. XLIII No. 11, 19 March 1921, Para 602; 'Zamindar', 10 March 1921; Hussain and Farooqi *Sirat*, p.410.
8. Kasuri, *Jahan*, pp. 35-37
9. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, p.414.
10. Kasuri, *Jahan*, p.33
11. Qureshi, , *Pan-Islam*, pp.178-79
12. *Ibid.*, p.187; PPA, Vol. XIII, 31 July 1920, para 1663.
13. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan, Lahore*, 1989 (5th ed), p. 35
14. Muhammad Jalaluddin Qadiri, *Tarikh-i-All India Sunni Conference 1925-1947*, Gujrat, 1999, p.4
15. *Ibid.*, p.37
16. Muhammad Jalaluddin Qadiri, *Khutbat-i-All India Sunni Conference 1925-1947*, Gujrat, 1978, pp.86-87.
17. For Complete address of Jamaat Ali see Qadiri, *khutbat*, pp. 195-227.
18. Qadiri, *Tarikh*, p.30.
19. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp. 474-475; Muhammad Sadiq Kasuri and Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Amir-i-Millat aur All India Sunni Conference*. Lahore, 1991, pp. 50-51.
20. Muhammad Masud Ahmed, *Tahrik-i-Azadi-i-Hind aur as-Swad-al-azam*, Lahore, 1987, p. 252; Qadiri, *Tarikh*, p.225; Aziz Malik, *Pakistan say Pahlay*, Islamabad, 1998.
21. Muhammad Sadiq Kasuri, *Amir-i-Millat aur Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, Lahore, 1994, pp. 64-65.
22. Iqbal Salahuddin, *Tarikh-e-Punjab*, Lahore, 1974, pp. 619-621

23. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, *Iqbal Kay Akhri Do Saal*, Lahore, 1978, p.591. Syed Habib writes that the foundation of this mosque was laid by Hazrat Mian Mir, a famous Saint of Punjab. '*Siasat*', Lahore, 7 July 1935.
24. '*Inqilab*', Lahore, 11 July 1935.
25. Janbaz Mirza, *Tehrik-e-Masjid-e-Shaheed Ganj*, Lahore, 1988, p.58
26. Paul Wallace and Surendra Chopra eds. *Political Dynamics and Crisis in Punjab*, Amritsar, 1988, pp. 12-13
27. Syed Nur Ahmed, *Martial Law say Martial Law Tak*, Lahore, 1967, pp. 166-170. See for details Naseem Kausar, *Tehrik-e-Masjid-e-Shaheed Ganj*, Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Punjab, 1976; and Muhammad Khursheed '*Tanaza-i-Masjid Shahidganj*', Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol.5, No.2, October 1999, pp. 5-34
28. PPA, Vol. LVII. No. 34, 7 Sept. 1935, Para 546; *Inqalab* 4 Sept. 1935 and Naseem Kausar, 'Tehrik-i-Masjid-e-Shaheed Ganj' p.83; Hasan Masud, "Communal Relations in British Punjab 1919-1939", M. Phil thesis, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, 2002, p.61; Muhammad Aslam Malik, *Allama Inayatullah Mashraqi: A Political Biography*, Karachi, 2000, p. 118
29. PPA, Vol. LVII No. 34, 7 Sept. 1935, Para 546.
30. *Ibid.* F.H. Puckle Chief Secretary Punjab Govt. to all Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab dated 11 Sept. 1935. File No. L/P&J/7/931 NDC Microfilm Acc. No. 3078.
31. K.K. Aziz eds. *Public life in Muslim India 1850-1947*, Lahore, 1992, pp. 147-48
32. PPA. Vol. LVII No. 36, 21 Sept, 1935, para 570.
33. PPA, Vol. LVII No. 37, 28 Sept. 1935, Para 583; H.N. Mitra and N.N. Mitra eds. *The Indian Annual Register 1935*, Vol. II. New Delhi, 1990, p.27.
34. File No. L/P&J/7/931 NDC Microfilm Acc. No. 3078.
35. For detail see *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid*
37. PPA. Vol. LVII. No. 42, 2 November 1935, Para 654.
38. PPA. Vol. LVII No. 43, 9 November 1935, Para 672.
39. Mitra and Mitra. *The Indian Annual Register, 1935*, Vol. II, p.32.

40. PPA, Vol. LVII No. 43, 9 November 1935, Para 696.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Advisory Committee was nominated by Jamaat Ali Shah to organise All India Ittihad-I-Millat Conference, its members were Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Malik Lal Khan, Syed Habib, Ferozuddin Ahmad, Professor Inayat Ullah, Dr. Muhammad Alam, Farrukh Hussain, Hafiz Mirajuddin, Syed Inayat Shah and L.K.Gauba.
43. PPA, Vol. LVII No. 43, 9 November 1935, Para 696, Mitra and Mitra. *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, p.32
44. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp. 469-471
45. Waheed Ahmed, ed. *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, Lahore, 1970, p. 200, PPA Vol. LVIII, No. 4, 25 January 1936, para 59 and Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp. 470-47
46. PPA, Vol. LVIII, No.3, 18 January 1936, Para 46.
47. PPA, Vol, LVIII No. 4, 25 January 1936, Para 65
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid* The members of the Subject Committee were; Alama Muhammad Iqbal, Shaikh Sadiq Hassan, Professor Inayat Ullah, Nawab Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan, Maulvi Hakim Ghulam Muhammad, M. Ahmad Ali, S. Ataullah Shah Bukhari, M. Sher Nawab Khan, Haji Aminud-Din Sahrai, Mian Ferozeuddin Ahmad, M. Abdul Marghub, M. Abdul Qadus, Khawja Muhammad Tarir, Raja Ghanzanfar Ali, Mir Maqbul Mahmud, Chaudhari Afzal Haq, M .Mazhar Ali Azhar, Allama Inayat Ullah Mashriqi, Malik Mahmud Ahmad, Khalid Latif Gauba, Captain Muhammad Bakhsh Khan and Mir Ghulam Bhik Nairang *Ibid*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. David Gilmartin, *Punjab*, p.110. It was in fact anti-Sahaheed Ganj and anti- Jamaat Ali Shah propaganda compagin of Ahrars, who after not participating in the Shaheed Ganj Movement were severly critisized by the Muslim leaders and general public. Also see David Gilmartin, " 'Divine Displeasure' and Muslim Elections: The shaping of community in twentieth century Punjab" in D.A Low, ed. *The political inheritance of*

Pakistan, London, 1999, p. 128n. See for detail Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar*, Vol.II. Lahore,1975

53. F.H. Puckle Chief Secretary Punjab Govt. to all Deputy Commissioners Punjab dated 11 Sept. 1935. File No. L/P&J/7/931 NDC Microfilm. No. 3078.
54. 'Eastern Times' (Lahore) 12 December 1935
55. Shorash Kashmiri, *Pas-i-Diwar-i-Zindan*, Lahore, pp.129-30
56. Khursheed, *Tanaza* ,p.27.
57. A resolution was passed by Congress Nationalists in a meeting held under the presidency of Pandit Mrishna Kant Malaviya, condemning Pir Jamaat Ali Shah's activities in Shaheed Ganj Movement. 'Tribune' (Lahore) 24 December 1935.

CHAPTER 5

Services for the Creation of Pakistan

The decades of 1920s and 1930s in South Asian politics witnessed a shift in the ideas of many prominent Muslim leaders, including Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity, which was long cherished by many, was shattered owing to the various political developments, which manifested a clear hostility of the Hindus in general, and the All India Congress in particular, towards the Muslims and All India Muslim League (AIML). For these reasons, these two decades witnessed the formulation of attitudes of the Muslim and the Hindu communities towards each other. The League-Congress relations also deteriorated, and many Muslim leaders got disillusioned with the Congress policies vis-à-vis the Muslims. Therefore, during the 1940s, the struggle for independence got considerable momentum. AIML began mobilizing the Muslim community at mass level, particularly in provinces where the hold of League was yet weak. These included the Punjab, where the Unionist Ministry was formed, and the NWFP, where the Congress enjoyed mass support. In urban and rural areas of these provinces, many Muslim leaders popularized the cause of Pakistan. Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was one of them, who spread the message of AIML and Jinnah in the length and breadth of the Punjab and NWFP.

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah toured the two provinces and addressed public gatherings mobilizing support of the Muslims for the cause of Pakistan. While

doing so, he did considerable image-building of AIML and its leader Jinnah on one hand, and exposed the adverse implications of the Congress policies, particularly affecting the Muslim interests in South Asia on the other hand. The present chapter examines the role of Syed Jamaat Ali Shah in the Pakistan Movement during the last decade. In addition to his services for the cause of the movement, it also explores his relationship with Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

1. Mass Mobilization for Muslim League Support

Jamaat Ali Shah mobilized the masses in order to win mass support for the Muslim League. For this purpose, he employed varied strategies ranging from tours in North-western regions of India to issuing *fatwas* (religious decrees) in favour of Muslim League and condemnation of Pro-Congress Muslims and Muslim groups. He also did considerable image-building of both Muslim League and Jinnah by publicly supporting its policies. In addition, he also actively participated in the activities of other pro Pakistan groups. These activities are discussed as under:

(a) Tours in North-western Regions of India

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah played an important role in mobilizing the Muslim population of the Punjab and NWFP for supporting the Muslim League, which was fighting for the cause of Pakistan. For this purpose, he toured the length and breadth of the two provinces. For instance, he toured Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kohat and Sialkot in April 1938, and addressed the people in huge gatherings.¹ Similarly, in 1944, he toured Hoshiarpur District in East Punjab.²

During the 1945-46 elections, he toured many places despite his old age and deteriorating health in order to muster support for the Muslim League candidates. In early September 1945, he visited Rohtak.³ In October 1945, on the occasion of *urs* (death anniversary) of Hazrat Imam Abu Hanifa organized by *Anjuman Tablegh-ul-Ahnaff Amritsar*, Syed Jamaat Ali Shah accompanied by Maulana Syed Muhaddis Kachhochhvi and Syed Boolay Shah toured Amritsar District. The routes taken by the 'caravan of light' started resounding with full throated slogans of 'long live *Amir-i-Millat*', 'long live Muslim League and 'long live Quaid-e-Azam'⁴

For canvassing of Muslim League candidates in 1945-46 elections, Jamaat Ali Shah toured many areas, despite his old age and helped the Muslim League's candidates. His sons Syed Muhammad Hussain, Syed Khadim Hussain Shah, Syed Noor Hussain Shah and grandson Akhtar Hussain Shah worked day and night for the Muslim League's success.⁵

In early 1947, he toured the NWFP to mobilize support for Pakistan before the 1947 Referendum, whereby it was to be decided whether the province wanted to join Pakistan or not. Thus, despite his old age, Jamaat Ali Shah made whirlwind tours in various parts of the sub-continent

(b) Issuance of *Fatwa* and Religious Appeals

In order to convince the people of the sincerity of the Muslim League for the Muslim community, Jamaat Ali Shah issued a *fatwa* (religious decree)

condemning the supporters of Congress and supporting the League, its leaders and the cause for which it was fighting.

On April 22, 1938, while addressing a Friday congregation in *Jamia* Mosque in Sialkot, he stated:

Dear Muslims, today there are two banners, one belongs to Islam and the other to infidels (non-Muslims) which will you choose"? All those present proclaimed with one voice 'we will not come under the banner of the non-Muslims. We will boycott those co-religionists who have gone under the non-Muslim banners'. They vowed to close their graveyards on these Muslims.⁷

Similarly, in Gurdaspur (East Punjab), while addressing a public gathering, he declared: "Whoever is disloyal to the Muslim League will be regarded as non-Muslim and will not be buried in a Muslim graveyard."⁸ In a similar vein, addressing the 35th annual function of All-India *Khudam-as-Sufia* on May 11, 1938, Jamaat Ali Shah said:

It is binding on all the Muslims of India to join Muslim League. On one side is the banner of un-Islamic forces, while on the other side is the banner of Islam. Therefore it is the bounden duty of the Muslims to join the Muslim League at this critical juncture of Muslim history to protect their faith.⁹

While celebrating the 'Day of Deliverance' after the resignation of Congress Ministries in 1939, Jamaat Ali Shah said: "There are two flags [in India], one of Islam and the other of *Kufr* (infidelity). O' Muslims, under which flag will you stand? [The crowd answered loudly: 'Under the flag of Islam']". Then he said: "If anyone who was standing under the flag of *Kufr* died, will you bury him in the Muslim graveyard? Will you pray at his funeral? [The crowd shouted: 'No, No.']. Then he said: "The flag of the Muslim League is the flag of Islam. We must all join the League".¹⁰

Addressing a public meeting in Rohtak in early September, 1945, he stated:

Dear Muslims, there are two flags: one belongs to Islam and the other to Kufr. Tell me under which flag would you like to come. Muslim League flag is the flag of Islam and that of the Congress is the flag of Kufr. Now you decide under which flag you would like to come.

The audience proclaimed with one voice: 'We are with the Muslim League and shall live under the flag of Islam'.¹¹

On the occasion of Pakistan Conference, held at Shahi Bagh, Peshawar under the auspices of the Jamiat-ul-Asfia on April 21, 1946, Jamaat Ali Shah not only presided over the conference, but he also delivered a forceful speech in favour and support of the League and the Pakistan Movement.¹² Its detail as stated by Peshawar's well-known spiritual and political guide Ameer Shah Qadri is as follows:

Jamaat Ali Shah was a strong supporter of Muslim League and Ghaffar Khan had a strong hold in Peshawar and NWFP. But Jamaat Ali Shah gave a *fatwa* that no Congressman will be allowed to be buried in Muslim graveyard, as it is impermissible (according to *Shariah*). He proclaimed this *fatwa* in Shahi Bagh, where the house of Ghaffar Khan is situated, and which is the centre of the *Khudai Khidmatgar* Movement.¹³

(c) Image-building of Muslim League and Jinnah

As the Muslim League's efforts for articulating the demands of the Muslims were gaining momentum, Indian National Congress and its leaders initiated a vilification and propaganda campaign against the leadership of the League, particularly targeting Jinnah. Unfortunately, this campaign was headed by the Muslims belonging to the pro-Congress groups and parties. In these circumstances, Jamaat Ali Shah tried his best to counter this anti-League and anti-Jinnah propaganda by building the image of both. It is reflected in many

speeches and public statements, which he made on various occasions using different platforms, such as those of annual meetings of All India Sunni Conference, All-India *Khudam-as-Sufia*, *Jamiat-ul-Asfia* and Muslim League.

For instance, on 20th October 1938, he sent a special message to his followers in NWFP suggesting them to join the Muslim League struggle for the achievement of freedom. Acknowledging the priceless services of Quaid-e-Azam, he prayed for the success of his mission.¹⁴ In 1944, Jamaat Ali Shah toured Hoshiarpur District (East Punjab India) and popularised the Muslim League's message. Reporting a meeting, Maulana Shah Muhammad Jafar Phulwarvi says:

In 1944, there was a big meeting in Dasooha (District Hoasharpur), presided over by (*Qibla*) Jamaat Ali Shah to which I had been affectionately invited. I apologized in view of my circumstances. But suddenly I was required through a telegram to reach Dasooha, which left no choice for me. This gathering was highly successful. Hazrat (Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah) delivered a heart-warming and impressive speech, explaining the importance of Muslim League and exposed the machinations of the Hindus, and the Britishers, who encouraged Aarya Samaagists, Hindus and Brahmins.¹⁵

On October 8, 1945, Syed Jamaat Ali Shah in an interview to weekly *Saadat* (Lyallpur now Faisalabad) said:

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah is the only confirmed, and undisputed political leader. I recall those days when in Kashmir, I, a submissive servant of Almighty Allah, invited Mr. Jinnah to a lunch. I was sure of sweeping all round election victories of All India Muslim League, both at provincial and central levels. I foretold about the amazing election success of League. I earnestly appeal to Punjabi Muslims, besides Indian Muslims, to cast their votes blindly in favour of Muslim League forget the nature of candidates. I pray to Almighty Allah to bless Quaid-e-Azam with a long life and lot of triumphs. May Almighty Allah grant him energy to guide and serve the *Ummah*. May the Exalted Allah shower strength, determination and blessings on Quaid-e-Azam. His crusade for Islam will steer our nation from the crisis with steadfastness, faith, foresight and firmness.¹⁶

Similarly, in the annual meeting of All India Sunni Conference, held in Benaras in April 1946, which was attended by five hundred *Mashaikh*, seven thousand ulema and two lakh people, Jamaat Ali Shah in his presidential address strongly supported Quaid-e-Azam and said:

People dub Jinnah as infidel, but, I call him a saint, people express their own opinion, but I say it in the light of Quran and *hadith*. 'Those who believe in their Allah and obey Him, Allah creates love and reverence for them in the hearts of people' (Quran). Now is there anybody other than Jinnah who is loved and respected by ten crore Muslim of India. Therefore, you may call him infidel, but in my eyes he is a saint.¹⁷

Jamaat Ali also used other platforms for image-building of Jinnah and League. An *urs* ceremony (death anniversary) of Hazrat Imam Abu Hanifa (Imam-e-Azam) was organized by *Anjuman Tablegh-ul-Ahnaff Amritsar* on October 26-28, 1945, which was attended by renowned ulema and *Mashaikh* of United India. On the last day, Jamaat Ali delivered a two-hour long speech in favour of Pakistan and Muslim League. In addition, Sahibzada Anwar Hussain Alipuri, Maulana Naeemuddin Muradabadi, Maulana Syed Muhaddis Kachhochhvi, Syed Mahmood Gujrati, Maulana Shareef Kotlavi, Allama Abdul Ghafoor Hazaarvi and Maulana Basheer Kotlavi delivered forceful speeches in favour of the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement.¹⁸

In 1945, Jamaat Ali Shah issued a declaration in favour of Pakistan Movement titled as 'Pakistan Movement and the Saints'. The declaration declared Mr. Jinnah as the best advocate of Muslim cause and Muslim League which is the only representative party of Muslims. So all of them should unite for the struggle of Pakistan. His proclamation was supported by *sajjada nasheen* Khanqah Sirajia (Ghurdaspur), Pir Syed Muhammad Fazal

Shah, Amir Hizbullah (Jalalpur Sharif), Mian Ali Muhammad *sajjada nasheen* Bassi Sharif, Khwaja. Ghulam Saddid-ud-Din (Taunsa Sharif) and Syed Muhammad Hussain *sajjada nasheen* (Sakhr Chuk Gurdaspur).¹⁹

In November 1945, Jamaat Ali Shah presided over grand Sunni Conference in the *Jamia* Mosque Amritsar. Maulana Naeemuddin Muradabadi, Syed Anwar Hussain Alipuri, Sahibzada Syed Mahmood Shah Gujrati delivered forceful speeches in favour of Pakistan.²⁰ Similarly, on another occasion, delivering his presidential address at the public meeting of Muslim League in Lahore Syed Jamaat Ali Shah said:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan put forward two-nation theory and Allama Iqbal impressed the people with his poetry. Now Quaid-e-Azam took upon himself the duty of materializing this two-nation theory demanding separate homeland for the Muslims. It is an accepted rule and principle that an experienced lawyer is engaged, whether Muslim or non-Muslim for a case. Now the case is against the Britishers and the Hindus, and the Muslims have engaged Quaid-e-Azam as their pleader. Therefore, there is no ground to throw mud on his personality and subject him to mean and cheap attacks. It is nothing but a display of mere personal malice and jealousy. As far as my view is concerned, despite my utmost efforts, I am unable to find a believer of Islam of Mr. Jinnah's calibre who is rendering yeomen service to Islam.²¹

In March 1946, fifty-six scholar of All India Sunni Conference issued a unanimous statement supporting Muslim League manifesto. Here Maulana Abdul Rashid incharge of *Madarsa Naqshbandia*, Ali Pur Sayyidan represented Pir Syed Jammal Ali Shah. The statement was signed by the leading ulama.²²

(d) Support to Muslim League and its Policies

Jamaat Ali Shah gave his whole-hearted support to All India Muslim League, and its policies and activities. He supported the Lahore Resolution (1940),

himself participated in the election campaign of 1945-46, issued a statement in favour of All India Muslim League manifesto in 1946 before elections, and successfully canvassed for NWFP referendum in 1947.

(i) Support to Lahore Resolution (1940)

When on March 23, 1940, the Muslim League passed the historic Pakistan Resolution at its annual session Jamaat Ali Shah as the President of All-India Sunni Conference sent Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni and Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi to represent the All India Sunni Conference. Both of them were also regular members and devoted workers of the Muslim League. On this occasion he issued a statement saying that "Muslim League is the only Islamic organization. Therefore I advise the Muslims to join it as no other party is a well-wisher of the Muslims. It is futile to think that the Hindu-dominated Congress can be sympathetic to them and support their cause".²³

On the auspicious occasion of the Pakistan Resolution he sent a telegram greeting Quaid-e-Azam in the following words "With heart and soul, I, along with 90 million Muslims, are by your side and congratulate you on your success and pray for your progress".²⁴

(ii) Participation in Election Campaign (1945-46)

In September 1945, bi-weekly 'Al Amaan' published Jamaat Ali Shah's statement appealing to the Muslims to vote for the Muslim League candidates. In the end of his statement Jamaat Ali Shah said "May Allah give long life to Mr. Jinnah, who is the only leader of the Muslims and really deserve the title

of Quaid-e-Azam".²⁵ On 28th September, 1945, the daily 'Khilafat' brought out a common declaration of Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam, Calcutta, in favour of Muslim League. Jamaat Ali Shah's name was at the top of the list including Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Hasan Nizami Delhvi, Maulana Muhammad Bakhsh Muslim and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.²⁶ Jamaat Ali Shah in a statement in late September 1945 said "On the occasion of Simla Conference, I have already declared the Muslim League as the only representative Party of Indian Muslims. Now all the Muslims should vote for the Muslim League candidates and raise funds for the party. I and my companions will wholeheartedly support the Muslim League".²⁷

He exhorted other scholars and servants to come out of their solitude and perform their duties. Pir Ameen-ul-Hasanat of Manki Sharif called a conference of Ulema and *Mashaikh* in Manki Sharif on 14 October 1945. Syed Jamaat Ali Shah attended the conference. More than five hundred ulema and *Mashaikh* participated in the Conference which decided to establish an ulema and *Mashaikh* body by the name of Jamiat-ul-Asfia and announced its support to the Muslim League in the elections.²⁸

On November 21, 1945, Muslim League Conference was held at Shahibagh Peshawar under the presidentship of Pir of Manki Sharif. Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was also invited to the meeting but he could not attend this conference due to illness. His eldest son Syed Muhammad Hussain Shah attended the meeting on his father's behalf. Syed Muhammad Hussain Shah delivered a speech for the unity of Muslims and urged upon them that they

should join their hands in the joint cause of Islam, which was represented by Muslim League. He said that Muslims could only be represented by a body such as Muslim League and not by any others. He addressed the audience that Muslims were in very dangerous state of affairs when Almighty sent Quaid-e-Azam to help crores of Muslims. He also urged upon the chiefs and leaders (of NWFP) to help the Muslim League cause.²⁹ For the elections of 1945-46, Jamaat Ali Shah issued a statement that stated:

By the grace of Allah, ten crore Muslims of India have nominated me as the *Amir-e-Millat*. Now it is binding on every Muslim to follow his *Amir*. As a matter of fact, one who obeys *Amir*, obeys the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and who obeys the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) actually obeys his Allah, and who disobeys his *Amir* actually disobeys Allah. So I humbly appeal to the Muslims of India to strongly support Mr. Jinnah and Muslim League, as Muslim League is the only representative party of the Muslims.³⁰

Similarly, on December 28, 1945, a huge meeting was held in *Pakki* Mosque of Chaador Distt. Umraoti (India) which responding to Jamaat Ali Shah's declaration passed a resolution to support Muslim League in general elections.³¹

Jamaat Ali Shah was also nominated as a member of the *Mashaikh* Committee appointed by the Muslim League in 1946 to mobilize public support in favour of the demand for Pakistan. Other members of the Committee were Pir Aminul Hasanat of Manki Sharif, Khawaja Nizamuddin of Taunsa Sharif and Makhdum Raza Shah of Multan, etc.³²

During the elections, the government passed an ordinance according to which canvassing in the name of religion became a punishable crime with fine and three years imprisonment. Chaudhary Abdul Karim of Qila Gujar

Singh, an active Muslim Leaguer, called a conference in Islamia College Lahore under presidentship of Syed Jammal Ali Shah attended by Maulana Abdul Hasanat Qadari and Maulana Jamaal Mian Farangi Mahali and a large number of other ulema and the people. This conference decided to violate the ordinance. It is important to recall that during the Shaheed Ganj Movement, Jamaat Ali Shah had insisted on following a legal and constitutional course of action, when many others were demanding to initiate a Non-cooperation Movement directed towards the government. But with the start of the Pakistan Movement he was so much devoted that he shifted from his previous attitude. Abdul Karim appealed in the name of Islam and asked the people to cast their vote for Muslim League.³³ Jamaat Ali Shah in his presidential address said:

The Government and Congress should be aware that Muslims have come out of their slumber and they have marked out their destination. Now no power on earth can ignore this demand. Some exploiters of religion abuse Mr. Jinnah openly, but he has never reacted. This is the greatest proof of his being the genuine leader. *Khaksar* too have threatened me with murder. I would like to tell them that I am a Syed and Syed is never afraid of death. I enjoin strictly upon my colleagues in mystic order as well as my disciples to vote for Muslim League candidates only and I also appeal to the people at large.³⁴

After the Conference, Jamaat Ali Shah published his signed statement in weekly *Al-faqih* that "Muslim League is the only representative party of Muslims as those who are not in it, are actually enemies of Islam".³⁵ Similarly, Pakistan Conference was held at Shahi Bagh, Peshawar under the auspices of the *Jamiat-ul-Asfia* on April 21, 1946. He presided over it and delivered a speech full of fervour in support of the League and the Pakistan Movement.³⁶

In addition, as mentioned earlier, during the 1945-46 elections Jamaat Ali Shah toured all over the sub-continent, despite his old age and helped the

Muslim League candidates win the elections. His sons Syed Muhammad Hussain, Syed Khadim Hussain Shah, Syed Noor Hussain Shah and grandson Akhtar Hussain Shah worked day and night for the success of Muslim League.³⁷

(iii) Joint Statement in Support of Muslim League Manifesto (1946)

In March 1946, fifty-six scholars of All India Sunni Conference issued a unanimous statement supporting Muslim League manifesto. Here Maulana Abdul Rashid in-charge of *Madarsa Naqshbandia* Alipur Sayyidan represented Syed Jamaat Ali Shah. The statement was signed by the leading ulema of the time.³⁸

The elections of 1945-46 were decisive for the Muslims of India, as creation of Pakistan now seemed a foregone conclusion. Jamaat Ali Shah was invited to deliver an address in Sialkot. He came despite serious illness, but could not deliver the address due to weakness. He stayed at *Pakka Garh* locality of Sialkot. He instructed thousands of his disciples and visitors from his bed to support Muslim League candidates. This created renewed fervour in the Muslims of Sialkot.³⁹

(iv) Canvassing for Referendum in NWFP (1947)

North-west Frontier Province was elevated to the status of a province in 1901. With the start of the political process, *Khudai Khidmatgar* affiliated their party with the All India National Congress. NWFP remained in the political control of *Khudai Khidmatgar*-Congress alliance. Before the partition of India, they

jointly formed their Government in NWFP twice, and at the time of the referendum of 1947, it was in power which made it hard for the Muslim Leaguers to mobilize support for Pakistan. In these circumstances, Jamaat Ali Shah toured NWFP with other ulema, *mashaikh* and *sajjada nasheens* of India to mobilize support for Pakistan before the referendum of 1947⁴⁰. They addressed public meetings and used their influence to win the referendum in which they succeeded, and people voted heavily in favour of joining Pakistan.

(e) Participation in the Activities of other Pro-Pakistan Groups

Jamaat Ali Shah exhorted other scholars and saints to come out of their solitary state and perform their duties. Therefore, he participated in the activities of other groups, which were pro-Pakistan and pro-League. Pir Ameen-ul-Hasanat of Manki Sharif called a conference of Ulema and *Mashaikh* in Manki Sharif on October 14, 1945. More than five hundred ulema and *Mashaikh* participated in the Conference, including Syed Jamaat Ali Shah. The participants decided to establish an ulema and *Mashaikh* body by the name of *Jamiat-ul-Asfia* and announced its support to the Muslim League in the forth-coming 1945-46 elections.⁴¹

(f) Preparation of Aligarh Pakistan Scheme

At the instruction of Jamaat Ali, Dr. Zafar-ul-Hassan of Aligarh University, with the cooperation of his pupil, Dr. Afzaal Hussain Qadiri prepared in September 1939 a scheme along with charts, maps and foreword, titled "Indian Muslims Issue and its Solution". It was submitted to the Muslim League Working

Committee, which was later known by the name of 'Aligarh Pakistan Scheme'. It became a milestone in the history of the Pakistan Movement.⁴²

2. Condemnation of Congress Policies

In addition to countering the anti-League and anti-Jinnah propaganda of Congress, Jamaat Ali Shah openly criticized the policies and activities of Congress. For instance, on September 18, 1928, a meeting of All India Sunni Conference was held in Muradabad, which was presided over by Syed Jamaat Ali Shah. The conference passed a resolution unanimously, stating: "[T]his meeting considers Nehru Committee Report as dangerous for the interests of the Muslims and condemn it".⁴³

After the formation of Congress Ministries in the wake of 1936 elections in India, while addressing large gatherings in Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Kohat in April 1938, he exposed the impacts of the Congress policy, which were detrimental to the Muslim interests. He gave convincing arguments in rejection of Congress and its policies. Addressing the inaugural ceremony of the Kohat District Muslim League, he exhorted the Muslims to unite under the banner of Islam, because Hindus could never be well-wishers of the Muslims. He prayed to God to unite the Muslims and save them from the clutches of pro-Hindu coterie of the so-called Muslim scholars.⁴⁴

When the Congress Ministries resigned in 1939, Quaid-e-Azam appealed to the Muslims to celebrate 'Deliverance Day' on Friday, December 22, 1939 in order to thank God. Jamaat Ali Shah observed the Day in his

native town Alipur Sayyidan Sharif, District Sialkot (now Narowal), where he addressed a large public gathering, and revealed the adverse effects of the Congress policies during the last two years when the ministries had functioned.⁴⁵

Jamaat Ali Shah also used the platform of *Dar-ul-Uloom Markazi Anjuman-e-Hizbul Ahnaf* in order to condemn the policies of Congress. In its annual function at Lahore on September 14-16, 1945, which was presided over by Syed Jamaat Ali Shah, a provincial Sunni Conference was formed, which resolved:

Congress, *Majlis-i-Ahrar* and *Khaksar* are in no way the representative organizations of the Muslims. Congress is the party of infidels and apostates and is the worst enemy of the Muslims and can never be expected to represent their rights and interests. So to vote for the Congress is *haram* (unlawful) and *Ahrar*, *Khaksar*, Unionists, etc. are the paid agents of Congress and so are not entitled to represent the Muslims.⁴⁶

3. Efforts for the Establishment of Islamic System in Pakistan

Under the guidance of Jamaat Ali, a committee was appointed by the AISC to formulate a strategy and program for Islamic Government, comprising religious leaders.⁴⁷ Maulana Naimuddin Muradabadi was the Chairman of this committee, who after the independence of Pakistan prepared a report to guide the framing of constitution of Pakistan according to *Shariah*, which was to be presented to Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.⁴⁸

After the creation of Pakistan Jamaat Ali Shah worked hard for the enforcement of Islamic system of government in Pakistan by leading a

movement '*Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat*' along with Pir Manki Sharif and Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi.⁴⁹

4. Relationship With Jinnah

Throughout the Pakistan Movement, Syed Jamaat Ali Shah supported All India Muslim League and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and directed his followers to support Muslim League and rally together under the banner of Quaid-e-Azam. He also directed them to popularize the message of the League, and its efforts for the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims. According to Pirzada Muhammad Anwar Ali Chishti, a renowned activist of the Pakistan Movement:

In 1936 Pir Jamaat Ali Shah told my father that he wanted his son (Anwar) to devote his life for the Muslim League as a soldier of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. During a hot midday in April 1936, when All-India Muslim League working committee's session was going on in Barkat Ali Muhammadan Hall of Mochi Gate, I presented during interval my spiritual and temporal and my father's letters to Mr. Jinnah introducing me to him as a very good speaker and saying that we have dedicated this young man's life for the Muslim League. Both of them praised my eloquence and asked Mr. Jinnah to accept me as his soldier. Highly pleased at this gesture of dedication, Mr. Jinnah addressing Maulana Shaukat Ali said, "This young man is our first crusader in Montgomery (now Sahiwal) District."⁵⁰

On July 26, 1943, a *Khaksar* supporter, Rafiq Sabir of Mozang, made an attempt on Quaid-e-Azam's life. This news was broadcasted from Bombay Radio the same evening. Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was in Hyderabad Deccan those days. All India States Muslim League President Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang broke this news to Jamaat Ali. The next day he wrote a letter to Quaid-e-Azam.⁵¹ In his letter he said:

I have been appointed *Amir-e-Millat* by the Muslims. Therefore what you are doing for the creation of Pakistan is actually my duty. But being

an old man of 100 years I am unable to do my duty. Therefore, it is obligatory for me to share with you my burden, which has been transferred over your shoulders. Rest assured, Nimrod's hostility against Prophet Abraham, Pharaoh's hostility against the religion of Prophet Moses, and Abu Jahel's hostility against our Prophet (peace be upon him) carried forward the march of Islam. Therefore, this dastardly attempt on your invaluable life is a good omen for your success. I congratulate you for the success of your mission. Never mind at all and do not retreat, whatever the hurdles in the fulfilment of your mission. God creates his enemies whom he wants to succeed. I pray to God to humble your enemies. My companions and I shall always be by your side. You too should pledge not to give up your mission.⁵²

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang gave Bakhshi Mustafa Ali Khan (the messenger of Jamaat Ali Shah) an introductory letter for Jamaat Ali Shah.* But when the messenger reached Jinnahs' residence, he found him in the grip of doctors. He returned after presenting the letter and gifts to Quaid-e-Azam's sister Miss Fatima Jinnah. On August 11, 1943 Quaid-e-Azam replied to Jamaat Ali Shah in a letter:

With your blessings for me I feel that I am already successful in my mission. I promise that whatever the differences and hurdles in my way I will never flinch back from my stand. You have sent a copy of Holy Quran conveying to me how I can lead the Muslim until I am well-versed in the Holy Quran and the religion. I promise to learn and recite the Holy Quran and for this purpose I have arranged its English translations and am looking for a scholar who can teach me Quran in English. Your prayer rug is meant to tell me, how I can expect the people to follow, until I follow the Divine Commands. Therefore, I promise to offer prayer. You have sent a rosary, requiring me to recite Darood Shareef (seek blessing) how can a person get the blessings of God, if he does not beg His blessing to his Prophet (peace be upon him). I will follow your command.⁵³

On July 17, 1946 Jamaat Ali Shah congratulated Quaid-e-Azam through a telegram on League's marvellous victory in elections. Quaid-e-Azam sent a reply acknowledging his services: "This is the outcome of your

* See Appendix VI. A letter by Bahdur Yar Jang to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

vital support and prayer. Now the creation of Pakistan is a foregone conclusion".⁵⁴

On August 14, 1947, the Muslims of India achieved an independent homeland after a long and hectic struggle. On this auspicious occasion, Jamaat Ali Shah sent a telegram greeting to Quaid-e-Azam. He appreciated Jinnah's services for the cause of Pakistan, and also prayed for his success as a statesman. He wrote to Jinnah: "To achieve a country is easy but to run a country is very difficult. May Allah bless you with the ability to run the country".⁵⁵

Jamaat Ali Shah died on August 30, 1951 at the age of 110. Towards the close of his life, he had become ill, but despite his deteriorating health, he kept on attending to his activities such as touring different regions of Pakistan. His dream of Pakistan becoming a reality was fulfilled in his life time, but he could not live longer.

On 14th August 1987 Government of Punjab awarded Syed Jamaat Ali Shah with '*Tehrik-i-Pakistan Award*' for his services in the Pakistan Movement.⁵⁶

NOTES

1. Muhammad Sadiq Kasuri, "*Pir Jamaat Ali Shah Aur Tehrik-i-Pakistan*", Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. 4-5, No.1-2 (October 1993, April, 1994), p.108.
2. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp114-5.
3. Kasuri, *Jahan*, p.132.
4. *Al-Faqih* (Amritsar),7-14 November 1945.
5. Wali Mazhar, *Fikr-i-Quaid-e-Azam*,Multan, 1991, p.663.
6. Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement*, p.246.
7. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, p.108.
8. Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *Pir Sahib Manki Sharif aur Unki Siyasi Jid-o-Johad*. Islamabad, 1996, p.19.
9. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, p109.
10. Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1947-1979*, Islamabad, 1993, p.xxi.
11. Kasuri, *Jahan*, p.132.
12. Muslim League in NWFP Microfilm, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad. Acc. No. 227.
13. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, p.127.
14. Kasuri, *Jahan*, pp. 118-119
15. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp.114-5.
16. *Al-faqih* (Amritsar), 7-14 October, 1945.
17. Muhammad Sadiq Kasuri and Mufti Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Amir-i-Millat aur All India Sunni Conference Lahore*, 1991, pp. 70-71., Shahid Javed Barki, *Pakistan A Nation in the Making*, Karachi, 1986 p.14, Asif Ali Rizvi, "Polity of the Last Election in the British Punjab" Pakistan Vision Vol. I No. 1, January, 2000, p.7.
18. *Al-faqih* (Amritsar), 7-14 November 1945.
19. Qadiri, *Khutbat*, pp. 42-44
20. "White Paper" (International Mashaikh Conference Lahore, 1994), p.12.

21. Burg Gul'Quaid-e-Azam No. (Karachi, 1976), p.194.
22. Those ulama who signed the statemet included; Maulana Mustafa Raza Khan Brelvi, Maulana Syed Muhammad Muhaddis Kachhochhavi, Maulana Syed Muhammad Naeemuddin Muradabadi, Maulana Muhammad Amjad Ali Azami, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Maulana Muhammad Sardar Ahmed Lyallpuri, Allama Abdul Mustafa Azhari, Maulana Shah Arif Ullah Merathi, Maulana Waqar Ahmed, Maulana Muhammad Ajmal Sambhali and Maulana Ghulam Moeen-ud-Din Naeemi. Weekly '*Dabdab-i-Sikandari*' (Rampur) 29 March 1946.
23. Kasuri, *Jahan*, p.122.
24. Qadiri, *Khutbat*, p.30.
25. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, p.119.
26. *Khilafat* (Bombay), 28 September, 1945
27. *Al-faqih* (Amritsar), 7-14 October, 1945.
28. *Waqar Shah, Pir Manki Sharif*, p.19.
29. "Muslim League in NWFP" file No. 12/4/6 NDC. Microfilm Acc. No.227.
30. White Paper, p.12.
31. Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1858-1948* Karachi, 1998, p.203.
32. *Al-faqih* (Amritsar) February 1947.
33. Syed Raees Ahmad Jafari, *Quaid-e-Azam Our Unka Ehd*, Lahore, 1966, pp. 405-406 *Inqalab* (Lahore), 11 January 1946.
34. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, p.125.
35. *Al-faqih* (Amritsar), 21-28 January, 1946.
36. Syed Waqar Ali Shah's personal collection.
37. Mazhar, *Fikr-i-Quaid*, p. 663, White Paper, p. 13, also see David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab", London, *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. XIII No.3 July, 1979 pp.485-517.
38. Those ulama who signed the statemet included; Maulana Mustafa Raza Khan Brelvi, Maulana Syed Muhammad Muhaddis Kachhochhavi, Maulana Syed Muhammad Naeemuddin Muradabadi,

Maulana Muhammad Amjad Ali Azami, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Maulana Muhammad Sardar Ahmed Lyallpuri, Allama Abdul Mustafa Azhari, Maulana Shah Arif Ullah Merathi, Maulana Waqar Ahmed, Maulana Muhammad Ajmal Sambhali and Maulana Ghulam Moeen-ud-Din Naeemi. Weekly '*Dabdab-i-Sikandari*' (Rampur) 29 March 1946.

39. *Al-faqih* (Amritsar), 7-14 October, 1945.
40. Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement*, p.246.
41. *Waqar Shah, Pir Manki Sharif*, p. 19.
42. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, pp. 109-110.
43. Qadiri, *Tarikh*, p.111.
44. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, p.108.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. The members of the committee included; Maulana Syed Muhammad Naeemuddin Muradabadi, Maulana Muhammad Amjad Ali Azami, Maulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui Merathi, Pir Abdul Rehman Bharchondi Sharif of Sind, Pir Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasnaat of Manki Sharif, Maulana Abul Hasnaat Muhammad Ahmad Qadari, Maulana Syed Muhammad Muhaddis Kachhochhvi, Maulana Muhammad Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Pir Syed Aale Rasool Ali Khan Sajjada Nasheen Ajmer Sharif, Alhaj Bukhshi Mustafa Ali Khan, Maulana Syed Abul Barkat Syed Ahmad, Maulana Raza Khan Brelvi and Kh. Muhammad Qamar-ud-Din *Sajjada Nasheen* Sial Sharif of Sargodha. Qadiri, *Khutbat*, pp. 109-110.
48. For detail of 11 points drafted by Maulana Muradabadi for the Islamic Constitution see Mujeeb, *JUP*, Appendix I pp.209-10.
49. Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, pp. 134, also see for details Maulana Niazi, *Main*, Lahore, 1992.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid*, p.109.
52. An English version of the letter was prepared by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang alongwith this letter a rare copy of the Holy Quran, a prayer rug,

a rosary, a shawl, *Aab-e- Zamzam* and other things were sent to Quaid-e-Azam through Pir Sahib's caliph Bakshi Mustafa Ali Khan. Sadiq Kasuri, *Pir Jamaat Ali Shah*, p.111.

53. *Ibid.*,pp. 111-12, Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, pp. 478-79.
54. *Ibid.*,p. 113.
55. Hussain and Farooqi, *Sirat*, p.488.
56. *Ibid.*,p.490.
57. *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore) 16 August 1987.

Conclusion

Syed Jamaat Ali Shah proved himself both as a religious and political leader. He established his religious leadership by actively propagating Islam, starting with his Sufi Revivalist Movement in the beginning of the 20th century, which not only attracted the rural population, the urban educated Muslims from all over the Indian sub-continent were also attracted to it. He commanded considerable devotion and respect from the masses. Many prominent leaders of the freedom movement were his disciples and devotees. These included, for instance, President States Muslim League Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang. In addition, the prominent leader of Kashmir Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, Dr. Zafar-ul-Hassan of Aligarh University, Amir of Afghanistan, Nawab of Hyderabad Deccan Sir Muhammad Shafi of Punjab, and famous poet Hafeez Jalandari were among his devotees.

With the decline of Muslim power in India, the Muslims faced a host of challenges to their religion from different directions. On the one hand, Qadianis were mortifying their religious sentiments by popularizing their peculiar beliefs, which the Indian Muslims considered as contrary to fundamental teaching of Islam, and on the other hand, Hindu extremists had initiated *Shuddi* Movement to convert Muslims to Hinduism. Jamaat Ali Shah tried to counter these movements

by various actions. He toured the length and breadth of India to counter their views and activities.

Jamaat Ali Shah was quite liberal and broad-minded as compared to many of his contemporary Sufis and religious leaders. It can be well assessed from the fact that he was in favour of acquiring modern education by the Muslims. For this reason, he had supported the Aligarh Movement, and also contributed to its fund.

In the political field, he worked for securing interests of the Muslims. He participated in the Khilafat Movement, and generously contributed to the Khilafat fund as well. It is due to his pro-Khilafat campaign that he was banned from entering the NWFP, Baluchistan and Kashmir. Nevertheless, when Hijrat Movement started, he advised the Muslims not to participate in it. He opposed it on the grounds that Muslims would suffer in the long run. Soon the events proved his assertion, as the Muslims who had migrated to Afghanistan returned home and many had lost their lives on the way. Jamaat Ali Shah's opposition to the Hijrat Movement speaks of his pragmatism and realism.

In the wake of Shaheed Ganj Mosque Movement, he was elected '*Amir-i-Millat*' (leader of the Muslim community) by the people. Despite his old age and deteriorating health, he worked day and night for the success of the Movement. He led the movement, and positively engaged the government in the

negotiations. He did not believe in politics of agitation, violence and confrontation. He believed in peaceful legal recourse for getting things done.

In 1925, the leading Sunni ulema and *mashaikh* of the Indian sub-continent made the first political party to serve as a platform for the Sunni ulema by the name of All India Sunni Conference (AISC) at Muradabad. Syed Jamaat Ali Shah was elected its president and remained so till 1946. AISC not only supported the demands of the All India Muslim League for an independent homeland, it also popularized its message in the Indian sub-continent.

After the inception of Pakistan, he initiated a movement '*Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat*' for the enforcement of the Islamic system in Pakistan. Nonetheless, his dream could not be realized in his lifetime as he died on August 30, 1951.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

Muslim Organizations of the Punjab (1860–1890)

'J' Stands for joint Muslim and Hindu 'M' Stands for Muslim only

1. Anjuman-i-Punjab, Lahore (1865) 'J'. Founded to receive oriental learning and for the diffusion of useful knowledge in the vernacular, library, lectures, journal 240 members 1865, 300 members, 1888.
2. Delhi Literary Society Delhi (1865) 'J'. For the diffusion of useful knowledge in the vernaculars.
3. Anjuman-i-Farzan-i-Am Gujranwala (1866) 'J'. Library, reading room Museum.
4. Anjuman-i-Amritsar (1867). Journal, Risalah-i-Shashmahi edited by Sheikh Ghulam Hussain.
5. Anjuman Islamia Lahore (1869) 'M'. Restores Mosques, petitions government, school, donations to the Turko Russian War, Scholarships 125 members, 1888, 177 members, 1892.
6. Anjuman-i-Batala Lahore (1872). Journal Risalah-i-Anjuman-i-Batala.
7. Anjuman Mufid-i-Am Kasur (1873) 'M'. Handicraft school, library, printing press, journal, research grant in aid for Government 1880, 322 members 1880.
8. Anjuman-i-Mawahidin Amritsar (1873) 'M'. Islamic maktab, in 1882 merges with the Anjuman Islamia.
9. Anjuman Rifa-i-Riaya-l-Hind Delhi (1875) 'M'. Muslim Reform Association.
10. Anjuman Arabi Sarae Delhi (1875) 'J'. Medical Society Journal.
11. Anjuman Ithna Ashar Ambala (1876) 'M'. School for Shia Sayyids.
12. Anjuman Islamia Delhi (1870) 'M'. Literary activities, translations affiliated with CNMA in 1888.

Branches of the Anjuman Islamia and their activities

13. Amritsar (1882). Anglo-oriental school, Islamia unity social reforms, publications, affiliated with CNMA.
14. Gujrat (1883). Affiliated with CNMA.
15. Multan (1888). Primary School 150 members 1888.
16. Amballa (1888).
17. Abbottabad Primary school
18. Amroha Shah Bahauddin Society
19. Shahpur
20. Peshawar
21. Jhajari Rohtak Quran Maktab
22. Hissar Amir Mujid Ali
23. Rupar, Ambala Sheikh Ghulam Nabi School
24. Sialkot

25. Sinha, Gurgoan
26. Ferozepur (1887). Quran Maktab.
27. Gurdaspur Scholarships
28. Gujranwala
29. Jalapur, Gujrat (1889). Primary school
30. Hagani, Ludhiana School
31. Wazirabad (1882)
32. Jullundur (1883). School, debating club, merged with Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam.

Branches of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam

33. Lahore (1884). Girls Schools, College (1892), Islamic unity, defense against Christianity, philanthropy educational texts 807 members 1888, 1515 members, 1892.
34. Amritsar (1888). Islamic unity, defence against Christianity, school 350 members, 1888.
35. Jang (1889). School, merged with Anjuman Islamia.
36. Patiala Maulvi Qadratullah
37. Dera Ismail Khan. Hafiz Saifullah
38. Ferozepur Munshi Waliullah
39. Montgomery Munshi Muhammad Nurullah

Branches of Central National Muhammadan Association

40. Lahore (1884). Raja Jahandad Khan, Muharram Ali Chishti membership include 6 editors 169 members, 1888.
41. Amballa (1886). Assists in education 90 members, 1888.
42. Ludhiana (1888).
43. Hissar. 54 members, 1884.
44. Anjuman Taid Islam Amritsar (1884) 'M'. Managed by Ahli-Hadith school, 100 members, 1884.
45. Anjuman Madrasa Islamia Gujrat (1883), 'M'. Managed by Ahl-i-Hadith School.
46. Anjuman Miran Jullundar (1880), 'M'. For the Mir Community, scholarships, 135 members, 1888.
47. Anjuman Hamdardi Islamia Lahore (1881) 'M'. Managed by the Ahl-i-Hadith.
48. Anjuman Hamdardi Islamia Amritsar 'M'. Lectures, petitions to the government.
49. Anjuman Islah Zamindaran Bagbanpura (1883) 'M'. Zamindar's reforms society, issue of indebtedness, scholarships memorials, Miyan Nizam-ud-Din.
50. Anjuman City School Bannu (1884) 'M'. School for elite.
51. Medical Club Lahore (1885) 'J'. 35 members, 1888.
52. Indian Association Lahore (1883) 'J'. A National Association to guide public opinion started 1877, Muslim join 1883 begin to leave 1885.
53. Muhammadan Union Club Lahore (1886) 'M'. Lawyers association 20 members 1886.

54. Anjuman Numania Lahore (1888) 'M'. Restored Mosque Hanfi School, scholarships, lectures, journal (1889) 318, members, 1888.
55. Anjuman Ghamkhar Islam Jullundar (1888) 'M'. Islamic unity support for Govt. philanthropy, technical and religious education.
56. Dress Reform Society Gujrat (1888) 'M'. Change dress of Muslims to economise 30 members 1888.
57. Majlis Anwar Muhammadin Amritsar 'M'. Organization of Imams
58. Anjuman Islahi Amritsar 'M'.
59. Union Council Amritsar 'J' Lawyers association.
60. Himalyan Union Club 'J'. Scientific, primarily astronomy, muslim left when Islam insulted.
61. Anjuman Hamdardi Jivanat Patiala 'M'. Haji Ghulam Muhammad
62. Anjuman Khadam Islam Delhi 'M'.
63. Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam Simla 'M'. School.
64. Anjuman Hazara, Hazara (1883) 'J'. Raja Jahandad Khan, Memorial to the education commission.
65. Anjuman Hami-i-Qaum Kapurthala (1888) 'M'. Reading room night school.
66. Anjuman Hami-i-Qaum Jullundur (1889) 'M'. Literary, social, moral reforms, journal (Muhazzab Qaum).
67. Anjuman-i-Muhammadiya Lahore (1888) 'M'. To select a delegate to the Indian National Congress.
68. Anjuman Rifah Islam Lahore (1889) 'M'. Advancement of the Muslim Community.
69. Anjuman Rafah-i-Am Amballa (1884) 'J'
70. Anjuman Rafah-i-Am Ludhiana (1882) 'J'. Journal, 80 member, 1884.
71. Majlis-i-Akhaqia Amritsar (1882) 'M'. Social reform.
72. Majlis Islamia Lahore 'M'. Memorial to Education Commission.
73. Majlis Islamia Ludhiana 'M'.
74. Anjuman Mufid-i-Am Ludhiana (1884)'M'. Greeted Sir Syed on his tour of the Punjab.
75. Muawanat-i-Urdu Amritsar (1882) 'J'. Promotion of Urdu Language.
76. Anjuman Akhwan-us-Sufa Gujrat (1882) 'M'. Memorial to Education Commission.
77. Anjuman Akhwan-us-Sufa Gujrat (1882) 'M'. Memorial to education commission.
78. Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Urdu Gurdaspur (1882) 'J'. Memorial to preserve the states of Urdu.
79. Anjuman Faizan-i-Am Gujranwala (1886) 'M' Memorial to public service commission
80. Anjuman Ittihadia Amritsar (1884) 'M'. Union of Muslim Sects.
81. Anjuman-i-Ahsan-ul-Akhlaq Lahore (1886) 'M'. Social reform
82. Anjuman Peshawar, Peshawar (1880) 'J'. Persian Journal
83. United Indian patriotic Association Aligarh (1888) 'J' Political Society opposed to the Indian National Congress.

Source: Edward D. Churchill JR, *Muslim Societies of the Punjab, 1860 – 1890* in the Punjab Past and Present Vol.VII, No.15, April, 1974, pp.86-99.

Appendix II

Letter by F.H. Puckle Chief Sectary of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab on the latest situation of Shaheed Ganj Movement

PUNJAB CIVIL SECRETARIAT,

No. C.6(6)-21-S.B.

Dated Simla-E., the 11th September, 1935

Subject: - Shahidganj Agitation

Dear Sir,

I am desired to enclose, for your information, an appreciation of the Shahidganj agitation prepared in the light of the decisions which were recently arrived at by the Muslim conference which met in Rawalpindi on the 31st August and 1st September 1935. You will notice that this conference definitely adopted civil disobedience as a means of regaining possession of the site of the Shahidganj Mosque. That this decision is definite has lately been made clear by a statement issued to the press by the Secretary, Muslim Shahidganj Conference, in which he announces that the report that the adoption of civil disobedience is postponed is incorrect. The conference unanimously accepted civil disobedience as the method of achieving their object and only left the announcement of the date of commencement in the hands of the Dictator. The announcement is apparently to be made on Shahidganj Day on the 20th September 1935. In pursuance of this resolution, decisions were taken to raise volunteers, to organise centres throughout the province, to carry on propaganda everywhere and to make the demonstrations on the 20th September a resounding success. This programme is intended to produce scene measure of organisation among Muslims, without which no civil disobedience movement is likely to achieve any measures of success. Muslim opinion is by no means unanimous about the desirability of civil disobedience; but there is no doubt that the resolutions of the Rawalpindi Conference were not intended as a mere threat; those who are at the back of this movement will spare no efforts to translate their words into action. They hope to rouse popular feeling on a religious issue and in particular to enlist the support of the religious leaders.

2. As far as the Shahidganj affair is concerned, the Muslim community may be divided into three classes. There is a considerable body of moderate men, gradually prone to look to Government as the Chief

protector of their community, who, though they are genuinely distressed by the demolition of the Mosque and are not convinced that Government could not have done more to protect it, still do not wish their community to be drawn into a conflict with Government. There are the Muslim masses who are in a resentful and puzzled mood, a state of mind which provides very suitable ground in which seeds of trouble may be sown. Thirdly, there is a group of agitators, who are quite determined that the agitation shall not be allowed to drop. Their motives are various; some of them wish to sell their papers; others have political careers which they hope to improve by appearing as the champions of Islam; others are men the breath of whose life is agitation of some form or other, and perhaps one or two are genuine religious fanatics. Whether civil disobedience is started or not, this third group has made it clear that they will not permit the agitation to die down; it is not indeed in their interests to do so. They will continue through the press and through public meetings to keep interest alive and they will do their best to spread the agitation into rural areas where the people are at present more or less uninterested. This band of men constitutes a serious menace to the peace not only of the Punjab but also the North-West Frontier Province. They have already succeeded in infecting the tribes on the border of the Hazara District. The recent raids and gatherings of lashkars there were largely due to propaganda emanating from the Punjab, and the openly professed object of the raids has been the killing of non-Muslims and the destruction of their property and religious buildings. Government have decided that the time has come to curtail their activities.

3. Government intend therefore within the next few days to intern about a dozen of those persons in various places in the province. Orders have been issued to the Superintendents of Police of the districts concerned and your Superintendent of Police will have informed you whether any resident of your district is among those who will be interned, and also whether the place of internment selected for any of them lies within your district.

4. You may make this action to indicate that Government intend to use all the forces at their command to combat this threat of civil disobedience. In the interests of the peace of the province as well as in the best interests of the Muslim community. It is out of the question to allow the situation to develop into what may be something very dangerous indeed, without taking steps to stop it in its early stages. For the present government do not intend to take action against Pir Jamaat Ali Shah, who has been appointed Director or Amir-i-Shariat. They prefer in the first instance to attempt to detach him from the movement or to isolate him by taking his chief lieutenants rather than to place him under restriction. However, if he insists on following up his declared intention and brings himself within the mischief of the law, Government will have to consider taking action against him. The measures which government are adopting may create excitement with accompanying disorderly demonstrations; you will of course be prepared for that. In addition to interning prominent agitators, Government propose to enforce the Press Act rigorously and to proceed against persons who make inflammatory speeches. I am to ask you to watch your local press carefully and report direct to government, with a copy to your commissioner, articles

which seem to you to offend against the Press law. You should also report direct to government, with a copy to the Commissioner, specialities on which in your opinion action should be taken. I am also to ask you to look out for and to report at once any touring by agitators in villages and any attempts which may come to your notice to enlist the support of Pirs and Sajjada Nashins of your district in this agitation and any signs that they are contemplating taking an active part.

5. As you are aware, the 20th of September has been fixed as 'Shahidganj Day' and it is on this day that the date for civil disobedience is to be announced. Government does not desire that demonstrations on the 20th September should be interfered with unless they seem likely to cause a breach of the peace either in the form of serious anti-Government demonstrations or in the form of communal disturbances. In the matter of licensing processions you should adhere to the practice which normally obtains in your district. If meetings are held, arrangements should be made to report speeches. Generally, subject of course to your primary duty of preventing a breach of the peace, your policy on the 20th September should be to avoid a clash with Muslim demonstrators.

6. A particular grievance of the Muslim community is the fact that in six districts of the Punjab swords are still subject to the restrictions of the Arms Act. The Hindu community has of course the same complaint, though they have not been so vocal about it. In the other 23 districts swords are exempted from the restrictions imposed by Sections 13 and 15 of the Arms Act. The position is anomalous, because in these six districts kirpans are exempted from any restriction, and in effect that means that a Sikh may carry a sword, while a Muslim or a Hindu may not. Experience in the rest of the province has shown that the removal of the restrictions on swords has in fact had no untoward effect. The use of swords for the purpose of committing violent crime has not increased to any perceptible degree since restrictions on the possession and carrying of swords were removed. Government have decided to remove the restrictions in the remaining six districts, and, with the sanction of the Government of India, a notification to this effect will issue shortly. Their reasons for this action are twofold. In the first place, Government feel that Muslims have a genuine grievance in this respect; and, while it is their intention to deal firmly with unlawful movements, it is equally their policy to remove genuine grievances where they exist. Second, they feel that the anomalies of the present situation of the opportunity of civil disobedience on an issue unfavourable to Government, and they consider it desirable to remove it from the field of controversy, before issue is joined on other matters. Incidentally, the present decisions of Government will have the effect of solving, for the future, the question which is at present uncertain, whether a Sikh is permitted to carry more than one kirpan.

7. Government desire that district officers should discuss freely with responsible Muslims the events that have led to the present situation; the mischievous activities of agitators which have made necessary action against them; the duty and determination of Government to employ all its

forces against a movement which, if unchecked, must bring disaster to the province; and the dangers to the Muslim community as a whole with which this movement is fraught. Government have some reason to suppose that agitation has obscured and confessed the facts connected with the Shahidganj. They have noticed a tendency for Muslims to assume that Government handed over to the Sikhs a building to which they had no right. The fact is, of course, that the Sikhs have been in undisturbed possession for 170 years, that their rights have been recognized by the civil courts, and that the Gurdwara Tribunal declared that the place had long ceased to be sacred. The memorandum attached to my letter of the 3rd of August, 1935, gives the relevant facts, and it is most important that no efforts should be spared to prevent their perversion. It is equally desirable that Muslims should face squarely the issues raised by the demand that the site should be restored to them. They are free to pursue in the courts any legal remedy which they may have; but so far as Government are aware, there is little, if any, hope of their success in this direction. Another course available to them is to persuade the Sikhs to hand the site over; but there does not appear to be the slightest prospect that Sikhs will agree to this. In fact, their attitude has hardened as Muslim agitation has become more unreasonable. Any other course must bring Muslims into conflict with Government, with the decisions of the civil courts and with the rights of another community. The more this is brought home to reasonable Muslims, the better. Again, too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that this agitation is most strongly opposed to the real interests of the Muslim community. In a little more than a year, the new constitution will come into effect. Under it, Muslims have much to gain; but, if they engage in a fight with Government and other communities, they will seriously jeopardize the advantages, which they would otherwise possess. These and other arguments which will suggest themselves to district officers, should be freely used. In particular, opportunity should be taken of reassuring the religious leaders that Government have made no departure from the accepted policy in religious matters, and that they have no intention of doing so. Islam has not been, and is not in danger, and the attempts of interested agitators to show the contrary are purely mischievous. It is their activities which constitute the danger to the community; and, quite apart from the paramount duty of Government to maintain law and order, they would be acting contrary to the interests of Muslims themselves, if they failed to take every measure to deal with civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,
F.H. PUCKLE

To

All Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.
No. C.C.(6)21-S.B., Dated Simla-E., The 11th September, 1935.
Copy forwarded to all Commissioners of Divisions in the Punjab, Deputy
Inspectors General of Police and Superintendents of Police, for
information.

F.H. PUCKLE
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

Source: Microfilm Acc. No.3078 National Documentation Centre
Islamabad.

Appendix III

Members of the Working Committee and Parliamentary Board of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat

It was formed by a group of mainly Punjabi leaders of the second and third rank on 30 July 1935 at a meeting held in the office of the *Zamindar* in Lahore. The principal goal was to agitate for the Shahidgunj issue. There are two versions of the first office bearers. According to one, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan was elected president and Sayyid Habib (of the *Siasat* newspaper) general secretary, but as Zafar Ali Khan did not like Habib the latter was soon replaced by Malik Lal Khan, with the result that Habib left the party and in fact became one of its major critics. According to the second, the presidentship went to Malik Muhammad Din Chairman, Lahore Municipality), Vice Presidentship to Malik Lal Din Qaisar, General Secretaryship to Muhammad Daud Ghuznawi, and the Treasurership to the Muslim Bank.

Its Working Committee was:

Chaudhri Ghulam Haider Khan	(Zafar Ali Khan's Brother)
Akhtar Ali Khan	(Zafar Ali Khan's son)
Azhar Amritsari	(editor of <i>Zamindar</i>)
Mian Ferozuddin	
Yasubul Hasan	
Abu Saeed Anwar	
Shorash Kashmiri	
Abdul Qadir Qasuri	
Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Alam	
Malik Lal Khan	(General Secretary)

Its Parliamentary Board, appointed on 16 September 1936, consisted of:

Shaikh Sadiq Hasan (Amritsar)
Zafar Ali Khan (Lahore)
Abdul Qadir Qasuri
Dr. Muhammad Alam (Lahore)
Muhammad Ishaq (Mansehra)
Sayyid Zainul Abidin (Multan)
Chaudhri Ghulam Hasan
Dr. Muhammad Nawaz
Malik Ali Bahadur (Hafizabad)
Malik Lal Khan (Gujranwala)
Malik Lal Din Qaisar (Lahore)
Mian Ferozuddin Ahmad

Zahiruddin (Ambala)
Sayyid Azmat Ali Warsi (Karmal)
Sayyid Diwan Ali Shah (Lyallpur)
Ghulam Muhayyuddin Ahmad
Raja Abdur Rahman (Rawalpindi)
Sheikh Abdur Rahman (Taran Taran)
Professor Malik Inayatullah
Khan Muhammad Nawaz (Ferozepur)
Pirzada Abdul Hamid (Jullundher)
Malik Nasrullah Khan Aziz (Lahore)
Comrade Yaqubul Hasan

At the most the majlis, also known as the Blue Shirts (Niliposh in Urdu) after the colour of the uniform of its volunteer force, could be called a pressure group, inspired by Zafar Ali Khan and exploited by him to his personal and even monetary advantage. Within a few months of its birth it was given into factions. It had some emotional appeal, a weakness in all Muslim parties, but no intellectual content or political influence.

Source: K.K. Aziz eds. Public life in Muslim India 1850-1947, Lahore, 1992, pp. 147-148

Appendix IV

The Proceedings of the Meeting between the Members of the Central Legislature and Viceroy and his Team

Strictly Confidential

Proceedings of a meeting held at Viceregal Lodge on September 27, 1935.

His Excellency the Viceroy, who was accompanied by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab and the Honourable the Home Member met the following members of the Central Legislature to discuss certain matters connected with the Shahidganj affairs:

1. Mr. K.L. Gauba
2. Maulana Shaukat Ali
3. Syed Murtaza
4. Dr. Zia-uddin Ahmed
5. Mr. Ghulam Bhik Narang.
6. Syed Abdul Hafiz

Messrs Puckel and Sloan were also present.

His Excellency the Viceroy after expressing his pleasure at having the opportunity of meeting the deputation impressed on them the entirely confidential nature of the proceedings to which all the members of the deputation assented.

Mr. Gauba in opening the discussion explained that the deputation wished to avoid all past matters of controversy and to concentrate on practical proposals which they hoped would provide a solution of the present difficulty situation.

His Excellency the Governor referred to the last paragraph of the memorandum which the deputation had submitted in which two alternative courses of action were contemplated namely, a settlement with the Sikhs or the institution of civil proceedings. He assumed that what the deputation would expect was that, in the event of a settlement being reached or in the alternative in the event of the Muslims deciding to institute proceedings in the Courts, the Punjab Government would then proceed to take action on such of the proposals as were within their power, such as release of prisoners etc. and cancellation of forfeitures. He presumed that the deputation would not expect his government to act in the vague hope of some settlement being reached or in anticipation of agitation being stopped

and proceedings in the courts instituted.

Mr. Ganba said that in their view the trouble had two aspects - one anti-Government, the other anti-Sikh. They wished to deal with each separately. Their trouble with the Sikhs they would solve either by an agreed settlement or in the courts. But they wished Government to help them to solve the other trouble by giving certain concessions and they would then go out and use their influence to stop the anti-Government agitation.

His Excellency the Viceroy asked whether the deputation wished the Punjab Government to take action irrespective of any settlement with the Sikhs, and Dr. Zia-uddin Ahmed said they wished to create an atmosphere suitable for a general settlement, Maulana Shaukat Ali explained that the deputation proposed to go to Lahore and try to soothe Muslim feelings, while Mr. Gauba hoped that if government accepted their proposals accusations against Government for responsibility of the demolition of the mosque etc. would cease.

His Excellency the Governor then asked what assurance Government had that the deputation would succeed in their mission. He reminded them that only a fortnight had passed since Government had taken action against certain papers and leading agitators; up till then there was no sign whatever of the agitation stopping, but if and when Government had evidence that the agitation had ceased and such cessation must include anti-Sikh and anti-Hindu as well as anti-Government agitation - the Government would respond at once. Government were just as anxious as the members of the deputation for a complete cessation of the agitation.

Maulana Shaukat Ali thought Government were asking for a great deal. The Muslims wanted peace with Government and then they would try to settle with the Sikhs even if they had to go on their knees to them.

His Excellency the Viceroy asked if government were to do all this for the Muslims without any guarantee that the deputation could secure peace and he further asked the deputation to consider the effect on the Sikhs of such action by Government.

Mr. Gauba then revealed that he had already communicated the contents of the memorandum to the press, so that his community might know the proposals made and concentrate their attention on them. Other members of the deputation dissented from Mr. Gauba's action in communicating the proposals to the Press.

His Excellency the Governor again impressed on the deputation his anxiety for the restoration of friendly relations with the Muslims and that if the agitation was stopped he would give effect to such of the proposals as were within his power.

Mr. Ghulam Bhik Narang said they were very anxious for peace with

Government and that release of prisoners and internees would make a good atmosphere for achieving that end.

His Excellency the Governor then stated that Government would have no objection to the deputation letting it be known that if all agitation stopped Government would take such action as they could.

Honourable the Home Member observed that without cessation of agitation there was little hope of settlement with the Sikhs.

His Excellency the Governor again pointed out that Government could take action with regard to prisoners, internees, and the papers, and would do so as soon as they were certain of the stoppage of agitation, but that they could not act merely on the vague hope of such stoppage. He reminded the deputation that the connections already made in regard to the Chirag Shah Mosque and swords had produced no effect.

Mr. Gauba then asked a question which he said the man in the street would want answered—pending litigation will the Sikhs be allowed to build on the site of the mosque?

His Excellency the Governor wanted the deputation to understand the position of Government and what they could and could not do. He reminded them that the mosque had been in the possession of the Sikhs for 170 years, that there had been four civil cases about it, and that in all four Muslims had been unsuccessful. The last case was only in 1930 and in that case the Muslims had not appealed to the High Court against the decision of the Gurdwara Tribunal. Government were confronted with the position that the courts had held that the place was not sword and that it had been used for private purposes at any rate since 1852. He pointed out the difficulty in which Government will be placed if the Sikhs apply to the Executive Officer for permission to build and suggested that the best course for the Muslims was to apply to the Courts for an injunction against such building and he assured the deputation that if the Muslims such an injunction Government would see that it was obeyed.

The various proposals were then considered Seriatim;

(a) Release of prisoners:

His Excellency the Governor repeated that this must follow and not precede stoppage of agitation, and that it would include all prisoners except those convicted of murderous assaults on Sikhs (the deputation agreed to this exception). He also added that 110 out of 123 under-trial prisoners had already been released on expressing regret.

(b) Compensation to persons injured and to families of persons killed.

Honourable the Home Member explained that it is a matter of definite policy of the Government of India, approved by the Secretary of State, that compensation can not be given from Government funds in such cases. But

His Excellency might give a donation to any relief fund from funds at his disposal for charitable purposes.

Mr. Gauba referred to the Amritsar precedent and Honourable the Home Member explained what had happened in that case, namely, that Government had paid in anticipation of the realisation of the amounts under section 15 of the Police Act and two years later had accepted a resolution of the Punjab Legislative Council that amounts not realised should be remitted.

His Excellency the Viceroy observed that he would like to see a more liberal response to a relief fund before he gave a donation.

(c) The maintenance of the status quo at the site of the mosque pending legal proceedings.

His Excellency the Governor reminded the deputation of what he had previously said about the legal position but promised to use all his influence with the Sikhs not to attempt to build, as indeed he had already been doing. He also repeated his assurance that if the Muslims obtained an injunction Government would see that it has obeyed.

d) Government should use all possible efforts to recover the site of the tomb and hand it over to Muslims, and also the site of the mosque.

His Excellency the Governor thought that Muslims probably had a better claim in regard to the tomb than in regard to the mosque. He understood that certain Mujawas had put in claims (i) for possession of the tomb, and (ii) for the right of celebrating Urs at the tomb, and their claims had been dismissed by the Gurdwara Tribunal, the first one on the ground that they had failed to establish any connection with the person buried in the tomb, and the second on the ground that they failed to prove any right of celebration. He also understood that some Mujawas had been lighting lamps on the tomb every Thursday night up till a few weeks before the beginning of the dispute, which indeed had originated from the closure by the Sikhs of the gap in the wall by which the Mujawas gained access to the tomb. He advised the deputation that the best Muslim lawyers should consider what remedy the Muslims had and then file a suit. If the Muslims obtained a decree, Government would see that it was executed. He also reminded the deputation that some Sikhs were being prosecuted for desecrating the tomb. The prosecution might fail for lack of evidence and Muslims would be well advised to file a suit as soon as possible. Even if the prosecution failed, he thought Government would be able to prevent any further desecration of the tomb, but he could give no absolute guarantee on that point. In any case they would use their influence with the Sikhs to stop any further desecration.

In regards the site of the mosque His Excellency the Governor stated that he saw no chance whatever the Sikhs agreeing to hand back this to the Muslims. He had already used all the influence he could in this matter. He

had done his best to stop demolition and would have succeeded if excitement had not increased and the extreme element gained the upper hand. After demolition he and members of the Punjab Legislative Council had again tried to reach a settlement and that was again just defeated. The terms then proposed were that Sikhs should (1) enclose the site, (2) should not build on it, and (3) should not use it for a purpose offensive on since by the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar. The Sikh position is that they will not concede anything under a threat of force. They will not agree to restore the site, but if the agitation ceased, they might agree to a settlement on the terms stated above. But the position is at present complicated by the existence of two parties of Sikhs and by approaching elections to the S.G.P.C. Committee. The greatest stumbling block to any settlement is agitation.

His Excellency the Governor further advised the deputation that they should not commit themselves to any statement that nothing less than restoration will satisfy them, because the Sikhs are not in the least likely to agree to that. In reply to suggestions by Mr. Gauba he also pointed out that section 145 C.P.C. could not be used and that the use of section 144 C.P.C. even if it were not open to other objections would provide only a temporary solution and might make the final position more difficult. He had already advised the deputation to apply for an injunction at once but on reconsideration he thought that might be unwise and that the best course would be to wait until the Sikhs put in an application for permission to build. That did not affect his advice in regard to the immediate institution of a suit regarding the tomb.

e) Legislation to be introduced to protect mosques, etc. from claims on ground of adverse possession.

Mr. Gauba explained that such legislation would not be retrospective and he agreed that it should apply to all sacred buildings.

Honourable the some Member said that if the deputation which agreed that this legislation should be central and that it should not apply to prayer platforms or to sacred buildings which formed encroachment on public roads or Government land - would have a Bill drafted Government would consider it.

f) Cancellation of orders of forfeiture against certain papers.

This point was not discussed further as His Excellency the Governor's previous statements had covered it. But His Excellency the Governor took the opportunity of saying that abandonment of agitation must be complete and must include economic boycott and that if prisoners were released, Sikh prisoners as well as Muslims would be included. Most members of the deputation agreed with His Excellency that this boycott was impolitic and could lead to no good.

The meeting closed with the usual expression of thanks.

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Appendix V

Memorandum for the settlement of the Shahidganj dispute made by the Committee appointed by the Muslim Members of the Central Legislature.

1. The Muslim Member of the Central Legislature are grateful to his excellency the Viceroy for sparing the time to receive and hear a deputation in connection with the Shahidganj dispute.
2. The Shahidganj matter, as the Government of India is no doubt are, is no longer a question confined to the city of Lahore, but one in which the whole Muslim world of India is vitally interested and in regard to which many sections of the community are prepared for the highest sacrifice.
3. The Muslim members of the Central Legislature, accordingly, therefore, at a large and representative gathering, decided to appoint a committee and to ask His Excellency the Viceroy to receive a deputation for the purpose of bringing about an amicable settlement of the dispute. This proposal, we are glad to say, met with the approval of Hazrat Amir Millat Pir Jamaat Ali Shah Saheb, who telegraphed his authority to Mr. K.L. Gauba.
4. The Muslim members of the Central Legislature do not desire, at this stage, to enter into the merits of the controversy about the demolition of the mosque (though they feel constrained to say that even it be conceded that the Sikha had rightful title to the property, the willful destruction of the mosque is indefensible, both legally and morally and would like to confine themselves to proposals whereby the dispute may be amicably settled. This matter has received our serious and anxious consideration. We are unanimously of the opinion that Government should accept the following suggestions as the basis of the settlement of the dispute between the Government and Muslims. In this connection it may be added that the proposals have been confined to such matters as are eminently practical and which Government should have no difficulty or hesitation in accepting:
 - (a) The release of all prisoner not guilty of violence, as also the release of all persons interned.
 - (b) The grant of suitable relief to the families of persons killed and seriously wounded. In this connection the appointment of a representative committee predominantly non-official, would be generally acceptable to Muslim opinion.

- (c) The maintenance of the status quo at the site of the mosque pending legal proceedings which the Muslims in Lahore have instituted or are about to institute. Further, Government ought to assure Muslims that they will in no circumstances permit any structure to be erected on the land in question as this would prove a constant source of friction between the two communities.
- (d) As to the tomb in respect of which no claim adverse possession is seriously tenable, Government should use all possible efforts to recover the site and hand it over to the Muslims. As regards the site of the mosque, where adverse possession is claimed, Government should use all efforts at persuasion of the leaders of the Sikh community to part with the property, and if necessary, at reasonable price to be paid by Muslims.
- (e) Government to introduce legislation, or accord facilities to a private member for a Bill, whereby adverse possession in respect of a mosque or the property of a Waqf, can never be claimed in future.
- (f) Cancellation of the orders of forfeiture of the securities of the Ahsan, Zamindar and Siyasat newspapers for articles and notes published in connection with the Shahidganj matter.

In return for the settlement of these grievances on the lines above mentioned, the Muslims members of the Central Legislature would advise the community to finally abandon the proposal to adopt Civil Disobedience as a means of recovery of the mosque. And with the settlement of these matters, the dispute, so far as Government and Muslims are concerned, will be considered as closed and the Muslim community will confine its efforts to the recovery of the site of the mosque by negotiation or as a last resort by means of legal proceedings against the Sikhs. The Committee is already in contact with the leaders of the Sikh community with a view to bringing about an amicable and friendly solution of the problem with that community.

Simla, September 27, 1935

1. K.L. Gauba
2. Shaukat Ali
3. Syed Murtaza
4. Abdullah Haroon
5. Zia Uddin Ahmad
6. Ghulam Bhik Sairang
7. Syed Abdul Hafeez
8. A.K. Fazlul Haq
9. Abdul Matin Chaudhry

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