

## **Economic Change and Community Relations in Lahore before Partition**

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The city of Lahore had become one of the most important commercial and industrial centres in the Punjab by the end of British rule. Although Muslims constituted the majority of the population, it was, however, the Hindus and Sikhs who largely controlled economic activity in the city. Any territorial division of the province was likely to be grim not only for community relations but also for the city's continued prosperity. Based on archival material, this paper firstly, seeks to explain Lahore's colonial growth by demonstrating the ways in which the city's urbanisation was stimulated by the development of civil lines, cantonment areas and migration, along with the ways in which its strategic location, boosted by the development of railways, assisted in its rise. It then looks at the impact of these structural changes and urban developments on the experiences of people and practices of trade and employment. Secondly, it outlines the role Hindu and Sikh trading classes were playing in the city's socio-economic life on the eve of Partition. Finally, it assesses community relations in pre-1947 Lahore, assessing to what extent the strains of rapid urbanisation and improved means of communication impacted on religious harmony and how the growth of reformist and revivalist organisations sharpened religious identities.

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### **Lahore's Colonial Development**

Lahore's colonial urban development has been the focus of a number of recent studies.<sup>1</sup> These reveal both its unique features and also the ways in which it was typical of other cities and towns. It is important to understand the city's development in the wider context of the impact of the British rule in India. During the colonial period, some cities lost their importance, often their city status along with it, and others either came into being, or underwent considerable change.<sup>2</sup> In the Punjab, many modern towns and markets arose as a result of the opening up of land, which was tied in with the commercialisation of agricultural production. For example, the cities in the western part of Punjab - the so-called 'colony cities' or 'colony market towns' - were of this type.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, new garrisons and civil lines were built at a certain distance from the 'old city', or the 'walled city'. Thus within the limits of a single area, two cities would seemingly spring up - the old and the new.<sup>4</sup>

The processes of urbanisation restructured the city of Lahore's layout and appearance. Its urbanisation was stimulated by the development of civil lines, cantonment areas, railways and migration. In 1861 a modern Lahore 'Civil Station' for the small European population was built about a half mile to the

north-west of the old city. This was followed by a mixture of residential and commercial housing of the 'Civil Lines'. With the arrival of the Christian missionaries, educational institutions, medical missions, and churches were built along with a number of new public buildings of the district courts, treasury, jail, and police lines. Alongside these new developments, commercial establishments were also erected over time. Beyond the civil lines to the east, a large military cantonment, a zone of some 1,312 square miles, was built with modern sophistication. In the early 1880s, the railways in Lahore had acquired massive amounts of land along the Mughal Pura area, settling up the Naulakha area for the railway employees' colonies, including the posh Mayo Gardens. In 1892, over 4,000 men who found regular work in the Railway Workshops lived there.<sup>5</sup> Most of these employees had been drawn to the city in the hope of finding employment.

The opening of the King Edward Memorial Project in 1913 involved the construction of twelve imposing buildings, and the important new scheme for the Lahore Civil Secretariat, estimated to cost Rs 1,150,000, began a year later, aimed at collecting in one place the various public offices, accelerated these processes.<sup>6</sup> The establishment of new patterns of both administrative and residential zones resulted in the re-structuring of Lahore's spatial layout and design. The impact of city's construction on local trade and employment was considerable. The extended construction work created a high demand for labour and a large number of 'immigrants' poured into the city in search of work. This was especially important in increasing economic mobility, technical skills, and capital of the local artisan groups. Those who benefited most from these developments were the Muslim artisan castes of *Lohars* and *Tarkhans*, along with the Sikh *Ramgarhias*, who possessed similar metalworking and carpentry skills. A 1917 government survey of the urban wages of 'all classes of labour' in Lahore showed that the 'skilled workers' were receiving more than three times the wages they had been getting a decade earlier. The '*mistri*' classes were drawing 18 rupees monthly, while the average increase was over 23 percent in the period between 1912 and 1917, as the table below reveals. At the same, the price of commodities also trebled in that period.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 1: Urban wage increase in the city of Lahore, from 1912 to 1917**

Class of Labourers	Percentage Increase
Workers in Iron and Hardware	+25
Workers in Brass, Copper, Base Metal	+25
Carpenters	+13
Masons and Builders	+25
Unskilled Labourers	+29
Average	+23.4

Lahore's rapid urbanisation was intrinsically linked with the strong European presence in the Cantonment areas, Civil Lines, New Mozang, and the

Naulakha area. In 1875, the European population in the city exceeded over 1,700. With the settlement of the European population, the urban population experienced enormous social and urban change. The upper classes, specifically upper caste Hindus and Sikhs of the inner city became the beneficiaries of the new amenities. Aided by their wealth and pattern of life similar to that of the Europeans, enabled them to move into the civil lines. By the 1901 census, the population of the civil lines had increased to 16,080.<sup>8</sup>

As the city grew, its economy grew too. The demands of Westerners and their styles of consumption led to a rapid growth in commodity trading and the opening up of new retail shops and grocery stores in the new urban environment. G. C. Walker, the author of *Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1893-4* trumpeted 'The city of Lahore is the first place of the province as an [sic] European trading and shopping centre. The Mall is lined with large European shops, some of which are local concerns and some branches of Calcutta and Bombay business houses'.<sup>9</sup> By the turn of the twentieth century, the cantonments, civil lines and the areas of upper Mall Road had been electrified.

The growth of the city and the demographic developments wrought profound social and economic change among its groups. It was, however, the Hindu commercial castes who took the most advantage of the newly-created urban environment. Indeed they were the first to open new shops at the Mall. The departmental stores of Janki Das and Devi Chand were the most famous at the Mall Road. Chota Lall and Dina Nath in the Anarkali bazaar were the leading shawl merchants and general cloth dealers. In Anarkali, Narain Das Bhagwan Das ran the biggest pharmacy in the city. The famous Nagina Bakery at the corner of Anarkakli and Nila Gumbad attracted a number of customers from the upper class and the European population of the city. On the eve of Partition, members of the Hindu community had monopolised the retail sector businesses, owning more than five thousand wholesale shops and grocery stores in Lahore.<sup>10</sup>

Seen from this perspective, urbanisation not only benefited the artisan community and the Hindu trading class, but provided new opportunities for castes engaged in such activities as menial work, dairy-farming and market gardening. With the spread of Christian conversion, a substantial number of the lower caste population came to Lahore in search of work. By the turn of twentieth century, the newly-converted Christians numbered over 4,000 in the city.<sup>11</sup> Many obtained menial employment in the cantonments, missionary hospitals and educational institutions. They were employed at higher salary rates than they had ever been before. As good vegetable growers, the Arains, whose district-wide population was enumerated at just over 127,000 in 1901, were the main suppliers of vegetables and fruits to the urban community.<sup>12</sup> The presence of a large European population in the city had enhanced their business; for example, the consumption of potatoes grew considerably in the civil lines and cantonment areas.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the castes engaged in such activities as those of *pashmina* shawl, leather-working and paper-making suffered severely as their older occupations died out. The principal reason for

this was the new competition, modern means of production, and the opening of new European markets. However, with the growth of Lahore, income of the dairy-farming community of Gujjurs also increased considerably. In 1921, according to a survey, total consumption of milk in the city was 350 *maunds* (54,796 lbs) and over 90 percent of the demand was supplied by 505 Muslim Gujjurs, who lived within the 12 mile radius of the city.<sup>14</sup> The demand for their dairy products enabled them to move closer to the city. The *Sheikhs* also benefited from the new development in the city and they were comparatively better off economically. They, along with the Hindus, Parsis and Jains, opened grocery shops in the Anarkali bazaar and at the Mall; for example, the well-known Rahim Bux, Norr Hussain and Company were general dealers in the Anarkali bazaar, which chiefly fulfilled the consumption requirements of the European and upper-class population of the area. There were also Parsi shops at the Mall and Anarkali bazaar and whose owners were dealers in European stores, alcohol trade and general merchandise.

**Table 2: Size of small minorities in the city of Lahore**

Census	Jains	Parsis	Budhists	Jews
1891	330	132	n/a	n/a
1901	430	188	n/a	n/a
1911	404	198	126	13
1921	474	177	n/a	n/a

The end of the First World War further speeded up the urbanisation process. A number of returning Indian soldiers moved into the city because of its modern amenities and opportunities for education. The war-time boom in trade stimulated the process of urbanisation, as a large number of labouring classes had been drawn into the city in search of work. Rapid migration of labour to the city also resulted in the construction of slums around the eastern side of the old city beyond the railways and the Ravi Bridge to Nawakot. Moreover, the richer *zamindars*, who were becoming better educated, and the absentee landowners, also moved into the city. The population of Lahore was 176,854 in 1891, tenth largest city in population size in India, and climbed to 281,781 by 1921- ranking it fifth-place.<sup>15</sup>

It is however interesting to note that the number of Muslims during the decade 1911-1921 increased by almost 20,000, while number of non-Muslims rose to about 30,000. It was through migration, rather than natural increase, which largely contributed to the substantial population growth of Lahore. By the census of 1921, Muslims constituted just over 50 percent of the population of the city and this rose to 58 percent a decade later and to over 64 percent in 1941. The rapid increase in the number of Muslims in the later years of colonial rule was mainly due to the extension of the limits of the Lahore municipality. Between 1923 and 1939 administrative area of the city grew significantly, by over 300 percent, constituting about 12.1 percent of the total population of the city.<sup>16</sup> As much as 88 percent of this 'rural portion' added

population which consisted mainly of Muslims. This unequivocal majority was to play a decisive role in any contested claim over the city's fate at Partition, although the non-Muslims controlled the economy of the city.

**Table 3: Religious composition of population in the city of Lahore**

Census	Total	Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Jains	Parsis
1881	149,369	53,641	4,627	86,413	n/a	227	n/a
1891	176,854	62,077	7,303	102,800	4,697	339	122
1901	202,964	70,196	7,023	119,601	5,558	420	166
1911	228,714	77,267	12,877	129,301	8,463	467	196
1921	257,295	91,544	11,766	140,708	8,808	474	177
1931	429,747	129,125	23,477	249,315	16,875	791	300

**The contribution of Hindus and Sikhs in the commercial activity of Lahore**

The trade and commerce of the city was mainly in the hands of the non-Muslims. This is apparent from the figures in Table 4 below which show the differential payment of tax on the sale of goods and urban property.

**Table 4: Amounts (in rupees) of various taxes paid by Muslims and non-Muslims in city of Lahore, 1946-7**

Taxes	Non-Muslims	Muslims	Difference (%)
Sales Tax	519,303	66,323	88/12
Urban Property Tax	940,248	406,747	70/30
House Tax	699,383	435,530	60/40

There has been considerable research on the under-representation of Muslims in trade and industry in contrast to the Hindus' exploitation of new opportunities for economic advancement.<sup>17</sup> Lahore's Hindus dominated the retail and wholesale trades, and controlled the industrial sector. The industrial and commercial enterprise of this trading class had built up a large number of factories, workshops and commercial institutions involving larger capital in various areas. A 1943-4 survey of the *Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry* enumerated non-Muslim shops in the city at 5,332, compared with 3,501 owned by the Muslims.<sup>18</sup> Most of the shops in the Anarkali bazaar and at the Mall Road, as well as in older commercial areas in the inner city such as Delhi Gate, Akbari Mandi, Kishera bazaar, Chuna Mandi and Rang Mahal and around the Shah Almi gate were in non-Muslim hands. A similar pattern also existed in factory ownership in Lahore, as the survey of the *Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry* reveals. There were 218 registered factories in the city owned by 'Indians'; out of these as many as 173, or 80 percent, were owned by

non-Muslims. The total fixed and working capital invested in these factories amounted to Rs 60.05 million in the period 1943-4. The share of the non-Muslims in this total amounted to Rs 40.88 million - about 80 percent of the total investment.<sup>19</sup>

Most manufacturing involved the processing of agricultural products. There were cotton-ginning, rice-husking, and oil-milling factories and these were owned mainly by the Hindus and Sikhs. The most important were the Punjab Oil and Punjab Flour Mills, which were set up in 1881. Eight factories, dealing with cotton spinning and weaving, were working in the city. The most important included the Mela Ram Cotton Mill and the Punjab Textile Mill at the Ravi Road. The Mela Ram Cotton Mill was set up in 1898 and had its own ginning, spinning, weaving, bleaching as well as dyeing mechanism. The average monthly output during the war was about Rs 400,000 yards of cloth. The annual value of the sales of the mill during the war was about Rs 7,200,000 - two and half times more than the pre-war level. In 1946, the mill was equipped with 16,670 spindles and 150 looms and its ginning factory was fitted with 48 ginning machines. The total value of the mill was estimated Rs 900,000 in 1945-6.<sup>20</sup>

The data on the ownership of the banking sector illustrate a similar pattern, as the table 5 below shows. For example, out of 97 banking offices in the city, only seven were run by Muslims. Although these banking offices had a working capital of over 100 million of rupees but out of this total, the Muslim share was only about half a million of rupees. Some big banks had many branches in the city; for example the National Bank of Lahore had seven branches in the different areas of the city, and the Australasia Bank, Hindustan Commercial Bank and Commercial Bank of India had three branches each in the city. The Alliance Bank of Simla had opened two branches in the city, one in the civil lines and other in the cantonment. The Lahore Central Co-operative Bank Limited was at the forefront of providing loans to the industrial class of the city. The Lahore Mortgage Bank Limited considerably impacted the financing of business of traditional Hindu *Banias* in the city, as the bank offered discounted interest rates.

Similar patterns of ownership existed in other sectors. For example, out of the 80 insurance company offices in the city only two out of these were managed by Muslims. The most important included the Mahalaxmi Insurance Company and Sunlight Insurance.

**Table 5: Ownership pattern in corporation property in Lahore, 1946-47**

Corporation Property	Total	Non-Muslim Owned	Muslim Owned
Banks	97	90	7
Registered Factories	218	173	45
Insurance Companies	80	78	2
Shops	8,833	5,332	3,501

Though the modern banking system affected business of the money-lenders, it was, however, the Hindu commercial castes that largely owned and controlled most of the city's banking system and insurance companies; so the banking sector was badly hit when they migrated in 1947. The minorities' dominance in all commercial sectors was by no means unique to Lahore. Timor Kuran has adequately shown the 'underperformance of Muslims' in terms of trade and commerce in the cities of Istanbul, Cairo and Beirut, in comparison to local Christians and Jews.<sup>21</sup> The minority community's importance in the economic life of Lahore meant that the city's fate was contested in any division of the Punjab. In the presence of these large economic stacks, the representatives of Hindus and Sikhs pleaded to the commission of the Punjab Boundary Award to include Lahore within India. The claim on the territory was however decided on a majority number, rather communities' dominant role in the economy.

As statistics reveal, Muslims of Lahore, as elsewhere in the Punjab, were economically deprived and less wealthy than the Hindus and Sikhs who controlled the city's business life. Very few of the leading bankers, industrialists and traders were Muslim; they were mostly artisans, labourers, small traders in dairy products and vegetables, as well as weavers of shawl, craft and carpet industries. The Muslim upper-class families of Lahore comprised the Sayads, Qizilbash and Mian of Baghbanpura. Members of these groups advanced through education and government jobs. The Arians, Pathans, Gujjurs and Kashmiris however dominated the Muslim population, as is evidenced in Table 6. A large number of the latter migrated to the city in the period of 1878–79 when a severe famine in Kashmir forced them to leave for different towns and cities of the Punjab. Many were traditionally traders of shawls. The Pathans on the other hand would come to the city seasonally in search of work during the winter season, while others settled permanently, forming an important segment of the city's labour force. Many were petty traders and vendors of cloth business and dry fruits. The existing family networks of these groups stimulated a large partition-related refugee inflow in Lahore in 1947.

**Table 6: Size of Muslim Biraderis in Lahore**

<b>Biradries</b>	<b>1901</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1931</b>
Arains	127,688	105,028	110,656	138,240
Kashmiris	16,198	14,897	14,222	26,092
Pathans	8,420	12,247	11,819	22,308
Gujjurs	8,246	8,027	8,638	10,086

Other important Muslim castes were the Lohars and Tarkhans, who were employed in the railways, construction and metal-works. In 1931, they made up a district-wide population of over 50,000. With the passage of time, they moulded their traditional skills and entered the newly-emerging foundry

industries. Pran Nevile, a former resident of Lahore's Nisbett Road, comments as follows on the pre-partition city's socio-economic structure:

The Muslims constituted the majority of workers and artisans, being either employed in craft industries or in factories owned by Hindus. However, they controlled the fruit and vegetable markets, milk supply, furniture shops, tent manufacture and the tailoring business. There was also a sizeable Muslim landed aristocracy which owed its wealth and status to the British government.<sup>22</sup>

The Muslims of Lahore also fell behind Hindus in spheres other than commerce and industry. One was education. On the eve of Partition, of the fifty-six colleges and high schools in the city, only sixteen were run by the Muslim community. The Hindus of Lahore were well ahead in the overall percentage of the educated with 14 percent, while Sikhs at 5 percent and Muslims at only 3 percent. The backwardness of Muslims of Lahore can be seen further from the overall number of students during the academic session of 1946-7; for example out of the total candidates appearing in the various Punjab University examinations only 28.51 percent were identified as Muslims. The modern educational opportunities were monopolised by high-caste Hindus, and this is further evidenced from their share of students in Lahore's two distinguished institutions—Forman Christian Collage and Kinnaird Collage for Women as shown in Tables 7 and 7a below.

**Table 7: Community-wise student number in F. C. College, 1946-47<sup>23</sup>**

Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Parsis	Total
793	344	248	50	2	1437

**Table 7a: Community-wise student number in Kinnaird Collage, 1946-47<sup>24</sup>**

Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians	Parsis	Jains
120	40	40	30	2	1437

### **Community Relations in Lahore on the eve of Partition**

Much has been written on the extent to which the sharpened religious identities of the colonial era paved the way for 'communalism' and the violence of 1947.<sup>25</sup> Ian Talbot's early work on Lahore has shown that the driving motivations for the violence which engulfed the city in 1947 lies in persistent rival claims to sovereignty, territory and power in advance of constitutional decision making.<sup>26</sup> Source material presented in the following section reveals that for the majority of the people of Lahore, until the later stages of colonial rule, nationalist contention in the public arena did not translate into hostile interpersonal relations, and in many ways competing religious affiliations and



identities remained variegated and undifferentiated. Indeed the British rule intensified competitive religious revivalism and the last quarter of the nineteenth century had witnessed a gradual worsening of relations among the different religious communities in the city, as elsewhere in the region. Official enumerations not only played a crucial role in the ‘essentialisation’ of religious and caste identity, but also opened up a space for communities and social groups to redefine themselves.<sup>27</sup> The challenge to indigenous faiths posed by colonialism and missionary activity from the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards provoked the formation of a multitude of religious reform movements in North India. Rapid growth in the number of native Christian converts became one of the major motivating forces for religious and sectarian revivalism in Lahore. Throughout the Punjab number of native Christian converts rose from 3,912 in 1881 to over 19,000 a decade later, and by 1901 had reached nearly 38,000. In the city of Lahore, the number had increased to over 4,000, according to the 1901 census, and climbed further to 16,500 by the next two decades (see Table 8).<sup>28</sup> The rapid growth in converts and the missionaries’ close ties with the government alarmed indigenous reformers and created a deep fear of the ‘Christian threat’ among many Indian religious leaders. ‘The persistent and organized aggressiveness of Christian missionary effort has also forced the Hindu...’, John Oman wrote in 1908, ‘to reconsider the foundations of their faith, while creating a strong feelings of opposition to their well-meant efforts at evangelization’.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 8: Christian population in the city of Lahore**

Census	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1947
Christians	4,697	5,558	8,463	8,808	16,875	30,000

Writers such as Harjot Oberoi have argued that the activities of nineteenth century religious reformers crystallised existing blurred religious identities in the colonial Punjab.<sup>30</sup> Ayesha Jalal characterises Punjab as the centre from which Muslim separatist and Hindu nationalist discourses radiated to the rest of North India.<sup>31</sup> Undoubtedly, this was a period of growing communalism in Lahore as elsewhere in the region. Because of the strong presence of Christian missions, sectarian educational institutions and printing presses, the urban area became an important centre for these burgeoning organizations. In Lahore, by the turn of the twentieth century, more than a dozen different social and religious societies were at work.<sup>32</sup> The growing organisational strength of, and rivalry among the groups, reinforced existing communal divisions. This process of reinterpreting the past and presenting a new vision of the future permanently changed relations among the communities who had been living side by side for generations with some degree of harmony.

The most influential reformist movement was the Hindu Arya Samaj.<sup>33</sup> John Oman has particularly highlighted the contribution of Pandit Lekh Ram - a diehard preacher of the organization - to communalisation in Lahore.<sup>34</sup> Pandit Lekh Ram was murdered on 9 November 1897, by a young Muslim,

because of his repeated 'violent speeches and writings against Islam'. The murder of Pandit Lekh Ram created 'a great sensation' in Lahore. The funeral procession of Pandit Lekh Ram was attended by 8,000 people, before parading on the streets of Lahore, and chanting slogans against the Muslims and outcry about Hindu 'religion in danger'. 'As a matter of course', John Oman concluded, 'the relations between the Mussulmans and Hindus... became greatly strained'.<sup>35</sup> Members of the Arya Samaj planned revenge. This time, they chose the city of Rawalpindi where a Hindu, dressed as a Muslim, presented poisoned sweetmeats to a number of Muslims after a prayer in the Mosque, and as a result fourteen were taken ill and two died.

Little, if anything, has been written on the role played by Lahore's First Hindu Conference, held on 21-22 October 1909, to influence communalisation in the city. In addition to Lahore's Hindus, over 800 delegates from all over Punjab came to the city to attend the event. Among many prominent leaders, Lala Lajpat Rai was a participant. Pressing the need for Hindu unity, his speech on 21 October threw light on the Muslim-Hindu relations. 'The relations between the two communities are more strained today than they were in 1880 or before, while the Muhammdans have gained in unity and solidarity by uniting their brethren and making a serious effort to close up the ranks. The Hindus have lost ground in every direction'.<sup>36</sup> A number of local speakers highlighted the impending 'fear of Muslim domination' in the municipal committee elections due to the growing rise in Muslim population of Lahore and elsewhere in the Punjab.<sup>37</sup> At the end of the event, a resolution was passed against a 'separate electorate' in order to present it to the Viceroy Lord Minto. The event was well-publicised in Lahore's Hindu press.

Lahore was the hub for the printing industry. In 1896, there were 17 printing presses in the city and by the next two decades they rose to 75. They were evenly owned by the rival communities.<sup>38</sup> Local printing presses magnified the mushrooming religious antagonism and played a role in the polarisation of attitudes. At Partition, the city alone published 32 English and over 100 vernacular periodicals. In the midst of hostility and a claim for the territory in the later months of colonial rule, the sectarian press not only presented a partial historical record and published unsubstantiated stories, but also became active in highlighting tensions and provoking riots.

While the modern means of communication provided the circumstances for the rise of communalism, and religious revivalism tightened communal identities, beneath the surface there were clear demarcations among the religious communities' everyday interactions. In particular, troubles concerning the sharing of cooked food created barriers in everyday life. There was segregated accommodation for students and separate cooking and dining facilities for the Hindu and Muslim boarders, based on religion, in majority of the city's educational institutions, including the F.C. Collage and Government College Lahore.<sup>39</sup> Satish Gujral, who was a Hindu student at the Mayo School of Arts, writes his memoir of Lahore.

Even in the Mayo School hostel which never had more than a score of residents, Hindus and Muslims sections were clearly

demarcated...though we met on the playing ground fields, sat side by side in the classrooms and occasionally went to each other's room, we were housed in different wings of the hostel buildings and had separate kitchens and dining rooms.<sup>40</sup>

The concentration of different religious communities in the city of Lahore, in many ways, if not all, contained elements of a segmented, precarious and plural society - theorised by Leo Kuper - which was likely to explode into 'genocidal violence' during a crisis.<sup>41</sup> Pre-colonial Lahore was a walled city with its twelve gates and narrow streets and alleys lined with residential and commercial buildings. The Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities lived separately but very close to each other - in mixed but not intermixed localities. The poor and artisans Hindu population lived in the walled city, and the Shah Almi area, Chuna Mandi, Akbari Mandi, Wachowali and Rang Mahal and Delhi gate were the leading Hindu residential and commercial centre. The Muslim artisans lived predominately in the Mochi gate and Bhatti gate areas. Outside the inner city, Muslims predominately lived in Islamia Park, Shadi Park, Wasanpura, Ahmedpura and Misri Shah. Even in some mix localities such as Mozang, Ichhra and Baghbanpura there were separated streets and quarters of Muslims and non-Muslims. Table 9 below illustrates the religious composition of Ichhra and Baghbanpura localities.

**Table 9: Religious composition in the localities of Ichhra and Baghbanpura in 1931**<sup>42</sup>

**Ichhra:**

Total	Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians
5,048	680	198	4,000	170

**Baghban Pura:**

Total	Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Christians
12,805	1,171	476	11,881	277

Alongside the migration to Lahore, there were also population shifts within the city. The first to move beyond the walled city were the wealthy Hindus. They moved out to the middle-class suburbs of Krishan Nagar, Nisbbet Road, Sant Nagar and Singhpura and upper class Model Town. Hindus owned two-thirds of the houses in the latter locality. Seen from this perspective, by the end of colonial rule, the city had divided into three parts socially, economically as well as in its structural and spatial layout.

As elsewhere in the region, Lahore had a protracted history of 'traditional' religious conflicts.<sup>43</sup> They were however not insurmountable and did not culminate in an outburst of ferocity until the closing months of the colonial rule. Moreover, they did not overwhelm the common caste, *biraderi*, or

regional sources of identity. The Punjabi identity remained more important than that derived from religion, and in the cultural binding, the Punjabi language played a key role. Within various religious communities, there were a variety of beliefs and practices, as well as castes and *biraderis*. At the same time, there was a well-established tradition of community interaction and this co-existence, with some degree of harmony, continued to exist until the late colonial era. There were a number of examples of a diverse set of community relationships. In 1927, Sardar Jogindra Singh, then the Minister for Agriculture and Industries, explained to the Lahore journalists, after a tour of the riot-affected neighborhood of the walled city:

There was ample evidence that the ordinary men of various communities assisted each other, in spite of the prevailing ill-will. It is difficult to recall even from the worst days of chronic disorder many recorded incidents comparable to stabbing or clubbing by stealth. Men fought during the day and met together in the evening to partake of a friendly meal.<sup>44</sup>

The community's everyday mutual dependencies and interactions continued throughout the late colonial period. The religious communities relied on each other for everyday prosperity and livelihood. In one instance, the Hindu businessman, Rai Bahadur Mela Ram's Ravi Road Mela Ram Cotton Mills employed half of its workforce from the Muslim community. Moreover, inter-community support existed as well. Time to time, the privileged Hindus contributed to Muslim welfare. The business empire of Rai Bahadur Mela Ram was at the forefront of such assistance in the city of Lahore. A prime example was the payment for the electrification of Data Ganj Bakhsh Burbar. His son, Ram Saran Das, provided financial help to a number of Urdu literary journals owned by Muslims.<sup>45</sup> The Dayal Singh Trust and the Ganga Ram Trust greatly contributed to the welfare of Lahoris regardless of their religious affiliations. People from all faiths would participate in seasonal festivals. The communities also took part in each other's religious festivals despite the fact they would sometime trigger clashes.<sup>46</sup> The Bhadar Kali fair at Niazbeg and the Charaghan ka Mela at the Shalamar Gardens drew devotees from all the communities. Lahore's coffee and tea houses were the popular meeting coterie for 'social interaction and intellectual gossip' for the literati of all communities, to include the members of the Progressive Writers Association and the Indo-Soviet Friendship Society.<sup>47</sup> In other examples, Government Collage's cricket team represented all the religious communities, and in May 1946, a team of Lahore cricketers, under the captaincy of A. R. Cornelius, visited the city of Amritsar and played against the Amritsar Cricket Club.<sup>48</sup> In other sets of community relationships, F.C. Collage's annual Christmas dinner, which was held in the assembly hall on 21 December 1946, was attended by 165 people including the students and their parents from all communities.<sup>49</sup>

Drawing on first-hand accounts of some former residents of Lahore, the early work of Ian Talbot and Ishtiaq Ahmed has highlighted the diverse and complex sets of community relations and concluded that the despite

politicisation of religious identities, a social order had survived until the later stages of colonial rule.<sup>50</sup> Saad Ashraf's account *The Postal Clerk* tellingly provides the ethnic plurality of colonial Lahore's communities that knit the harmonious and multi-cultural social fabric of the city.<sup>51</sup> Crime reports and proceedings of the local courts provide further evidence on accommodative relations among the religious communities at the neighbourhood level before the conflict started in 1947. For example, Mozang Thana crime reports from 1946 onwards list the following string of patterns of inter-community relations: six Muslims of the *mohalla* of Tajpura gave evidence to the local court in the favour of a Hindu shopkeeper whose jewellery shops were burgled by two Muslim criminals; a Ramgarhia Sikh appeared as an eye-witness in favour of a young Muslim who was allegedly arrested for stealing a Japanese bicycle in the locality of Rajgarh. In other cases, when Gopal's furniture warehouse at the Bidon Road was burned down on the evening of 4 December 1946, a neighbouring Muslim proprietor provided evidence to the Sunlight Insurance Company for compensation of damages.<sup>52</sup>

Given this complex scenario, Partition violence was by no means an inevitable outcome at the end of the colonial rule. Until the later stages of colonial rule, community relations were harmonious and neighbourly, and political power, though it was mainly based on community lines, was structured by 'consociationalism'.<sup>53</sup> It was not until the 1940s, the polarisation of attitudes was tightened on communal lines. In actuality, until the late 1930s, the leading communal political parties such as the Muslim League were marginalised in Lahore, as elsewhere in the Punjab. Their absence is evidenced from a letter of the Governor of Punjab, Herbert Emerson, to the Viceroy in 1936, in which four major parties of the province were listed, absencing both the Muslim League and Congress.<sup>54</sup> The correspondence indeed included the *Majlis-i-Ahrar*, while this group, opposed to the ruling Unionist Party, had little provincial political representation. The Ahrar leadership believed in agitational politics and in keeping the masses occupied with one issue after the other to keep the momentum high. They also concentrated their energy on declaring the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya as non-Muslims, as well as taking a radical stand on the issue of Muslim interests in Kashmir. Ahrar's skilful use of religion and publicity on various communal issues not only helped to swell its membership, but the group's growing political activism also resulted in a victory in a by-election for the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937.

Little, if anything, has been written on the contribution of *Ittehad-i-Millat* to communalisation in Lahore. The group's membership climbed during the *Shaheed Ganj* agitation when its founder Pir Jamiat Ali Shah launched a campaign of 'Buy Muslim product' movement in Lahore in September 1935, urging the Muslims to boycott the non-Muslim products. He particularly called upon the youth to implement the boycott movement 'by force' and to be armed with swords when out of doors.<sup>55</sup> This charged the communal situation in the city as members of the Hindu community retaliated by initialing 'Buy Hindu movement'. A description of the growing tensions appeared in a local

newspaper that also pointed towards the communities' everyday inter-dependencies:

The atmosphere at Lahore is charged with communal tension. The mutual boycott movements are gaining force. Muslim youths are moving about in the bazaars and preventing their co-religionists from making purchase from Hindus, while Hindu youths are distributing small pamphlets containing the words 'Reply to Pir Jamaatali Shah by a responsive boycott in a more effective manner'... 'Buy Hindu' movement has proved more troublesome for the Hindus than the 'Buy Muslim' movement for the latter because the Muslims hold the monopoly of fruit and vegetables, while the articles sold by Hindus can be purchased from some Muslims as well.<sup>56</sup>

There was a sharp discord between the Majlis-i-Ahrar, Tahrik-i-Khaksar and Ittehad-i-Millat. The former opposed the boycott movement and pleaded that the Hindus of Lahore had nothing to do with the Shaheed Ganj Mosque and the Muslims of Lahore would be hit more than the Hindus. These Muslim groups chiefly drew their strength from the 'urban *kami* castes'. They, throughout the thirties, not only competed with each other, but also with the Muslim League, Unionists, Akali Dal and Singh Sabha. Tensions between them became acute in Lahore. Though there were growing political tensions in Lahore in that period and the strength of religio-political movements had increased considerably, the Unionist Coalition Government by some means managed to reconcile the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims until the turn of 1947. By the beginning of the 1940s, religion had become a major focus of religious identities and political mobilisations because of the growing emergence of communal political parties, along with advances in the means of communication. The growing tension that had accompanied the previous year's provincial elections, 1945-46 and the collapse of negotiations that ensued created insecurity and fears about political and social stability, was a 'precipitating point' for ensuing violence in Lahore. Second only to this was the resignation of the Unionist Government of Khizr Hayat Tiwana on 2 March 1947. The collapse of the Khizr Government not only triggered fierce competition for power and the uncertainties over minority status, but enraged the Sikh Akali Dal as it not only brought the prospect of Pakistan nearer, but seemed to open the way for a Muslim League government in the Punjab. For the minorities of the city, security became the paramount need of the hour in the heightened communal situation. Alongside this, the continued decay of the colonial state and fallouts from the unresolved political problems were a precondition for the 1947 violence in Lahore.

From March 1947 onwards not only did the polarisation of ethnic relations widen, but the pattern of riots also changed considerably from the previous random eruption of spontaneous and traditional disturbances, which we now may term 'ethnic cleansing' of a locality, or rival community.<sup>57</sup> The motives for violence were manifold: to prove assertiveness of residency of the

majority for the contested claims over political sovereignty, to appropriate localised economic motivations, to terrorise and intimidate rival minority to vacate Lahore – the region's most prosperous but now a contested city - in advance of the actual Partition. Leaflets warning Hindus and Sikhs to leave or face the consequences began to surface in the walled city. The emphasis in the inner city was on 'an entirely new campaign of incendiarism'. According to crime reports, in the second week of May, over 53 cases of arson were recorded in the city and by the end of the month they had went up to 250.<sup>58</sup> Lahore correspondent of the *Times* (London) rightly reported in May that 'the cases of arson were the biggest in the first time in the history of Lahore'.<sup>59</sup> The scale and intensity of arson in Lahore according to Governor Jenkins, 'resembled those in London during the fire blitz'.<sup>60</sup>

The patterns of violence in 1947 were as differentiated as was Lahore's distinct characteristics of neighbourhoods, as the non-Muslim community itself comprised of poor, professional, and businessmen. In actuality, the poor communities of the city suffered much greater than the upper class non-Muslims in such localities as Model Town. An intelligence report noted that '70 percent of the new fires in Lahore at any rate occurred in non-Muslim houses' in the walled city.<sup>61</sup> By the end of May, over 40,000 ordinary people had abandoned the city because of the burring of their houses.<sup>62</sup> This tide of violence expedited the anticipatory migration of wealthy and politically astute Hindus and Sikhs out of Lahore. In the midst of chaos, the selling of properties, shifting assets and the 'flight of capital' out of the city climbed up. 'Migration from Lahore has been large, and Lahore's non-Muslims have been transferring their bank balances outside the Punjab...', noted an intelligence police report in early July. It further noted 'Withdrawals from local banks and Post Offices, however, have been unusually large'.<sup>63</sup>

Preparations for violence were made to pre-empt the boundary award, ranging from stocking of ammunitions to the recruitment of ex-soldiers in the ranks of the parties and bands. On the eve of Partition, most of the properties and businesses of Lahore's Hindus and Sikhs had been seized, looted, or destroyed. The city's predominantly Muslim police 'actually joined hands with the [Muslim] rioters, and there were mounting evidences that local Muslim leaders were trying to 'persuade the Muslim soldiers to follow the bad example of the Police'. The detachments of the army units of the Dogra, Baluch and Punjab had already been deployed in the troubled vicinities of the city. Field Marshal Sir Auchinleck in his memorandum to a meeting of the Joint Defence Council predicted a 'complete holocaust in the City', in the presence of communalised army.<sup>64</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This paper has shown the colonial urban growth immensely changed Lahore's social and economic landscape. By the end of British rule, the city had become the story of three cities - the old city - middle class suburbs - upper class model town establishments - that differed in their architecture, social composition,

lifestyle of their residents and economic activities. With improved means of communications, which linked local agricultural and industrial production with the regional, national, and even international markets, the city served as a hub of flourishing commercial activity. Moreover, the processes of urbanisation not only restructured the city's layout, but wrought profound social and economic changes among groups. Once the large military and European population settled, retail activities were boosted, as were commercial activities associated with local dairying and market gardening. Labour needs, arising from railway and colonial building projects, encouraged migration from the surrounding areas. The artisan communities improved their position through the development of the city and the increased demand for their skills and products. The Hindu trading and professional castes mainly benefited from the new urban opportunities offered by the civil lines and model town establishments as well as by modern education facilities. The Muslims mainly formed the artisan class, while trade and industry were the preserve of the Hindu commercial castes. However, the way the city developed it greatly affected the dynamic of interrelations between caste and class and profoundly changed the social context and communal identity.

As the paper has revealed, colonial rule not only brought increased material progress, but heightened awareness of communal identities. Censuses and representative governments not only defined boundaries more clearly, but more importantly facilitated a transformation in which communities came to be centrally concerned with numerical strength to exclusive 'rights'. Alongside the increasing awareness of elites, the rapid urban development and modern means of communication played a role in the polarisation of attitudes. Various socio-religious organisations tightened religious identities by competing not only with missionaries, but also with each other in the race to popularise their views and win influence. Religious revivalism resulted in deterioration in existing interrelations, and they were further eroded by the political mobilisations in the later stages of British rule. The paper has also explained that despite the seemingly harmonious relations between religious communities, a dividing line was just below the surface. However, the rise of communalism did not lie in Hindu-Sikh-Muslim antagonisms alone. While the 'primordial' account sounds plausible, and it is true that reformist groups tightened identities and political elites amplified 'latent nationalism' and manipulated ethnic fears, this view, as the paper has argued, omits the fact that 'deep-seated hatreds' can be made to subside through good statecraft. In the case of Lahore and elsewhere in the Punjab, the Unionists had somehow managed to reconcile the opposing communities until the turn of 1947.

The collapse of the Unionist Government triggered a fierce competition for power and political sovereignty and generated the uncertainties over the city's future and minority status. The failure of the outgoing colonial state to protect the minorities in the process of transition of power not only created a security-dilemma for the minorities and accelerated the pre-empt collection of arms in preparation for conflict, but also expedited the anticipatory migration of wealthy non-Muslims, together with moving capital out of the city. It was



however the poor sections of Hindu and Sikh communities who mainly bore the brunt of the 1947 upheaval. The large-scale violence and the mass migration which accompanied it was, by no means, inevitable at the end of British rule, but was contingent on political circumstances. The violence in Lahore might be seen in that light.

[**Acknowledgements:** I am grateful to Bapsi Sidhwa and Ian Talbot for their valuable comments and suggestions.]

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> W.J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011); A. Suvorova, *Lahore: Topophilia of Space and Place* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010); M.A. Qadeer, *Lahore: Urban Development in the Third World* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1983); I. Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and Its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006); G. Shahzad, *Lahore: Ghar, Galia and Darwazay (Lahore: Houses, Streets and Doors)* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2007); M. Mushtaq, 'Lahore: Major Urban Regions', *Pakistan Geographical Review*, 22, 1 (1967), pp. 24-41.

<sup>2</sup> C.A. Bayly, 'Town Building in North India, 1790-1830', *Modern Asian Studies*, 9, 4 (1975), pp.483-504.

<sup>3</sup> For example, they include the towns of Lyallpur (present-day Faisalabad), Montgomery (present-day Sahiwal), and Sargodha in the canal-colony development scheme. For the development of canal colony towns, see D. Gilmartin, 'Migration and Modernity: The State, the Punjab Village, and the Settling of the Canal Colonies', in I. Talbot and S. Thandi, *People on the Move*, pp.1-30; I. Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); T. Mahmood, *Socio-economic Transformation and Political Control in Colonial Punjab: A Case Study of the Shahpur District 1885 - 1922* (unpublished PhD thesis, Coventry University, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> S. Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007); S. Chattopadhyay, 'Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of 'White Town' in Colonial Calcutta', *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians*, 59, 2 (2000), pp.154-179; A.D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge, reprint edition 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Government of Punjab, *Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, 1916, p.245.

<sup>6</sup> Government of Punjab, 'King Edward Memorial Project', Public Work Department Proceedings, File no. H 233 (J), (1916), PSA. The project was an extension of the Mayo Hospital and Albert Victor Group of buildings, and the erection of a new Medical College with nurses' home and a student's hostel to accommodate over 200 students.

<sup>7</sup> 'Monthly survey of economic conditions in the Punjab', Board of Economic Inquiry Punjab, Rural Section Publication no. 2, Lahore (1924), p.33.

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<sup>8</sup> Lahore District, Statistical Tables, File no. K21 (R) XV, (1936).

<sup>9</sup> Government of Punjab, Gazetteer of the Lahore District, 1893-4, p.160.

<sup>10</sup> Board of Economic Inquiry, West Punjab, Lahore, (1947), vol. III, no. 11, p.6.

<sup>11</sup> Lahore District, Statistical Tables, File no. K21 (R) XV, (1936).

<sup>12</sup> The majority of them were tenants with occupation rights. Many migrated to the canal colonies, receiving land in the Chenab Colony. See for example, Dobson, *Final Report on the Chenab Colony Settlement 1915*, p.39.

<sup>13</sup> Lahore's Baghbanpura Mian Arain family comprised the Muslim elite of the city. The most famous family representatives included Mian Shah Din, Mian Muhammad Shafi, Mian Iftikharuddin Ahmed and Begum Shah Nawaz. Ali Asghar Chaudri, *Tarikh-i-Araian (History of Araian)* (Lahore: Ilmi Kitabkhana, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> 'A Paper on the Milk Supply of Lahore', Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Rural Section Publication no. 2, (1924). pp.7-8, 28.

<sup>15</sup> Lahore District, Statistical Tables, File no. K21 (R) XV, (1936).

<sup>16</sup> In 1923, the limits of the city were extended by the addition of some 'rural portion' into the 'urban area', which had a preponderating number of Muslims. In 1939, the municipal limits were further extended when several villages around Lahore within a radius of nine miles were included within the municipal boundaries by the Unionist Government. The area of city which consisted of 3,928 square miles- including an area of 1,334 square miles of the cantonment- was thus extended to over 12,875 squares miles. According to a 1939 survey of the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, the extended limits of the city included a large population of 'purely agricultural *abadis* with no urban amenities'. See for details, 'The extension of the limits of municipal', Lahore Municipal Committee Records, File no. 2/244, 1939.

<sup>17</sup> See for example, T. Kuran and A. Singh, '*Economic Modernization in Late British India: Hindu- Muslims Differences*', ERID working paper no. 92, (2011), pp.1-41; N. Talha, *Economic Factors in the Making of Pakistan, 1921-47* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry 1943-4, pp. 23-4.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> A. Anwar, *Effects of Partition on Industries in the Border Districts of Lahore and Sialkot* (Lahore: Board of Economic Inquiry, Ripon Printing Press, 1953), pp.19-20.

<sup>21</sup> T. Kuran, 'The Economic Ascent of the Middle East's' Religious Minorities: The Role of Islamic Legal Pluralism', *Journal of Legal Studies*, 33 (2004), pp. 475-515. In another work, Kuran explains many similarities the Hindus' economic dominance in the colonial India with the Middle Eastern Christians and Jews. See for example, T. Kuran and A. Singh, '*Economic Modernization in Late British India*'.

<sup>22</sup> P. Nevile, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2006).

<sup>23</sup> PHSa, 'Journal of Forman Christian College Lahore, 1946-47', RG, 415.

<sup>24</sup> PHSa, 'Haladia Porter, Principal of Kinnaird College, Lahore', RG 415, (March 1947).

<sup>25</sup> There has been a lively debate on 'Communalism' as to whether it emerged with British rule, or possessed a pre-colonial history. C.A. Bayly, 'The Pre-history of 'Communalism'? Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860', *Modern Asian Studies*, 19, 2 (1985), pp.177-203; G. Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990); S. Freitag, *Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990); M. Hasan, 'The Myth of Unity: Colonial and National Narratives', in D. Ludden (ed.), *Contesting the Nation* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1996), pp.185-209; B. Chandra, *Communalism in Modern India* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1984).

<sup>26</sup> I. Talbot, 'Pakistan and Sikh nationalism: State policy and private perceptions', *Sikh Formations*, 6, 1 (2010), pp. 63-76; also see Talbot, *Divided Cities*.

<sup>27</sup> I. Hacking, 'Making Up People', in T. Heller, M. Sosna, and D. E. Wellbery (eds.), *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 222-36; W.K. Jones, 'Religious Identity and the Indian Census', in N. G. Barrier (ed.), *Census in British India: New Perspectives* (Delhi: Manohar, 1984), pp. 73-101.

<sup>28</sup> Lahore District, Statistical Tables, File no. K21 (R) XV, (1936).

<sup>29</sup> J.C. Oman, *Indian Life: Religious and Social - Cults, Customs and Superstitions* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), p.181.

<sup>30</sup> H. Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity, and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994).

<sup>31</sup> A. Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.26.

<sup>32</sup> These included the Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha, Hindu Mahasabha, Sanathan Dharam Sabha, Hindu Sabha, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam and Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya.

<sup>33</sup> Founded in 1875, the group's number rose to nearly 100,000 in 1901, and during the next four decades the Samaj found in North India more than 150 schools and colleges, generally called Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) institutions. The role of Arya Samaj in the growth of communalism in Punjab has been well-researched. Oman, *Indian Life*, p.183; V. Langohr, 'Colonial Education System and the Spread of Local Religious Movements: The Cases of British Egypt and Punjab', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (2005), pp.161-189; K.W. Jones, 'Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 28, 1 (1968), pp. 46-7; 'Ham Hindu Nahun: Arya-Sikh Relations, 1877-1905', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 32, 3 (1973), pp. 457-75; and also see G. Barrier, 'The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab, 1894-1908', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 26, 3 (1967), pp. 363-79.

<sup>34</sup> Oman, *Indian Life*, pp.172-3

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Alike, the city witnessed communal situation in 1929 when Ilmuddin murdered the Hindu publisher Rajpal over a blasphemous issue.

<sup>36</sup> 'Report of the First Punjab Hindu Conference, held at Lahore, on 21st and 22nd October' (Lahore: Virjanand Press, 1909), p. 74.

<sup>37</sup> It was presented that the Muslim population in the Punjab rose to 10, 00,000, or 9 percent, between 1881 and 1901, while the number of Hindu increased 4 percent only. One reason given for the increase was because the Muslims were entitled to four marriages according the Islam. And also a large number of lower classes embraced Islam in this period.

<sup>38</sup>For example, they included Mohyal Mitter Press, Paisa Akhbar Press, Mofid-i-Am Press, Punjab Printing Press, Rajput Printing Press, Punjab Christian Press, Sewak Steam Press, Kashmir Press and Khatri Samachar Press.

<sup>39</sup> For example, the Kennedy Hall was allocated to the Christian students, while the North Hall and West Hall were assigned to the Hindu and Muslim students, respectively. Similarly, there were separate kitchens for the Hindu and Muslim boarders in the Government College's hostels- the Quadrangle and New Hostel.

<sup>40</sup> S. Gujral, 'Lahore Goes Up in Flames', in A. Saleem (ed.), *Lahore 1947* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), p. 156.

<sup>41</sup> L. Kuper, 'Genocide and the Plural Society', in J. Hutchison and A.D. Smith (ed.), *Ethnicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 262-69.

<sup>42</sup> Lahore District, Statistical Tables, File no. K21 (R) XV, (1936).

<sup>43</sup> To trace out the Hindu-Sikh-Muslim conflicts in colonial Lahore, I went through the clippings of *Times of India* and I would refer here to a few reported incidents. 'Lahore riots case: speech for prosecution', *Times of India* (New Delhi) July 22, 1907; 'Lahore escapes: communal riot averted', *Times of India*, July 2, 1923, p.7; 'Guerilla Warfare in Walled City', *Times of India*, May 5, 1927, p.9; 'Communal Tensions in Lahore', *Times of India*, Aug, 25, 1931, p.3; 'Defiant Lahore Muslim Mob: Procession Dispersed', *Times of India*, Aug 6, 1932, p.11; 'Menacing Situation in Lahore: Muslim Mob of 4,000 Lathi Charged by Police', *Times of India*, July 6, 1935, p.13; 'Riot Averted in Lahore', *Times of India*, Aug 9, 1933, p. 9; 'Grave Tension in Lahore', *Times of India*, Oct 25, 1935, p.9; 'Khaksar Trouble: More Arrests in Lahore', *Times of India*, June 14, 1940, p.9.

<sup>44</sup> 'The Lahore riots: educated classes blamed for exciting passions', *Times of India* (New Delhi) 18 May, 1927, p.12.

<sup>45</sup> K.K. Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore: A Memoir, 1942-57* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2008), p.10.

<sup>46</sup> Evidences suggest there were periodically communal clashes on the festivals, such as Bakr-Id, Muharram, Ram Lila, Holi. In one case, in 1935, a clash over the issue of cow slaughter on the Bakra-Id day in Mogulpura suburb was narrowly averted by the in time arrival of police. See for example,

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‘Communal Riot Averted: Bakr-Id at Lahore, protest against cow slaughter’, *Times of India* (New Delhi) March 18, 1935, p.5.

<sup>47</sup> Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore*, pp.5-23. Aziz gives a long list of the important ‘habitues’ of all communities of the coffee house of Lahore who ‘moulded the lives and minds of a whole generation’.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Cricket at Lahore’, *Times of India* (New Delhi) 15 May, 1946, p.9.

<sup>49</sup> PHSA, ‘Journal of Forman Christian College, Lahore, 1946-47’.

<sup>50</sup> Talbot, *Divided Cities*; I. Ahmed, ‘Forced Migration and Ethnic Cleansing in Lahore in 1947’ in Talbot and Thandi, *People on the Move*, pp. 96–142.

<sup>51</sup> S. Ashraf, ‘The Postal Clerk’, in B. Sidhwa, *City of Sin and Splendour: Writings on Lahore* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2005), pp.51-64.

<sup>52</sup> For example see, FIR no. 78, Note Book no. 9/1, (4 December 1946); FIR no. 35, Note Book no. 2/7, (15 July 1946); FIR no. 67, Note Book no. 4/4, (19 October 1946), Mozang Thana, Lahore.

<sup>53</sup> For the Punjab Unionist Party’s consociational approach to politics during the period 1923-47, see I. Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana, The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (London: Curzon, 1996).

<sup>54</sup> L. Carter (ed.), *Punjab Politics, 1936-1939: The Start of Provincial Autonomy--Governors' Fortnightly Reports and Other Key Documents* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004), p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Million Volunteer’, *Times of India* (New Delhi) October 2, 1935, p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Tense Situation in Lahore: Hindus’ Counter Boycott; Leaders Appeal’, *Times of India* (New Delhi) September 24, 1935, p.11.

<sup>57</sup> Talbot, *Divided Cities*; Ahmed, ‘Forced Migration and Ethnic Cleansing in Lahore in 1947’.

<sup>58</sup> PPAI, Week Ending 17 May 1947, p. 255.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Fires at Lahore’, *The Times* (London) 19 May 1947, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup> Jenkins to Mountbatten, 31 May 1947, Jenkins Papers, Mss Eur D 803/3, p. 23, O.I.O.C.

<sup>61</sup> PPAI, Week Ending 21 June, P. 330.

<sup>62</sup> PPAI, Week Ending 31 May 1947, p. 277.

<sup>63</sup> PPAI, Week Ending 5 July 1947, p. 357.

<sup>64</sup> Note by Field Marshal Sir C Auchineck, Joint Defence Council, 15 August 1947, *TP*, vol. XII, doc 486, p.735.

