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Editorial
The discipline of history in particular and social sciences in general always encounter challenges regarding ‘objectivity’ and ‘transparency’. The detractors often argue about the authenticity of the sources and the methods used in these disciplines where two plus two seldom make four like the natural or mathematical sciences. This makes it even more imperative for the historians and the social scientists across the globe to search deeper and to strive harder in order to produce quality work sans biases. The post-9/11 changes have once again led many writers to mould history and social sciences according to religions, ideologies and political exigencies. Narratives have been constructed or resurrected, statistics cooked, and scriptures invoked to prove or disprove facts. Nevertheless, scholars all over the world from Amartya Sen to Karen Armstrong have stood to uphold the ideals of objectivity and pluralism. These are the very ideals which are cherished by the editorial team of The International Journal of History and Social Sciences.

The Journal has entered the fourth year of its publication with the reassertion of its original aim that is to provide a forum for impartial scholarship and debate on topics related to various social science disciplines. It is a peer-reviewed publication and invites fresh researches from all over the world. The journal aims not only to foster fresh discussions on the persistences as well as developing issues and the theoretical approaches in social sciences but also to encourage emerging scholars and practitioners from public, private and civil society sectors to present their ideas alongside those of more renowned academics. The fulfillment of these aims definitely depends on the patronage from the worldwide community of social science scholars in the form of scholarly contributions and constructive feedback.

The present issue is more inclined towards the history of South Asia including interesting researches on topics from 16th to 21st centuries. Tuhina Islam’s paper on the literary contribution of the Mughal princess Gulbadan Begum is a lucid account of the life and times of the learned daughter of Emperor Babar and sister of Emperor Humayun, with an in-depth analysis of her rare literary prowess. Her work Humayun Nama that remains a valuable source of the history of early Mughal period in India, has been thoroughly analyzed in the light of comments from renowned historians such as A.S. Beveridge, S.K. Banerjee, etc.

The paper written by Sakul Kundra is an exhaustive description of the French travelers to India during the 17th century. Despite the lengthy details of the itineraries of the French travelers, it is
interesting to note how the European travelers helped the rival colonial powers to gain areas of influence and trade hubs on the soil of India during the heyday of the Mughal Empire. They included geographers, traders, jewelers, and adventurers who not only opened the way for their mother countries to seek economic and political advantages in the resource-rich Indies but also left valuable records of their tours to be used by the later historians.

The next two papers are focused on the party politics related to two significant political organizations viz., the Punjab Unionist Party, the Jam‘iyyatUlama-i-Pakistan, during the eventful days which preceded and followed the birth of Pakistan. ShumailaYounas analyses the role of Punjab Unionist Party as a dominant political force in Punjab till 1937 vis-à-vis other parties such as Akali Dal, KisanSabha, Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam, the Khaksar Movement, the Congress and All India Muslim League. The writer interestingly points out that despite being the representative of the feudal classes of rural Punjab, the Unionist Party can be appreciated as a pluralist and secular party which worked for the ethnic and communal harmony in the region. However, the class interests of the Unionists seem to reign supreme in their demands and reforms. The paper by Mazher Hussain and Shahid Hasan Rizvi, discusses the ideal of an Islamic Welfare State and the efforts of Jam‘iyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan as a pressure group to materialize this ideal after the independence of Pakistan. The authors study in detail the manifesto of the Jam‘iyyat which would have appeared progressive had the party not resolved to ban all the outfits which stood for ‘secularism’.

The last paper by Mr. Moiz Khan is a logical continuation of the above mentioned studies on party politics but with a fresh and timely focus on the political dynamics of Karachi since the independence of Pakistan. The writer astutely highlights the role of the representative groups of the megacity in the electoral and street politics since the beginning which had a profound impact on the formation and removal of various federal governments of Pakistan. At the end it would be appropriate to mention that the editorial policy avoids commitment to any political viewpoint or ideology but invites scholarly discussion on these issues with the understanding that all responsibility of opinion expressed and accuracy of facts rests exclusively with the author(s) and not with the journal neither with its editorial board. In any case our motto will be ‘quality research sans biases’.

Dr. Hina Khan
Editor
Note
From this issue onwards Dr. Hina Khan will be performing the obligations of the Editor as because of some specific engagements Dr. S. M. Taha couldn't offer time to the Journal. I would like to avail this opportunity to express my appreciation to Dr. Taha for his constant encouragement and deliberations to make the initiation of the Journal plausible and his unconditional backing throughout his association with the Journal. I wish him good fortunes in his future endeavors.

Moreover, I welcome Dr. Hina Khan and have confidence that under her supervision the estimation of the Journal will be elevated.

Dr. Nasreen Afzal
Editor in Chief
Literary Contribution of Mughal Court Lady
Gulbadan Begum
*Tuhina Islam

Abstract

The development of education and educational institution in Medieval India has attracted considerable attention of scholar, but there is no substantial work done to examine the role of women as recipient of dislearning. In this article, I have examined the role of a court lady, particularly Gulbadan Begum, the daughter of Babur in the field of education and learning. She was the first literary Gem of the Mughal period wrote ‘Humâyun-Nâma’ in Persian which was based on her personal experiences and knowledge. It was virtually a Biography of emperor Humayun, proving her profound scholarly bearing and creativity. Gulbadan Begum’s well-known work ‘Humâyun-Nâma’ is divided into two sections one contain the history of Babur and other the history of Humayun. It also supplies the necessary data for a background of Akbar’s reign. She has recorded the political event, and military expedition of significant battles. Besides these, Gulbadan narrated vividly the court customs, marriage ceremonies, and the social gathering in which she participated. The silent features of her work described the harem, its Beguns, their lives and character etc. Thus it can say that, Gulbadan’s Humâyun-Nâma is a literary cum political history as it gives details about the domestic life rather than literary information. Being a woman, her interest focussed essentially on things feminine and she wrote about the lives of haremfolk with candour. However, Gulbadan’s work raised the status of Mughal womanhood to the pinnacle of excellance at the time when education was restricted for ladies.

Key words: Babur, Humayun, Harem life, political history

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Introduction

In the Mughal harem, Gulbadan Begum (Princess Rose-Body) was the first learned lady who played a prominent role in literary field. She was born at Kabul in 929 A.H./ 1523 A.D, the daughter of Babur, sister of Humayun and the revered paternal aunt of emperor Akbar. Her mother was Dildar Begum, ‘the Heart-Holding Princess’.

Tracing the lineage of the princess we find that her father was the sixth descendant of Amir Timur and her mother belonged to the fourteenth descendant of Mongol leader Chengiz Khan. Thus, Babur was a link between the two races and Gulbadan Begum also belonged to the same clan.

We get very meagre and scanty information about Gulbadan Begum’s early life. According to A.S Beveridge, ‘she spent her childhood under her father’s rule in Kabul and Hindustan, her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humayun and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar’. When Gulbadan was about two years old, she was adopted by Babur’s most favourite wife, Maham Begum who reared and educated her whom Babur calls ‘tout court’ meaning ‘wali’ or ‘governor’ as she acted the chief queen of the emperor. Gulbadan herself informs us, I was two years old when her Highness my lady took me to her own house and took care of me. Thus, Gulbadan’s initial education had started under the supervision of Maham Begum who was the chief lady of the royal household and mother of Babur’s eldest son. She had supreme and well-defined rights over other inmates. Gulbadan in her ‘Humāyūn-Nāma’ also speaks about the loving care of Maham

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1 Tasneem Ahmad, Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Medieval India (Mirat-ul-Istilah), Sundep Prakashan, New Delhi, 1993,116.
3 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng.trans.A.S. Beveridge,1.
4 Ibid.2. See also, Ruby Lal, Domesticity and power in the early Mughal World, New York, 2005,57.
5 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng.trans. A.S. Beveridge, 2. see also, Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, Babur-Nama, Eng.trans, A.S. Beveridge, 665(n.5).
7 Ibid, Eng.trans.8-9. See also, Godden Rumor, Gulbadan (Portrait of Rose-Princess at the Mughal Court), New York, 1980, 28. Zinat Kausar, Muslim Women in Medieval India,New Delhi,1992,150-151.
and mentions her as 'My lady'. Her husband always called her affectionately by this name.

When Gulbadan was six years old, she came to Hindustan from Kabul along with her nurse Maham Begum and met Babur. She expressed her joy by writing, 'I got into my litter, went and paid my duty to my royal father, I fell at his feet, he asked me many questions and took me in his arms and this insignificant (she herself) person felt such happiness that greater could not be imagined'. The above statement shows Gulbadan’s proximity to her father. It is also clear from above quotation that Gulbadan described herself as 'Haqir' or 'insignificant' which shows her humble character. At the time of her father’s death Gulbadan was seven years old that’s why she gave a brief account of her father but as she was an acute and observant child and her memory was green even in 1587 A.D, she had given us an interesting picture of her times.

On 26th Dec, 1530 A.D, Babur died 'Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all. Each passed that ill fated day in a hidden corner.' Maham Begum passed away while Gulbadan was ten years old and the stamp of orphan hood was set a new especially on her who felt lonely and helpless and in great affection. After one year she went under the charge of her own mother Dildar Begum. However, these events had left a strong impression on the child’s mind. At the age of seventeen, Gulbadan was married to Khizr Khwaja Khan, a chaghtai Mughal i.e., a descendant of chengiz Khan. He was also her second cousin. Gulbadan Begum was a woman of extraordinary talents, proficient in Persian and Turkish. We have very little information regarding the way she received her education. Gulbadan Begum was brought up in an academic atmosphere. Her father Babur was a man of letters, a poet and calligrapher. Her mother Dildar Begum was an accomplished scholar and brothers Humayun, Hindal, Askari and Kamran also were interested in literary activities. All of them influenced Gulbadan Begum.

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8 Gulbadan Begum, _Humayun-Nama_, Eng.trans. A.S. Beveridge, 256. See also, (appendix), 'Maham Begum as ????????My Moon'. Fernand Grenand, _Babur-the first of the Moghul_, India, 1931,125.
11 Ibid, Eng. trans, 116. see also, Persian text, 40.
From her own writing ‘Humayun-Nama’ we find that she was educated under the guidance of Maham Begum. Gulbadan also had a hand in poetical composition which is reflected in her writing. She was interested not only in poetry but also in prose which is included in the Tazkiras like ‘Riyaz-us-Shau’ra,’ ‘Makhzan-ul-Gharaib’ and ‘Subh-i Gulshan’. She composed many beautiful verses. Unfortunately her verses have not been preserved. Only two lines of her verses are found in Mir Mahdi Shirazi’s ‘Tazkirat-ul-Khawatin’ and Beveridge quotes one of her couplets:

![Couplet](image)

Eng.tr:

‘A beauty that is un-faithful to the lover
Believe that she will always find life untrue to her.’

From the above information it is clear that Gulbadan gives much importance to love and according to her, without love a life remains unhappy.

Gulbadan in her poetry uses very simple and lucid language. She also uses idioms in her writing which make it outstanding. It is great regret for us that we can’t get its copy today. She has used some idioms in her ‘Humayun-Nama’ which Maulana Shibli in his work ‘Maqalat-i-Shibli’ mentions as follows:

![Idiom](image)

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13 Ibid, 439.
Mahmud Ali, Mughal Shatzdhan, New Delhi, 2000,36-50.
14 Maulana Shibli Noman, Maqalat-i-Shibli, Azamgarh, 1934, 58.
According to ‘Maulana Shibli, such type of writing was very rare during that time.

Gulbadan Begum’s extraordinary talent was shown in her ‘Humāyūn-Nāma’ which she wrote at the command of her cousin Akbar to help Abul Fazl in the compilation of ‘Akbar Namah’. Gulbadan herself notes that around 1587 and in 1590 Akbar commissioned the writing of an official history for his empire. Thus, an ‘order’ had been issued by him and several servants of the state and old family members were requested to write down whatever they knew. The order is as follows:

Eng. tr. ‘write down whatever you knew of the doing of Firdaus-Makani (posthumous title for Babur) meaning ‘dwelling in paradise’ and Jannat Ashiyani (Posthumous title for Humayun) meaning dwelling in Paradise’.

Gulbadan in her mid sixties wrote that ‘when his Majesty (my father) left this perishable world I was only eight years old and it may well be that I do not remember much’, but the order was the emperor’s and ‘in obedience to the royal command I set down whatever there is that I have heard and remember.’ This shows Gulbadan’s respect towards emperor Akbar.

We find that Gulbadan’s writing was very different from other official chroniclers who favored genre titles which were classed as Tarih – history or chronological narrative, Tazkira, written in the forms of biographies and memoirs but Gulbadan chose the genre title which was different from these and it was ‘Ahwal’ which means

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16 ibid, Persian text, 2.
see also, Maulana Shibli Nomani, *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, 59.
17 Godden Rumor, *Gulbadan (Portrait of Rose-Princess at the Mughal Court)*, 10.
conditions, state, circumstances. Thus, it brings in our mind a query that ‘what should be the history of the times?’\textsuperscript{18}

About Gulbadan’s ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’ A.S Beveridge remarks that ‘it is not only her book that lets us know she had a lively mind, but the fact of its composition at an age when wits are apt to be rusted by domestic peace. Only a light that was strong in childhood would have burned so long to guide her unaccustomed pen after half a century of life and only a youth of happy thoughts and quick perceptions have buoyed her, still gay and vivacious, across the worries and troubles of ‘Humâyûn’s time’\textsuperscript{19}. Thus, Gulbadan in her modest way wrote ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’ which is based on her personal experiences and knowledge. About those events that did not come under her observation, she must have gathered information from senior ladies of the harem who were eyewitness of those events. She must have known many things from Khanzadah Begum,\textsuperscript{20} Maham Begum\textsuperscript{21} and Hamida Bano Begum.\textsuperscript{22} Gulbadan Begum was also interested in collecting books and possessed a good library of her own. Out of the nine copies that were made of Bayzid’s ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’ which was written at Akbar’s order, two copies went to emperor Akbar’s library, three to prince Salim, Murad, Daniyal, two copies to Abul Fazl, one perhaps was kept by the another and one was given to Gulbadan Begum because of her keen interest in literary activities.\textsuperscript{23} A.S. Beveridge says about Gulbadan’s ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’ that ‘This book is its sole witness, for no one speaks of it. It is not literature, but a simple setting down of what she knew or had heard, for the help of the Akbar–Nama. This was not her only composition, for she followed the fashion of her day and wrote verses’.\textsuperscript{24} Infact, Gulbadan Begum was the first ‘Literary Gem’ of the Mughal Period.

Gulbadan’s ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’\textsuperscript{25} is written in Persian but she uses many Turkish words and phrases such as Aka, Akam (My Lady), Taghai (maternal uncle), Chicha (aunt), Ajam (my mother), Qazzâq (name of nomad whom the Russian term Kirghiz), Jujuk (sweet savoured), Ághâcha (interior lady), Yanka (elder brother’s wife, Kitta (noble), Chapan (haillons and tattered garments), Charuq (with clubs in their hands). It is said that the word Chapan and Charuq may be a

\textsuperscript{18} Ruby Lal, Domesticity and power in the early Mughal World, 57-58.
\textsuperscript{19} Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng.trans. A.S. Beveridge, 22.
\textsuperscript{20} Khanzada Begum(sister of Babur, aunt of Humayun).
\textsuperscript{21} Maham Begum (mother of Humayun).
\textsuperscript{22} Hamida Bano Begum (mother of Akbar).
\textsuperscript{23} Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng.trans. A.S. Beveridge, 76.
\textsuperscript{24} ibid, 76.
\textsuperscript{25} ibid, 85, 89, 101, 107, 110, 115, 119.
Turkish interpolation in Gulbadan’s text. She also used Turkish
Phrases like

The above mentioned words and phrases proved that when
Gulbadan wrote her ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’ she had her father’s book
Bâbur Nâma written in Turkish before her and Gulbadan’s book
shown her close reproduction of his words.

Gulbadan wrote ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’ at that time when Chaghtai
Turkish was the native language of Mughals. Turkish was also
Gulbadan’s native language. It was the home–speech of her married
life and Persian was an accomplishment. However, these
consideration raised the question. Did she compose in Persian or in
Turkish?  Yet we do not know if she wrote both in Turkish and
Persian. We have found that Gulbadan wrote ‘Humâyûn–Nâma’ at the
time when the influence of Persian language had already increased
and it became the official language at the Mughal Court. As Gulbadan
grew up in these surroundings that’s why we can say that she wrote
it in Persian. Now the question arises that which type of Persian she
used? It was a peculiar Indian Persian or it was the colloquial Persian
of Iran of her days. According to the great lexicographer Steingass,
it was the modern colloquial Persian such as ‘Ma’rka, (battle–field),
Mâmâ (mother), Yazna (brother-in-law), Kilân (great), Azr
(circumcising), Nim-tana (demi– corps), tâlâr (a saloon built of wood
and supported on four coloum), lachaq (Square mantle worn by
women, doubled into a triangle), Qasâba ( same meaning) etc.
Beveridge also agreed to it.

The Persian Manuscript of Gulbadan’s ‘Humâyûn–Nama’ is
incomplete. Only one copy of it preserved in British Museum which
bears on the fly leaf the following endorsement– ‘Âhwâl-i-Humâyûn–
pâdshâh Jamah Kardah Gulbadan Begam Bint Bâbur Pâdshâh Umam
Akbar Pâdshâh and it ends with the blinding of Mirza Kamran.

Mrs. Beveridge remarks that Gulbadan gave precise details of
relationship in her own and some contemporary families. However,
there has been no use of her information and her book has remained
both in Europe and India as a ‘Literary Parda–Nashin’ 27 i.e. the book

26 Ibid, 79.
See also, Ruby Lal, Domesticity and power in the early Mughal World57-61.
see also, M.A. Scherer, Woman to woman: Annettes the princess, and the Bibi, Journal of
had been like a veiled woman, a woman in purdah until it was catalogued in 1870s. According to Beveridge, before her translation no one had done so, thus, she used this term.

Gulbadan’s book is so rare, that only one manuscript is known to exist. There had been no second manuscript. It is written in a clear flowing nasta’liq, most probably in her own hand-writing which found its way with the Hamilton collection in the British Museum. In 1868 it must have been brought from the widow of Colonel George William Hamilton. It was observed by Dr. Rieu as one of the most outstanding of the 352 manuscripts purchased by the British Museum. Out of thousands of rare books and manuscripts collected by Colonel Hamilton from Lucknow and Delhi.

Until it was catalogued, it was unknown to the students of the period and when William Erskine published his ‘History of India under Babur and Humayun’ he knew nothing of it. It was not until 1902, that this remarkable book was brought to wider notice through its publication, by the Royal Asiatic Society when A.S Beveridge, wife of Hugh Beveridge, the expert in oriental literature translated this book into English and annotated the ‘Ahwal-i-Humayun’.28 It can be said that the manuscript has been rebound in plain red leather and one of the folios was in the wrong order, it has no frontispiece margin or rubric...the end is lost ...29 A.S Beveridge worked on it and arranged Gulbadan’s words by footnotes and long preface. Infact, she wanted to highlight the value of Gulbadan’s work.

Maulana Shibli was delighted at the publication of ‘Humayun-Nama’ and he wrote a review on it. He explained the distinctive features which proved the exact chronology of this book.30

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see also, Winifred Holmes, Ahwal-e-Humayun, Islamic Quarterly 1, 159-166.
see also, Godden Rumor, Gulbadan (Portrait of Rose-Princess at the Mughal Court), 21.
30 Syed Sabahuddin Abur Rahman, Bazim-i-Taimuriya, 437.
See also, Maulana Shibli Namari, Maqalat-i-Shibli, 56.
Mahmud Ali, Mughal Shahzadian, 38.
Literary Contribution of Mughal court lady Gulbadan Begum

Eng. tr:

In Persian Language, ‘Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri’ and ‘Ruqqa‘ät-i- Alamgiri’ are the best specimens of simple and lucid narration of events. There is no doubt that thousands of Zuhuri (an Iranian poet of 16th -17th) here it means his poetic collections, an Waqāi Nīmat Khan can be sacrificed for them. It will be just to say that ‘Humayun-Nama’ is some what ahead of them. Its reason is that small sentences, simple and candid words of the daily conversation make the reader to lose control over his heart.

Probably, the original ‘Humāyūn-Nāma’ contained an account of Akbar’s reign upto his 22nd regnal year which is clear from Shahjahan’s note on the manuscript. He writes as follows.31

Eng.tr: “This history, which contains an abridgement of the affairs of His Majesty, Sahib-Qirān Gītī Sitānī (Timūr) and of his glorious descendants and of the events of the days of ‘Arsh– Ashiyanī’ (Akbar) - May God make clear his proof! – down to the twenty-second year of his reign, was written, in the time of Shāh Bābā (Akbar)”.

The history of ‘Humāyūn-Nāma’ is written in a very simple and direct style. Maulana Shibli Nomi prais ed it and considered it

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31 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng. trans. A.S. Beveridge, (Note of illustration), xiii. See also, K.A. Nizami, On Sources and Source Material, New Delhi, 1996. 131.
superior to ‘Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri’\(^{32}\) and ‘Ruqqa’at-i-Alamgiri’\(^{33}\) because of its inimitable spontaneity, short and pithy sentences and colloquial touch.\(^{34}\) Still the great defect of this book is that the dates which Gulbadan mentioned often confused and do not tally with the facts. For instance, she says Babur had eighteen children and lists only sixteen.\(^{35}\)

Another defect is that Gulbadan shows her brevity of describing war and conflict like the battle of Chaua and Qannauj which occupy an inconsiderable space in her narrative. We can say that being a woman description of the war events was disparate for her.\(^{36}\) In fact, her writing focussed on feminity and she wrote about the lives of harem folk. Thus, Gulbadan’s work raised the status of Mughal womanhood to the pinnacle of excellence at the time when education was restricted for ladies.

Regarding the contents of Gulbadan’s ‘Humayun-Nama’ we find that it divided into two sections—one contains the history of Babur and the other the history of Humayun.

Gulbadan does not give any detailed information about Babur but a very brief account which is interesting. She describes Babur’s victory at Panipat and how he distributed the treasures of five kings that fell into his hands. The Amir of Hindustan represented that in Hindustan ‘it was thought disgraceful to expend the treasure of bygone kings’.\(^{37}\)

Further she gives a detailed account of the city of Agra. In her opinion the city of Agra did not attract Babur. To him the neighborhood of Agra seemed ‘ugly’ and ‘detestable’ and ‘repulsive’ and ‘disgusting’. A.S Beveridge observes that ‘it is difficult to go back in fancy to the city without a Taj, with no Sikandra near and with Sikri uncrowned’.\(^{38}\)


\(^{34}\) Maulana Shibli Nomani, Maqalat-i-Shibli, 56.

\(^{35}\) See also, M.A. Scherer, Woman to woman: Annettes the princess, and the bibi, 200.

\(^{36}\) K.A. Nizami, On Sources and Source Material, 133.


\(^{38}\) ibid, 84.

\(^{38}\) see also, Persian text, 2.

\(^{38}\) see also, Persian text, 12.

\(^{38}\) K.A. Nizami; On history and historians of medieval India, 230.

\(^{38}\) Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng.trans. A.S. Beveridge, 159-166.
Gulbadan also gives an informative account of Babur’s illness and death. She describes how Babur moved round the bed of his ailing son and prayed: ‘O God! If a life may be changed for a life, I who am Babur I give my life and my being for Humayun.’ This shows Babur’s affection for his son Humayun.

Gulbadan records various events very minutely. She gives a vivid and graphic account of the marriage ceremony of her brother Hindal. She also describes other festivities which she called, ‘Mystic feast’. Thus, it brings to our mind every detail of the feast and festivity of the Mughal seraglio. In this context, Gulbadan mentioned Begum’s jealousy for each other regarding emperor’s affection. When Gulbadan describes the occasion of Mirza Hindal’s marriage, she incidentally narrates Bega Begum’s noisy argument with Humayun for his alleged inattention to her. Gulbadan also describes how Humayun fell in love with Hamida Bano and offered to marry her. Hamida hesitated to accept the offer. Gulbadan’s views in this matter are as follows:

Godden Rumor, Gulbadan (Portrait of Rose-Princess at the Mughal Court), 60.
see also, ibid, Persian text, 21.
krushnachandra jena, Baburnama and Babur, New Delhi, 1978, 77.
40 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng. trans. A.S. Beveridge, 126.
see also, ibid, Persian text, 35.
See also, ibid, Persian text, 53.
K.A. Nizami, on sources and source material, 132.
K.S Lal, Mughal Harem, New Delhi, 1988, 23.
S.AI Tirmizi, Edict from the Mughal Harem, Delhi, 1979, X
Yusuf Hussain khan, The Educational System in Medieval India, Islamic Culture, 30/2, 1956,121.
Eng tr:
‘For Forty days the Begum resisted and discussed and disagreed. At last her Highness my mother, Dildâr Begum, advised her, saying: After all you will marry some one better than a king, who is there? The Begum said: oh yes, I shall marry some one but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch and not one whose skirt it does not reach’ at last, after forty days’ discussion at mid day on Monday (Jumādu-l-Awwal) 948 A.H (Sep. 1541 A.D) she agreed to marry Humayun.’

Gulbadan also talked about Emperor Babur and Humayun’s affection for their sister. According to Babur, ‘sister is a guiding light’.42 He said this regarding Kanzada Begum who had saved the Emperor from Shaibani’s enmity and for this reason she had married Shaibani or Shahi Beg Khan.43

One incident which shows Humayun’s affection for his sisters is when Humayun was taken seriously ill he remembered his sister the most. Every time when he came to his senses, his pearl-dropping tongue asked for his sister. He said: ‘Sister’ you are welcome! Come and let us embrace one another. I have not embraced you’. It might be three times that he raised his head and that his jewel-dropping tongue let fall these uplifting words’.44 In ‘Humāyūn-Nāma’ Mrs. Beveridge writes about the deference for old age which was a permanent trait of their age. Thus, she writes Apropos of aunts of frequent mention and both Tuzuk and Tarikh indicate distinct courteousness towards women of an elder generation. For instance, after Babur had established his kingdom in Hindustan, he invited his aunts, Begum and Khanum from Kabul to Agra. They arrived ‘ninety six persons in all and all received houses and lands and gifts to their heart’s desire’.45 Gulbadan mentions the event of extreme importance to the ladies of Kabul that they should migrate to Hindustan. Senior nobles and officers of Babur entertained harem ladies in Kabul with absorbing tales about Hindustan.46 She also gives details about Hindu ladies and their respect for holy places.

Gulbadan Begum has also recorded candidly a few scenes of social gathering in which she participated. She describes the happy reunion

43 ibid, 18.
44 ibid, 104.
45 See also, ibid, Persian text, 21.
46 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng. trans. A.S. Beveridge, 76.
47 See also, ibid, Persian text, 14.
48 ibid, Eng. trans.16-17
49 see also, K.S Lal, Mughal Harem, 23.
of family member after a long period of separation. In Nov.1545 A.D, Babur made his triumphant entry into Kabul and he met with the ladies of his household including his mother, Dildār Begum and sister Gulchihra Begum after a gap of five years. Gulbadan recalled this event in such a way: ‘For five years we had been shut out and cut off from the pleasure, so now when we were freed from the toil and pain of separation, we were lifted up by our happiness in meeting this lord of beneficence again. Merely to look at him eased the sorrow–stricken heart and purged the blear–eyed vision. Again and again we joyfully made the prostration of thanks. There were many festive gatherings, and people sat from evening to down, and players and singers made continuous music many amusing games, full of fun, were Played’.47

A.S Beveridge writes ‘it appears probable that there was no such complete seclusion of Turki women from the outside world as came to be the rule in Hindustân. The ladies may have veiled themselves, but I think they received the visitors more freely and more in accordance with the active life of much travelling peoples, than is the case in Hindu or Muslim houses in India at the present day’.48 Thus, it proves that there was no undue restriction on Purdah. The ladies of the royal harem of Humayun mixed freely with their male friends and visitors. Not only this they sometimes went out dressed in male attire, played polo and engaged themselves in Music. In ‘Humāyūn–Nāma’ we find the example of Mehr–Angez Begum who wore men clothes.49

In spite of all these, we also find that Gulbadan was a religious minded lady. In 982 A.H/1576 A.D she herself performed the Hajj pilgrimages to Mecca along with other ladies.50 She was also a woman of high degree of charitable disposition. She was ever ready to help the poor and needy. Actually, she wanted to please God.51 This shows her kind temperament and interest in charities.

However, this talented lady died on Monday the 6th Ramzan, 1011 A.H/ 7th Feb 1603 A.D when she was eighty years old and her departure was heralded by a few days of fever, Hamida was with her

47 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng. trans. A.S. Beveridge, 178. See also, ibid, Persian text, 76.
50 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng.trans.A.S. Beveridge, 120. See also, ibid, Persian text, 22.
51 ibid, Eng. trans, 72.
to the end. As she lay with closed eyes, Hamida Bano spoke to her by the long used name of affection, ‘jiu’ (elder sister). There was no response. As they had always used loving expression for one another, she repeated the endearing expression. The other lady Gulbadan opened her eyes on the blessed face of Maryam Makani and died after uttering this verse.

Eng tr: “I am weak and dying, may you live long” Akbar had much love for her and with respect he supported her bier on his own shoulder for a few steps. He also distributed alms to the poor and needy for the salvation of her soul.

Thus, Gulbadan was the only lady whose literary achievements provides us various information about the events of her times which were connected with her father Babur and brother Humayun, their wars and campaigning, the royal ladies, their lovely names like Gulrang, and Gul-chihra, marriage ceremonies, various festivities, births and deaths etc. Actually, her writing is an authentic source of information about the political and social life of that period.

Thus, we can conclude that Gulbadan’s ‘Humayun-Nama’ is a literay cum social and political history, as it gives details about the domestic life rather than literary information.

52 ibid, 76-77.
see also, Muhammad Adam, Khawateen, New Delhi, 1914, 191-192.
53 ibid, Eng. trans. 1226.
ibid, Persian text, 817.
See also, Zinat Kausar, Muslim Women in Medieval India, 152.
Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, Bazm -i- Ta’murija, 439.
54 Gulbadan Begum, Humayun-Nama, Eng. trans. A.S. Beveridge, 76-77
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Scrubtinizing and Exploring: Biographies of the French Travelers in the Seventeenth Century India

*Sakul Kundra

Abstract

French travelers’ accounts in the seventeenth century are the major source of information regarding the Orient world. But there is lots of ambiguousness in the biographies of these voyagers due to lack of translations available in hand. An attempt has been made to discover and formulate the biographies of these explorers who have left their readable printed records. The objectives and interpretations of these Occidental voyagers have been vital source of history, in order to countercheck the Persian sources of those times. Despite the weakness of plagiarism, exaggerated observations and European euphoria, these French explores’ laid down the platform for the following adventurers and colonists of the eighteenth century to engage in commercial activities and finally colonize the India.

Keywords: Biographies, French travelers, Explorations, travel Objectives, Orient world, French State and French adventurers

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Introduction

In ancient records, India has been presented as a land of luxury and exotic beauty, of pearls and jewels by the travelers, who came from remote lands as merchants, ambassadors, conquerors, rulers, chaplains, pioneers, administrators, soldiers, writers, poets, seekers of philosophical or religious teachings or missionaries. Many conveyed this impression to their countrymen through lively tales, anecdotes and travel journals. These travelers came from China, Russia, Persia, and the Arab Countries, Turkey, Slavic Countries, Italy, Tibet, Germany, Holland, France, Portugal, England, America and many other lands. Since the age of discovery and exploration, there has been an enormous increase in the journey of occidental travelers’ towards an oriental world. This expansion was promoted by various factors like support given by strong monarchs of Western Europe; merchants desire for making quick fortunes; curiosity to know about the east; missionary zeal and desire to achieve glory. New technological and scientific advancements also encouraged the occidental travelers to commence their journey and write elaborate travel experiences of their journey in the Asiatic world.

It is difficult to count the exact number of the French travellers who visited India during the seventeenth century. They came from diverse routes with diverse missions, some for the quest of trade, curiosity, exploration, commercial motives and collecting reply of the unanswered questions about Oriental world for the Occidental world. They wrote valuable accounts from their observations and experiences in the form of memoirs, diaries, journals, travelogues, personal letters, diaries, communications addressed to their friends and relatives in Europe, official papers and reports of their missions. These travelers’ accounts provided invaluable information about the social milieu, religious beliefs, geographical positions, trading avenues, economic structures and scientific developments taking place in India.

2 Meera Nanda, European Travels Accounts during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb (Kurukshetra, 1994), p. 2
traveller’s account helped the French state in expand their political and commercial limits to five Indian regions such as Chandernagor, Mahe, Karikal, Pondicherry and Yanam.

Many historians such as Paul Hazard, Kate Teltcher, Glenn J. Ames, Sanjay Subrahmanim, Meera Nanada, Edward Farley Oaten, Stanley J. Tambiah, Vincent Rose, S. Inayat.A Zaidi, Jean Marie Lafont, Michael Fisher, Sylvia Murr, France Bhattacharya and other historian had written about some themes related the French travellers in India but no one has systematically analyze the biographies of most of the French travellers in India during seventeenth century. According to Jean Marie Lafont in 1650’s there were several hundred of French in India but one finds it difficult to give a single description of these French people as they differed widely both in character and career. There has been a lacuna to comprehensively understand all the French travellers records of seventeenth century as most of them are un-translated. In this article we have tried to highlight the biographies of all the French travellers who came to India during the seventeenth century. I have adopted a chronological way to describe these travelogues and tried to highlight the unknown French travellers in India during seventeenth century.

1. PIERRE-OLIVIER MALHERBE. (1601-1611)

The first French traveler cum explorer in the seventeenth century who came to India was Pierre-Olivier Malherbe. He was born in 1569 and died in 1616. He was the first French to make the world tour. He was the son of the cloth merchant of Vitre. He was baptized in the church on 26 May 1569.3 He belongs to the city of Vitre in Brittany.4 At the age of 13 Malherbe was familiarized with Spain where his uncle had taken him in 1581. From Spain he leaves for Mexico where he discovered the rich mine of silver. He was a good observer of cities, inhabitants, customs, plants and animals, as he noted

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4 M.de la Ronciere, "Le premier voyageur français autour du monde", Revue hebdomadaire, September 1907, p.23.
them carefully.\(^5\) In Peru, he saw pure gold and silver mines and gave important observation on them. Malherbe escaped the shipwreck of the corsair in Maldives in 1602.\(^6\) Then he left for Asia and after having remained in canton, having crossed Mexico, China, Cochinchine, Cambodia, Siam and Pegou, he entered India which was under Portuguese dominance at that time.\(^7\) He noticed there that the Portuguese government was founded on fragile bases and that it is possible for other European States to found their colonies in India. After a long voyage at the Cape of Good Hope, he came to India and lands at Bengal.

This traveller lived three and half year in Bengal where he learns the Persian language, then used at the court of Akbar. He gained in the court of Agra and Lahore where the Akbar gave him protection by giving him like pension of two bags of gold; he carries out a life of luxury, in the most fertile province.\(^8\) Malherbe admires at Akbar’s broad and tolerant spirit towards religion. He gave the permission to freely practice one’s own belief. Akbar showed large respect towards Christian religion and while Akbar discussion with Malherbe, he considered it moral in all things, except in regard to the obligation to have only one woman. \(^9\) He permitted to the missionaries the proselytizing but only to the adults and not the children, leaving rest in all their liberty to live in their preference.\(^10\) He also praised Akbar unbiased judicial state where the adultery was punished to death and guilty was crushed under the feet of elephant.\(^11\) He in the court of Akbar saw the most beautiful diamond specimens that Raja had brought as tribute. He was authorized to visit the mine from where these diamonds were drawn and examines the way of extracting them. He also noticed that the jeweler cannot cut diamond well and on his return he describes it to Henry IV.

\(^5\) Ibid., 24.
\(^7\) M.de la Ronciere, “Le premier voyageur français autour du monde”, *Revue hebdomadaire*, September 1907, p. 22.
\(^8\) M. de la Roncière, ‘Un artiste français à la cour du Grand Mogol’, *Revue hebdomadaire*, Mars 1905, p. 184
\(^9\) M.de la Ronciere, “Le premier voyageur français autour du monde”, op. cit., p.27
\(^10\) Ibid., p.27
\(^11\) Ibid., p. 27
He was an enthusiastic and intelligent observer as he diligently noted down notes of the countries and cities he traveled, their customs, flora and fauna. This traveller visited many places in India. He travels along Ganga in the areas which seems to him as terrestrial paradise.\(^{12}\) He also passes through the mountains of Kabul in what he calls Tibet\(^{13}\) and he also visited Samarchand, the cradle of the Mughal dynasty. In 1605, after the coming of Jahangir to the throne of Hindustan, Jahangir invited him to settle down in Bengal but Malherbe although was pleased with the hospitality of Indians but preferred to return to France and appease Henri IV of his discovery of easy means to traveling that would be useful to France.\(^{14}\) He left Jahangir, who gives him a passport written in Arabic and leaves for Persia. At Baghdad he received an inhuman treatment from the people the more mischievous, infidel, cruel, barbaric and thieves that he had met across the world.

In 1609, Malherbe is in Paris and obtains several audiences from the king Henry IV. He describes many secret about the countries he visited to the King.\(^{15}\) He proposes easy means to sail to India and he offered to lead himself to all those who wanted to undertake the voyage either by land or sea. He also persuaded the king to organize the Company in the Orientale countries but his advices were not taken into account. So the traveler was discouraged and returned to Spain. Thereafter was not ever heard again but his accounts have helped the following travellers to know more about Indies. He returned to France after 27 years of journey in 1609.\(^{16}\) After having visited Mexico, Peru, China and India, he returned and met with French King Henry IV, to tell him about the gold and silver of the East Indies. He noted several important details in his voyage as he said marked the “height and the elevation of the country and cities, the manners, ways

\(^{12}\) Ibid., p.28

\(^{13}\) M. de la Roncière, 'Un artiste français à la cour du Grand Mogol', *Revue hebdomadaire*, Mars 1905, p. 184


\(^{15}\) M. de la Roncière, "Le premier voyageur français autour du monde", op. cit p. 22.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 1907, p.33.
to make, religion, army, justice, fertility, temperature etc.”

Later his experience was shared by other explorers towards India and helped them to know the other world. He also studies the Portuguese policy in Indian regions such as Diu, Cochin, Calicut and Goa, as he describe the Portuguese had a fragile weak base. He died in 1616. Pierre-Olivier Malherbe who was to be a famous polyglot, was thus the first French to make the round the world tour and the first European to undoubtedly do it differently than by the only sea route, while crossing the continents.

2. AUGUSTIN HIRIART (1612-1619)

The second important French traveller in India was Augustin Hiriart or Augustin de Bourdeaux. He was the French jeweler before Tavernier and Chardin. He belonged from Bordeaux. He was the first man who makes to know western civilization in the court of Jahangir. It is in the year 1609, he left France for the Indies along with several of his compatriots he crossed Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia and then to the Indies. He lived most of the time at Imperial court, first in Agra and then in Lahore. After his arrival to Lahore, his entire compatriot died in the year 1612-13, victims of the scorching heat of tropical sun. All male members of a Hindu family which had lodged and nursed have died, so out of two girls survived Hiriart converted them to Catholicism and married one who bore him two children. Augustin had close relationship with Jahangir and lived with Imperial household in Lahore and later moved to Agra with his Indian wife and two sons in order to serve the new emperor Shahjahan.

This traveller displayed his two professional skills to Jahangir that of both jeweler and military engineer. As a

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17 Ibid., p. 23.
19 M. de la Roncière, ‘Un artiste français à la cour du Grand Mogol’, Revue hebdomadaire, Mars 1905, p. 186
20 Rose Vincent, op. cit., p. 3
capacity of jeweler, he was introduced at the Mughal Court and he soon gains regard and the favor. Hiriart was the one who designed and constructed Jahangir’s famous Peacock throne whose description he has given in his fourth letter addressed to Baron du Tour. The only firangi Jahangir mentions by name in his memoirs is a “European” jeweller who designed his favourite throne – a gold and silver seat ornamented with precious stones and supported by sculpted tigers.22 Hiriart wrote in his letter “I have submitted a design for a royal throne on which the king will sit once a year when the sun enters the House of Aries in a new year. It will be supported by four silver loins covered with gold leaf and weighting 150 quintals. The seat is held up by 12 columns studded with 12,000 ounces of enameled gold. The dome, encrusted with 4,000 of my artificial stones besides other real ones is of insignificant value, for the king possesses quantities of pearls, as for diamonds, he has more than all the princes of the world put together.23 Colonel Gentil calculated the value of this throne in his memoir which must not be less than ten million rupees.

This traveller’s skills as military engineer gained him popularity and title of Houaremand or inventor of arts.24 In 1620, this skilful man gave a suggestion to the Mughal kind or the winner of the world the idea to order a throne worthy of him, where Hiriart had drawn up the estimate, where one found more than one western reminiscence.25 He gave an immense estimate of the amount of gold, silver, rubies used in the throne but one does not know the proportions in which he used the diamonds, pearls and splendid rubies of the royal treasure. But he used immense jewellery of the Great Mughal to enrich the seat of Jahangir who plans to be seated on the New Year day.26 One is not certain that he had completed the work of making the Mughal throne before he departed from India. He constructed a chariot which shoots arrows and burns

23 Lettre d’Hiriart au Baron du Tour, le 27 avril 1625
24 M. de la Roncière, ‘Un artiste français à la cour du Grand Mogol’, Revue hebdomadaire, Mars 1905, p. 188.
25 Ibid., p. 188.
26 M. de la Roncière, ‘Un artiste français à la cour du Grand Mogol’, Revue hebdomadaire, Mars 1905, p. 188.
everything that approaches it without endangering soldiers’ lives and also invented a system by which elephant could be made to move quickly. In 1619, he was promoted to the rank of Captain of the squadron of 200 horsemen. He became the engineer and artillerist at the same time. He received a house and stable from the Emperor and was honoured with the gift of a hat decorated with an imperial portrait of gold. We are unaware whether Augustin Hiriart returned to his native land. Only one article written by Roncière, ‘Un Artiste Français à la Cour du Grand Mogol’ gave significant details about the life of this traveller. In his letters it has been shown that he was employed by for the supervision under the Great Mughal who gave 4 escus per day and 120 per month. He further said the Mughal King “gave me 10 elephants, 10 horses, a house of 8 thousand livre and his gold ...which was a sign of honour, as in France the order to the holy spirit, I married and I had a child of 10 years”.

More fanciful in 1630 is the speculation that Hunarmand was the chief architect of the Taj Mahal, a baseless claim which was criticized by many historians. The canard was probably born of a condescending European conviction that such a beautiful building could not have been designed by a non-Westerner. It is possible that he submitted plans to the emperor, for whom he had built the extraordinary throne of which he speaks in his fourth and last letter in 1632. Nevertheless, Hunarmand may have been commissioned to design the mausoleum’s original silver doors. Apparently he received a commission to do similar metalwork in the Agra Fort, though he never completed it.

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27 Ibid., p. 108, 196,197.
28 Ibid., p. 188.
29 Ibid., p. 191.
30 Ibid., p. 191.
The precise details of Hunarmand’s death are unknown; but rumor has it he was poisoned in Cochin while negotiating a settlement between the Mughals and the Portuguese – a mission that suggests he saw himself as belonging to both sides. And although we do not know what happened to his surviving child, the French-born Augustin Hiriart may well have Indian descendants still living in Agra.

During the beginning of the seventeenth century there was an immense competition among the European powers such as Portuguese and Dutch for establishing control over spices trade in Oriental Indies especially Moluccas or Spice Islands. There were some ship-owners and merchants of Brittany who were interest this promising market decided at the same time to go there to make control over spice trade. This voyage was financed by the Laval, Vitre and Saint Malo, the first expedition commanded by the Saint Malo captain Michel Frotet of Bardeliere.

3. FRANÇOIS PYRARD DE LAVAL (1608-1611)

In 1601 a French trading company was formed through the association of Saint-Malo, Laval and Vitré, to trade with the Moluccas and Japan. Two ships, the Croissant and the Corbin, were sent around the Cape of Good Hope in May 1601. They had two person engaged Francois Pyrard from Laval and Francois Martin from Vitre both made the voyage. These two person forms next lot travellers coming to India which are researched in our study.

The boats left Saint-Malo on 18th May and sail around the Cape of Good Hope. The disease was spread in the crew and many men died. Some perished when the Corbin was shipwrecked on the edges of Maldives Island in July 1602, while Pyrard and three other survivors were captured as prisoners by the natives. They were released after four years and Pyrard took a

34 Tavernier, Travels in India, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 88.
35 Jonathan Gil Harris, 'Part II: The Jeweller of Agra', Hindustan Times, 19 November, 2011
36 François Martin de Vitre, Description du premier voyage fait aux Indies Orientales par les Français, First ed. 1609, reproduction 2009, Editions Les Portes du large, Rennes, p. ix
37 Ibid., p. ix.
sail towards Chittagong in February 1607.\textsuperscript{38} Croissant and Corbin expedition was not of much success.

Francois Pyrrard stayed in India for next four and half years, firstly a brief stay in Bengal, he visited various ports on the Malabar Coast and spent nearly eight month at Calicut. This helped him to observe and admire the commercial and flourishing city. They failed to obtain passage on a ship headed for France. Here he described the Portuguese actions and diplomacy. Pyrrard attempted to reach Cochin in March 1608, but was seized by Portuguese and made prisoner. He was released after ten days and transferred to Goa in June 1608 and for next two years it became his chief residence till February 1610.

After arriving at the Portuguese capital he was able to make observations of Goa and Portuguese India. He was at Portuguese residence for 22 months, from May 1608 to February 1610. After his arrival at Goa, his regular communication was maintained with Europe. Finally, on 30 February, 1610, he leaves Goa for Europe but reached his native town of Laval in February 1611. He stayed for ten years in the Maldives Islands and India (from 1601 until 1611). He claimed that he has made two voyages during this period in Portuguese ships as soldiers, the one to Ceylon, Malacca and the Easter Archipelago and the other to Diu and Cambay.\textsuperscript{39} Pyrrard does not tell us in what he was employed, he was still on the roll of solider and as a soldado got his provisions at the house of one of the great lords. The Portuguese had an unusual number of foreigners under their services, Pyrrard, and his two French companions, many Englishmen and other ship workers.\textsuperscript{40} The king of Spain’s orders was that no foreigners should be permitted in the Portuguese territories, especially those who came in their own ships. So large a number of spying foreigners naturally alarmed the new viceroy and he at once put the whole of them into prison. Pyrrard gave historical sketch of the rise and progress of the Portuguese government

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., pp. x, xiv.
\textsuperscript{39} Albert Gray, \textit{The Voyage of François Pyrrard of Laval}, Vol. II, Pt I, p. x, xii
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. xix.
and finance, of the connection between the king of Madrid and Indian Office, at Lisbon between the viceroy and the chief officers of Goa and the captains of forts and lastly the brief resume of the politics of Western Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century.\footnote{Ibid., p. xxiv.}

He published his account in 1611 under the title of Discours du voyage des François aux Indes orientales, ensemble des divers accidents, adventures et dangers de l’auteur en plusieurs royaumes des Índes, et du séjour qu’il y a fait depuis l’an 1601 jusques en cette année 1611, which was published in 1611 and later Hakluyt Society translated it in English and edited by Albert Gray in 3 volumes title as "The Voyage of François Pyrrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil".\footnote{Albert Gray trans. and assisted by Harry Charles Bell The Voyage of François Pyrrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil, Hakluyt Society, 3 vols, London 1887-90.} The French edition of this book was reedited in 1615, 1619, 1679 and also published in English in three volumes appeared between 1887 and 1880 at London. He has chosen to make his arrival at Goa the dividing point between his two volumes; he closed his first volume with his escape from Maldives and comprised in the second the whole of his description of Portuguese India.\footnote{Albert Gray, The Voyage of François Pyrrard of Laval, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. x. François Martin de Vitré, Description du premier voyage fait aux Indes Orientales par les Français, op. cit, p. xiv.}

He drew upon his experiences as a shipwreck survivor, captive, soldier and merchant whose purpose was to encourage greater French involvement in South Asian commerce.\footnote{Daine C. Morgolf, “Wonders of Nature, Diversity of Events: The Voyage de François Pyrrard de Laval” in Glenn J. Ames and Ronald S. Love, (ed.), Distant Land and Diverse Culture, The French Experience in Asia 1600-1700, Westport, 2005, pp. 111-134} During his stay in India, he gives occasional personal references in his first volume but when he arrived at Goa he gives observations of Goa and Portuguese India, impression of its dominion, classified and discussed in details.\footnote{Albert Gray, The Voyage of François Pyrrard of Laval, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. x} In the second volume he gives details and made observations of Goa and Portuguese India, he discards dates and sequence of events.
Pyrrard de Laval gave several advices to those who undertake the voyage in East Indies as a patriotic informer to the French state. Firstly he stress the need to take care of proper times and seasons to make a voyage, to avoid storms and strong winds, secondly, need of experience sea-pilots is very necessary as he has the practical knowledge to conduct a voyage, thirdly, the choice of a good ship is necessary for a long voyage to avoid accidents, fourthly one should have sufficient food material and fresh water rather than wine which cannot quench the thirst, as some brandy can help in cold regions. In addition to this some candles, olive oil for cooking and walnut oil should be carried for the lamps, fifthly, one should take care of medicines as many fall ill during the long voyage which lead to ague, scurvy and gum disease and its remedies.\footnote{Ibid., p. 390.}

4. FRANÇOIS MARTIN DE VITRÉ (1601-1609)

Another significant French who travelled India was Français Martin de Vitré. He was the sixth child of Etienne Martin, doctor at vitre and of Charlotte Morin. He was baptized from the Church of Notre Dame de Vitre on 1st October 1575.\footnote{Français Martin de Vitré, Description du premier voyage faict aux Indes Orientales par les Français, op. cit, p. xi.} He did a course in pharmacy from faculty of Montpellier and had been declare a pharmist in 1596. In 1601, he decided to take part as a surgeon in the expedition towards the island of Moluques. He was a French sailor and adventurer from the city of Vitré who travelled to East Asia as far as Sumatra from 1601 to 1603. He was the first Frenchman to write an account of travels to the Far East. The second ship, the Croissant carrying François Martin de Vitré, reached Ceylon and traded with Aceh in Sumatra, but on the return it was captured by the Dutch at Cape Finisterre. François Martin, together with François Pyrrard, were among the first French merchants to visit India. They went to Surat and also visited the town of Gujarat. He described about the some animals, merchandise, aromatic drugs and fruits which were found in India.\footnote{Français Martin de Vitré, Description du premier voyage faict aux Indes Orientales par les Français, op. cit, p. 111.} He gave the description of the treatment of scurvy which is a disease to

\footnote{Français Martin de Vitré, Description du premier voyage faict aux Indes Orientales par les Français, op. cit, p. xi.}
those who travel to these foreign places. He said that the best remedy of this disease is to take lemon or orange juices and frequently take some fruits.\textsuperscript{49}

Regarding India, François Martin de Vitre described the manners of living of Indies during his stay.\textsuperscript{50} He described physical features, clothes of high and low class people men and women, food and currency. He staying in Indies for span of five months and on 20\textsuperscript{th} November 1602 he re-embarks to retake the route of France.\textsuperscript{51}

On his return, François Martin was asked by Henry IV to write the account of his travels, which he published in 1604 in the title \textit{La Description du premier voyage fait aux Indes orientales par les Français en l’an 1603, contenant les mœurs, les lois, façon de vivre, religions et habits des Indiens Paris 1604}. The accounts of François Martin created a strong enthusiasm for Asian travel, and from 1604 to 1609.\textsuperscript{52} Inspite of failure of the commercial expeditions, there were other expeditions in 1616 for East Indies.

5. \textbf{JEAN MOCQUET (1607-1610)}

Another significant French travellers which is not been research thoroughly who came to Goa in 1610 was Jean Mocquet. He was born in Cuisy, near to Meaux, in 1575 and dead in Paris on 1617. There are few sources which tell us about the history of his early life. They were humble family. In his memoir\textsuperscript{53} he address to Louis XIII that he was greatly attach with Henri IV and wrote great praises for him due to his generous steps by the greatest king and the best father that he could have.\textsuperscript{54} The desire to travel made him to demand from

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. xii.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 66-129.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p. 90.
Henri IV a permission of going in the foreign countries and later obtained it. He was called the apothecary to Henry IV. He left on October 1st, 1601, embarked the 9 to Saint-Malo, and made during the eleven following years five voyages: the first on the Western coast of Africa (return to Saint-Malo on 1st August, 1602), the second in Cape Verde, in Brazil, in Guyana, in Cumana (departure from Cancale on January 24th, 1604, return in the on same port the next August 15th), the third in Portugal and Morocco (departure of Saint-Nazaire on April 12th, 1605, return in Havre on March 17th, 1606), the fourth in Ethiopia, Mozambique and Goa and places of Africa and East Indies. (return in 1610), the fifth in Syria, Jerusalem and Palestine (departure from Marseilles on September 8th, 1611, return in July 1612). Each time he return to native land he showed the King the different objects that he had brought back. In 1614, he plan to make a world tour and he left this year for Spain where one is refused the authorization to embark for America. So he returned to France in 1615. He regained at Paris the employment to write his travelogue entitled *Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes orientales et occidentales, divisés en six livres et enrichis de figures*.\(^{55}\) He probable dies in 1617. His account is detailed and gives many curious information on the natives and natural history of the places he visited. He showed the depravity of the Portuguese in the Indies, and gives interesting details on their trade. He came to Goa as apothecary to the Conde de Feira and returned in the same capacity. He knew in Goa the traveller François Pyrard, who told him many characteristics on Maldives.\(^ {56}\)

6. **FRANÇOIS DE GOUZ DE LA BOULLAYE (1644-1649)**

Next in the chronology come François de Gouz de la Boullaye was the first ambassador of King Louis XV to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1664.\(^ {57}\) He was born in Anjou in 1610, near the small town of Baugé.\(^ {58}\) He belonged to a noble family

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\(^{55}\) *Voyages in Africa, Asia, the Indies Eastern and Western, divided into six books and enriched by figures*


\(^{58}\) Victor Godard-Fauchier, *François de Boullaye Gouz*, *Extract of the Memories of the Company of Agriculture, Sciences and Arts of Angers*, 1858, p. 29.
who left Brittany towards Anjou in the end of XV century.\textsuperscript{59} He showed the ancestors of his family belong to Great Britain and while other believe in France.\textsuperscript{60} Gouz de la Boullaye made his studies at the College of Fleche.\textsuperscript{61} He was probably influenced by the work of Rene Descartes and his philosophical writings.\textsuperscript{62} After studying the languages, geography and mathematics then he formed a project to devote his life to distance voyages.

He made his first voyage to the Orient and India from 1644 to 1650. In 1643, he left France in the in the desire to see "the men the more skilful and the more skilled" after having visited the Holland and the Coast of Baltic, he return to Venice and from there to Constantinople.\textsuperscript{63} Then he arrived at Marseille, Genao, Florence, and Rome and then reached Persia. He does not complain too much about the troubles and difficulties of his long voyage. He had a desire to enter Mughal Empire, so he arrived at Surat in April 1646.\textsuperscript{64} He described that Surat had large traffic port and generate income from custom duty charged on vessels from various parts of country according to the tides, seasons and winds.\textsuperscript{65} After few months he embark on Indian boat in the company of Father Zenon to reach Daman and then to Goa. He described in details the Portuguese dominance in Goa and other colonies with its judgment on its military power.\textsuperscript{66} He return to Goa, Bombay and penetrated in the interior of the country and explored the Radjepoutanah.\textsuperscript{67} In 1649, he embarked for Bender-Abassy and "returned to Europe by successfully visiting Bassorah, Bagdad, Mossoul, Daibekir, Alep, Liban and Alexendrie."\textsuperscript{68}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{59} Henri Castonnet Des Fosses, \textit{La Boullaye le Gouz : sa vie et ses voyages}, Extrait des "Mémoires de la Société nationale d’agriculture, sciences et arts d’Angers", 1888, p. 146.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Francois de la Boullaye le Gouz, \textit{Les Voyages et Observations du Sieur de la Boullaye le Gouz}, 1653; rpt. Paris, 1657. p. 457.
\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid., p. 448.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Victor Godard-Faultrier, ‘François of Boullaye Gouz. Extract of the Memories of the Company of agriculture, sciences and arts of Angers. 1858. p. 30.
\item \textsuperscript{63} Henri Castonnet Des Fosses, ‘Une Lettre inedite de La Boullaye le Gouz’ Anger, 1886, p. 2
\item \textsuperscript{64} Henri Castonnet Des Fosses, La Boullaye le Gouz : sa vie et ses voyages, Extrait des "Mémoires de la Société nationale d’agriculture, sciences et arts d’Angers", 1888, vol 1, p. 158.
\item \textsuperscript{65} Francois de la Boullaye le Gouz, \textit{Les Voyages et Observations du Sieur de la Boullaye le Gouz}, 1653; rpt. Paris, 1657. p.135
\item \textsuperscript{66} Ibid., p.197.
\item \textsuperscript{67} Ibid., p. 214, 265.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Henri Castonnet Des Fosses, ‘Une Lettre inedite de La Boullaye le Gouz’ Anger, 1886, p. 2
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He poses all kinds of questions about the political, social and commercial world of the Mughal Empire. He had the curiosity to study natural history and had good knowledge of botany. He divides trees of India into four species: trees with flowers, poisonous trees and those used to make fire. The palm tree was an object of admiration for him as he called it a divine tree. He also describes the situation of the European in India and especially the English. As according to him they do not enjoy much prestige but had commercial success in India. This traveller devoted his life to increase the knowledge of the world and to extend the influence of motherland France. He was neither a scholar, nor a politician and when one read the account of his adventurers, it is not necessary to expect to find there some scientific discovery intended to give birth to from long discussions, his observations are far from revealing qualities of a statesman. He described the king of Hindustan allowed the exercise of all to worships and did not force any one to obey the state religion as its population consist of Christians, Jews, Parsis, Mahometans and Indians. The Indians have the pagodas and priests were the Brahmans.

He published his observations and accounts of his voyages at Paris in 1659. In his writing The Travels and Observations of la Boullaye le Gouz, he described the religions, governments and conditions of the states and kingdoms of Italy, Greece, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Caramania, Chaldea, Assyria, Mughal India, Bijapore, Portuguese India, Arabia, Egypt, Holland, Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Poland, the islands and other parts of Europe, Asia and Africa. These account influenced French society and other European countries. He stayed in India from early 1646 to 1649 for near about three years. He made elaborated description relating to the religion and customs of the people and government in India during the reign of Shah Jahan. His style of writing was easy, thoroughly explored in

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72 Le Gouz F, op. cit.
content, pleasant in reading and provides invaluable information to represent East of that times.73 “His originality, curiosity, facility to yield the customs of the countries that he travelled makes him the first tourist of the modern times”.74 The merit of his observation helped him to gain popularity in Paris. In Asia and Africa he was named as Ibrahim Beg and in Europe as catholic voyager. He was appointed Louis’s ambassador to the Mughal Emperor.

Colbert wanted to establish the trading Company in the Indies and sought men to undertake this expedition. Boullaye was offered his services and he accepted it. Colbert chose Boullaye to go to Isphahan in order to negotiate a treaty likely to encourage the trade between France and Persia. So in July 1665, five deputies such as Lalin, Boullaye Gouz, Beber, Mariage and Dupont went to Isphahan as embassy.75 They carried a letter the Lonne wrote to a French named Etoile, then in the service of king of Persia. Due to jealousy the quarrel arose among these deputies who wanted to play a prominent role. Later the deputies got separated, Lalin died due to high fever, Mariage remained in Isphahan, Boullaye left with Beber for Surat where he arrived in the month of March 1666.76 They informed the governor of Surat and President of English were nice to them. English Conseil came to visit them and offered all the help in that country. He says that their arrival in the city attracted curiousness to see the French ambassadors.

Boullaye was in charge of the political mission where he writes to the Colbert and gives him details information and useful indication for the trade with the Indies. He had a very clear political sight and a great observation. He carried the letter of the King of France to the Great Mogolin the sight to negotiate a

74 Henri Castonnet des Fosses H., "Une lettre inédite de la Boullaye le Gouz",op. cit., p. 2.
76 Ibid, p. 4.

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favourable treaty to establish France trade in India.\textsuperscript{77} He says it would be necessary to send large ships to the states along the coast from where one can trade and these men should carry some personal fidelity, few were charged to have the letter of French monarch and others have some merchandise to discover trade, lastly Boullaye pointed out that these men should have necessary qualities of a traveller.\textsuperscript{78} He gave guidelines in order to avoid custom regulations at Persia and protecting the supply of merchandise between Europe and India at Madagascar by resting their soldiers and marines for some time that will help to conserve the men of the Company.\textsuperscript{79}

He goes on to say to establish trade in oriental empires the French should not be permitted in Muslim, Armenian, Banian and other ships without the permission of the Company, each journey must be made under the stamp of Company and commanded by free Europeans. These Europeans should be employed which must be given proper treatment and healthy wages so that if removed from their service, these ships remained unutilized.\textsuperscript{80} Otherwise it could have the trade of the Company.

This Frenchman gave significant suggestions to defend the huge expenditure on commerce as he says the men devoted towards luxury were not suitable for work. Some of his instructions were really valuable as he advised to hire extremely honest men who should not be allowed to bring their women in the office and trading post. He goes on to say that it would be better to take in writing and by oath from these men that they will not take the service at any other prince as they could reveal the secret and their experience of trade with other competitors. Later if these men resisted then the Company have the right to punish and give penalize them.

\textsuperscript{78} Castonnet des Fosses H., 'Une lettre inédite de la Boullaye le Gouz', Extrait des Mémoires de la Société Nationale d'Agriculture, Science et Arts d'Angers, 1888, p. 7
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., p. 7
\textsuperscript{80} Castonnet des Fosses H., 'Une lettre inédite de la Boullaye le Gouz', op. cit., p. 8
He also insisted on giving honest men as directors or deputy generals for these commercial centers as equal to the President or Commander of English and Dutch. He insisted to give humanly treatment to their friends and show severe stand against the enemies, even use force against them to make them surrender.\textsuperscript{81} He proposed that the chief of these trading post should be gracious, of good family, cities and provinces affectionate to the king and one should not employ two competitors in same city that could lead to rivalry among them. These traders should also not to be allowed to practice any private trade as this has ruined the English. It would be necessary to send large number of ships of the King in the coast not to fight but to show the majesty of king and lower the pride of the Dutch. He also insisted that the houses of these traders should be made at a distance from English and Dutch locality as it shall avoid the inconvenience of domestic work and at the time of war.

He further said to wage a war in Malabar and other areas, one should try to develop a discord between English and Dutch, to always help the weakest, pay the soldiers properly and to punish them severely in the case of revolt, pay surprise visit to the commercial centers to keep a check on their activities, to supervise the civil servants properly and to send the young children to learn the main languages such as Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Malay which may be used as interpreters and even help the missionaries- these were the policies recommended by the Boullaye to his fellow men. These advices were mentioned in the letter written by Boullaye having curious and judicious opinions, undersign in Turkish characters.

In 1664 he started his third voyage from Paris and arrived at Isfahan in 1665. He obtained a farman for trade in Persia. The Persian King granted the French merchants freedom from custom duties by this farman.\textsuperscript{82} He wrote a letter to Jean Baptiste Colbert on 1 April 1666 when he arrived at Surat where he requested the King of France to dispatch powerful fleet with artillery that will have a great effect in reducing the

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., p. 9
\textsuperscript{82} Castonnet des Fosses H., “La Boullaye le Gourz”, p. 50
pride of the Dutch. His request might have influenced the Colbert and also insisted to form a French company. The French embassy to the Mughal Empire in 1666 consisted of Le Gouz, who made efforts to deliver King Louis’s letter to Aurangzeb. In this letter Louis demanded the royal protection for the French merchants and the company. Thus Aurangzeb granted a farman to the French embassy in September 1666, which permitted the French Company to open up trade with Indian merchants and erect a factory at Swali, a port outside of Surat.

Later de la Boullaye le Gouz and Beber decided to move towards Agra. He moved in Agra at the Court of Great Mogol without ostentation with two oxen coaches and escorted by twenty five soldiers. Their crew resemble not as the ambassadors but as merchants. In Agra, they met a French doctor named Jacques who presented them in the city of nawab and was very favourable to them. They carried the letter of King of France address to the Great Mogol as they wanted to present it themselves.

But the nawab was not much impressed as the deputies neither carried any present nor gave any remark of conceit. The Nawab was little interested to assist the Boullaye mission so he does not gain any success and leaves Agra after two months. After having failed at Mogol Court he wanted to execute a project to go to China by crossing Bengal. This journey of de la Boullaye de Gouz was dangerous and proved fatal for him. He moved towards Patna in order to go for Decca in the company of some Persian soldiers. He carried to coffers of livers which stimulated the greed of his companions who hope to benefit from it. So they assassinated Boullaye when he was asleep. Such was the end of this unfortunate French, who despite the weaknesses was one of the most interesting characters in the XVII century. He married to Elisabeth Gautier de Brulon and

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84 S.P. Sen., The French in India, p.34.
87 Castonnet des Fosses H., ‘Une lettre inédite de la Boullaye le Gouz’, op. cit, p 16.
accepted from Louis XIV an embassy near Great Mughal and died in 1664 in Ispahan. Others claim that he died in 1668 in Persia. The Shah of Persia made him to raise a tomb at the end of the river of Ormus.

There have been differences between the original manuscript and first published text printed of Francois de la Boullaye le Gouz. Michele Bernardini mentioned the manuscript does not contain the full travel accounts and the European countries described by La Boullaye le Gouz. He further goes on to say the first part of manuscript included several chapters omitted from the printed edition, such as those dedicated to the argument that must not be put off because of marriage, an ecclesiastic or legal career. He also said the content of the printed edition follow that of the manuscript, with some changes and shortening of various sections. The printed edition was directly or indirectly inspired by the manuscript kept in the Fondo Corsini, where La Boullaye le Gouz dedicated his work to Cardinal Luigi Capponi who became librarian of the Vatican Library in 1649. There were many differences between the illustrations of the manuscript and those of the printed edition, several portraits of La Boullaye included in the manuscript, frequently within the illustrations are absent from the printed edition. But it is obvious that Tavernier, who made six voyage and Bernier, who remained ten years in the Indies, are those which have the most deepened knowledge in the seventeenth century.

7. JEAN-BAPTISTE TAVERNIER (1631-1668)

One of the most important merchant ambassadors, in the XVII century was Jean Baptiste Tavernier. He was born in 1605 in

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88 Victor Godard-Faultier, ‘François de Boullaye Gouz’, Extract of the Memories of the Company of agriculture, sciences and arts of Angers. 1858, p. 49.
90 Victor Godard-Faultier, ‘François de Boullaye Gouz’, Extract of the Memories of the Company of agriculture, sciences and arts of Angers. 1858, p. 50.
92 Ibid., pp. 56.
Paris, he was a son of Gabriel and Suzanne Tonneller. His father was an enlightened geographer. In 1575, his father and his brothers Melchoir and Nicolas fled from Antwerp to Paris to avoid religious persecution as being a Protestants. He and his brothers gathered round exploring the charts and maps produced for his father’s clients and engaged in their conversation and his ignited the desire to see foreign countries at very young age. By the age of 22, he had explored many best parts of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungry and Italy, and had acquired a fair knowledge of the most useful European languages. These experiences led to various military services outside of France from 1620 to 1636. He made six voyages to the East from 1631 to 1668 and finally retired to France wealthy and honoured. Some believed that Tavernier tried for seventh voyage towards East to recover his losses in 1685 but could not be successful.

He undertakes his first voyage towards East in 1631, but after travelling Persia, he returned to Paris. He brought some Persian turquoises as articles of trade. His second voyage was carried out on 13th September, 1638, he embark from Marseille for Alexandrette, on a Dutch ship with a young artist, a surgeon and his brother Daniel. He stayed for three years at Basra, then goes to Ispahan and from there to Surat. At the court of Shah Jahan, he introduced himself as gentleman trader who was in constant touch with the kings of France and Persia. He probably visited many places as mentioned in his account such as Dacca, Agra, Surat, Burhampur, Ahmednagar, Goa and Golconda. He makes inquires and perhaps visited diamond mines of Golconda and then return to Surat in 1642. This was a reconnaissance mission of Tavernier for his future

93 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels in India, op cit., Vol. I. p.x.
94 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels in India, op cit., Vol. I. p.x.
97 Ibid., p. xi.
98 Ibid., p. xi.
99 Ibid., p. XII.
100 Rose Vincent, op. cit. p.14.
101 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels in India, op cit., Vol. I. p.xii.

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commercial operations or a market survey of India. Tavernier was an expert in diamonds and he had business relations with the most of the sovereigns of Europe, Asia, Persia, India and others.

On 6\textsuperscript{th} December 1643, Tavernier left Paris to undertake his third voyage and reached Surat in January 1645.\textsuperscript{103} His aim was to visit the diamond mines of Golconda. He arrived at Surat in 1645, he goes to Daulatabad and then he goes to see precious diamond mines. In 1648, he goes to Goa and spend two months and after that he visited Batavia and returned from there in 1649. Tavernier had a great passion for diamonds, pearls, and almost all precious stones that he would buy in India and sell them in Europe. Then he spends two years in Europe as he was occupied to sell the invaluable precious stones that he brought from India. Tavernier gives the details how the stone was mined and cut, how its value is calculated and how it was bought and sold.

On 18 June 1651 he starts his fourth voyage from Paris and goes to India. He embarks in Bender Abbas and sails round the Cape Comorin, goes to Masulipatam from where he goes to Saint Thome, Golconda, Ahmedabad and Surat.\textsuperscript{104} Later he goes back to Europe in Dutch boat. He finally reached back to Paris in 1655 after his halt in Persia. During this voyage he showed his precious stones to Mir Jumla, Prime Minister of King of Golkonda and Shaista Khan who was then the governor of Gujarat.

His fifth visit to India was in 1657. He went to Surat and brought precious stones from Europe for Shaista Khan, Asaf Khan’s son and Emperor Aurangzeb’s uncle, who bought a considerable number of goods from him including gold and pearls.\textsuperscript{105} Then he visited diamond mines at Golkonda. Later he was in Persia in 1662. He married at the age of fifty five with

\textsuperscript{102} Rose Vincent, op. cit., p.15.
\textsuperscript{103} Jean Baptiste Tavernier, \textit{Travels in India}, op cit., Vol. 1. p. xiii.
\textsuperscript{104} Jean Baptiste Tavernier, \textit{Travels in India}, op cit., Vol. 1. p. xvi.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., p. xviii.
Madeleine Goisse, a daughter of Jean Goisse, a jeweler, with whom he had some business transactions.\(^{106}\)

In 1663, he comes to the East for the last time for his business. During this time, he accompanied by his young nephew Maurice Tavernier and four attendants of different professions.\(^{107}\) He carries with him invaluable stones value of 400,000 livres. He sells many of these precious stones to the Shah of Persia who gave him special privileges to trade in this country. He became the official merchant of the Shah of Persia.\(^{108}\) From Persia he goes to Indies and on his arrival at Surat and he comes to know that Aurangzeb also had the intention to buy some precious stones from him. Tavernier hurried towards Delhi where the emperor bought large number of precious stones.\(^{109}\) Aurangzeb makes show the jewels of Mughals and shortly afterwards he goes to Agra from where he started for accompanied by Francois Bernier.\(^{110}\) Tavernier in this trip also met M. Thevenot at Surat and John Chardin at Bandar Abbas. He remained for some months in Persia and finally reached Paris on 6\(^{th}\) December 1668. During this last trip he was entrusted by the English resident with an important packet of letters for Surat, which contained information on the outbreak of war in Europe and it was stolen by the Dutch and replaced by blank papers. So the English at Surat were very furious when they received the blank papers and threatened Tavernier to assassination so he sent a strong protest against this Dutch treachery.\(^{111}\)

He praises himself as he have the euphoria of being the first European to show the French the way towards the diamond mines of Hindustan and showed the ways to penetrate in the interior of the country.\(^{112}\) On his arrival to France he had an interview with Louis XIV, this merchant sold the king a large number of diamonds and other precious stones. In 1669, in

\(^{106}\) Ibid., p. xix.

\(^{107}\) Ibid., p. xix.

\(^{108}\) Ibid., p. xx.


\(^{110}\) Ibid., p. xxi.


\(^{112}\) Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, op. cit., vol I, p. 326
consideration of his eminent services to France, he was
granted letters which conferred him a title of nobility and later
received by Excellencies of Berne as ‘Seigneur Baron
d'Aubonne’.\footnote{Ibid., p. XXIV.} He bought a private home in Paris as well as the
Barony of Eaubonne in Switzerland.

In 1676,\footnote{Note. In 1675, Tavernier’s first publication appeared under the title, Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior.} appeared \textit{The Six Voyages} and two volumes of \textit{Travels in India}, this book got immense success and roused the
jealousy of other travellers. It was believed that Tavernier’s Six
Voyages was dictated by him to a French protestant named
Samuel Chappuzeau and latter assisted by M.de Lamignon.\footnote{Jean Baptiste Tavernier, \textit{Travels in India}, op. cit., Vol. 1. pp.xxv-xxv} His voyages are valuable authority on the trade and trade-
routes of the East at the time, and especially on the diamond
and other mines of India. Although being a jeweler he had the
reputation of being a good observer who handled meticulously
matters concerning to urban history, art treasures, food and
wine, along with precise information about markets, trade
goods and exchange rates.\footnote{Anne York, ”Travels in India: Jean-Baptiste Tavernier” in Glenn J. Ames and Ronald S. Love. (ed.), \textit{Distant Land and Diverse Culture, The French Experience in Asia 1600-1700}, Westport, 2003, pp. 136} In 1687, at the age of more than
80 years, he still leaves for his last voyage. He passes to
Copenhagen and then to Russia, and he dies in Moscow. As an
expert in jewellery and in its trade, he observed objectively, a
hindered by socio-cultural or philosophical considerations.\footnote{Rose Vincent, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16.}

His aim for travelling was that “I am able to say that I came into
the world with the desire to travel.”\footnote{Jean Baptiste Tavernier, \textit{Travels in India}, op. cit., vol I, pp. x-xii.} He became a good
friend of Bernier and travelled to Bengal with him and in 1666
at Surat, Tavernier and Thevenot met and lastly at Bandar
Abbas in 1667, he had an interview with Chardin. There were
several critics of Tavernier’s \textit{Six Voyages}, Firstly, in contrast to
his compatriots like Thevenot, Bernier and Chardin, who
believed to be better educated men and more philosophical in
thoughts. Voltaire wrote contemptuously of the value of
Tavernier’s work, secondly, his contemporary travellers are
silent or even critic of his work. Chardin mentioned Tavernier in an amusing way and Gemelli Careri speaks of Tavernier as a dupe rather than a lair. Thirdly, there were plagiarism charges on him to have derived some topics from Bernier’s writings as he wrote about those places where he never had visited must be derived information from various sources, but principally from persons who gave him their own personal experiences. Fourthly, some blame him of neither knowing to read nor write and his descriptions on some places are manifestly incorrect. Lastly, some said he was just a merchant but not a scientifically trained observer. Thus he limited his explanation to the point of merchant so many of the vital fields of describing the country and people left unexplored. He gives little information about the condition of the peasantry, of the revenue system, of the social economy of the jungle tribes which he encountered in his wanderings. Later Voltaire denounced the text of Tavernier which he says that it speaks more to the merchants than to the philosophers and give hardly some instructions then to know the main roads and to purchase some diamonds.

In his accounts of the voyage, he mentioned in particular the splendor of the court of the emperor of the court of Emperor Shah Jahan, important routes from Surat to Agra and gives some information on the Diamond mines of Golconda which he visited at 1641. Tavernier’s goal to explore India was “as in his first voyage to Persia, it seems that he especially searched to recognize the land on which he was to operate later, products so varied in peninsula of Hindustan, its rich minerals, means of going there and transportation, commercial system of the natives, that were the subjects of his studies and observation.”

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120 Ibid., p. xxxii.
121 Ibid., p. xxxv.
122 Ibid., p. xxxvii.
7. **FRANÇOIS BERNIER (1656-1668)**

Next prominent French traveller was François Bernier. He was known as philosopher, astronomer, doctor and travellers of seventeenth century. He was born on 25th or 26th September 1620 at Joue, near Gonnord, in Anjou. His parents were Pierre Bernier and Andree Grimmault. They were cultivators of the soil, were lease holders, in the Barony of Etiau, of land belonging to the company of St. Maurice at Angers. Bernier was orphaned at very young age. He and his two sisters were cared by his uncle, the cure de Changeaux. At age of 15, Bernier moved to Paris to study at the college de Clermont, where he was invited to stay at home with his younger friend Chapelle, the son of Luillier who was a counselor at the parliament in Metz. Between 1647 and 1650 he travelled in Northern Germany, Poland, Switzerland and Italy. On his return he completed his studies at the University of Montpellier, where on 18th July 1652 he passes his examination as a licentiate in medicine. Bernier received the scientific knowledge from his teacher named Pierre Gassendi. After his teacher’s death in 1655 he started to fulfill the passion for travel and visited Palestine, Egypt, Persia, Ethiopia and finally in India. Gassendi education helped him to make scientific observations in India.

In 1658, he made his way from Surat to Agra, he met Dara Shikoh near Ahmedabad, latter having retreated to Gujarat after his defeat at Deorai near Ajmer. He became the doctor for Dara Shikoh and after his death he gave his service to Daneshmand Khan. He taught astronomy, physics, anatomy, chemistry, physiology, and logic to the Persian nobleman

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127 Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), French philosopher, scientist and mathematician. A teacher and priest who taught in Digne, Aix and the Royal College at Paris. He violently opposed the authoritarianism of Aristotle, especially in the *Exercitationes paradoxae adversus Aristoteles* (1624). He revived and interpreted the atomic theory of Democritus and Epicurus in terms of the new science, thereby opposing the Cartesian school, and also attempted to reconcile atomism and Epicurean ethics with the teachings of the church. (Bernier, *Travels*, pp. xx, 1).
Daneshmand Khan, who paid him handsomely for his services. Bernier and Daneshmand Khan friendship was based on a common platform for knowledge, philosophical exchanges and also tried to understand the manifold and complex divine worlds and philosophies of Hinduism. His goal is explore India, to penetrate in the interior and to visit the court of Great Mogol. He also wanted to accumulate knowledge and had the desire to see the world. He also visited Delhi, Lahore, Kashmir, Rajmahal, Kasimbazar, Beneras, Masulipatam and Golconda. He was witnessed to be in Persia in 1667 and in 1669 at Marseilles. In 1688 he died at Paris. Bernier does not appear to have been long ill, and it is said that his death resulted from an apoplectic fit, effect of excitement caused by some rude bantering he had been subjected to when in the company of M. le Procureur-general de Harlay. He had made his will on the 18th September, bequeathing his property to his nephew Phillipe Bourigault, charged with legacies to Antoine de la Potherie, his man of business, formerly secretary to Gassendi, to the Prior of Saint-Marcles-Vendome, his two female servants and another.

He wrote on the history of the last revolution of the Mogol states where there was a war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan where Aurangzeb was enthroned at last. Bernier noted the qualities of Aurangzeb, studies polices and his kinship with the ambassadors of other countries. Bernier was on a constant move as he resided in many cities like Delhi, Agra, Lahore and Kashmir and then went to peninsular region. His goal was to travel in peninsula and to visit areas where no French have penetrated till now. He gave invaluable commercially significant information to the director of French East India Company about the important things to remember at Indian courts and the necessary conduct to be maintained by the French Company in order to maintain their existence in India. This French traveller informs Colbert his views on the fact that large quantities of gold and silver circulating in the

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world “found several ways of entering India from all sides, with practically no means of getting out.”

This Frenchman earned great prestige in respect to be a physician and was protected by his agah Daneckmend khan, wazir of Aurangzeb. He gave important knowledge of astronomy, geography and anatomy to his Agah or Danechmend Khan. He translated recent discoveries of Harveus and Pecquet in anatomy; and philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes into Persian for explaining it to his Agah.

Several topics were highlighted by Bernier related to India such as religious understandings, political organization, customs and mannerisms of the Gentils. He had criticized the prevailing irrational and superstitious practice in India and France like solar and lunar eclipses. Bernier explored different unscientific irrational practices prevailing in various Indian domains like witnessed in religious customs, geographical occurrences, scientific happenings, health conditions, education system etc. He had criticized the prevailing irrational and superstitious practice in India like solar eclipse customs, idol worship, sati system, fakirs, astrologers and astrology. Bernier was a great observer, one can say that he is “one of the most distinguished explorers and in the world of geographers his name always enjoys the same authority.” Bernier also gave information regarding the Indian property rights which have influenced many theoreticians like Montesquieu to Marx and his theory has been criticized Anquetil Duperron.

This French physician and traveler wrote his travel accounts in four volumes in Paris on 1670-71. Travels in the Mughal

129 Ibid. p.102
130 Bernier, Travels, p. 324. William Harvey, born in 157, and died in 1657. It was in 1616, that he began his course of lectures to the Royal College of Physicians in London, and formally announced his discovery of the circulation of blood; Jean Pecquet, born at Diepe, in France, in 1622, died in 1674. He studied medicine at Montpellier, where Bernier was also a student, and it was there that he prosecuted with the conversion of the chyle into blood; and Rene Descartes, born at La Haye, Touraine, in France, in 1596, and died at Stockholm in 1650. (Bernier, Travels, ft-1, p. 324).
131 Castonnet des Fosses, Francais Bernier, p. 139
132 First volume contained his History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol. Second Volume contained chronological continuation of this struggle, his Remarkable Occurrences or an account of the most important events after the war, during the five years
India, 1656-1668. Bernier dedicated “Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656-1668” to King Louis XIV, in 1670, Paris edition.\textsuperscript{133} The transfer of all his rights in the publication, to Claude Barbin, is registered in the book of the booksellers and printers of Paris. He published an account of his travel in 1670-71. This was reissued by a Dutch publisher in 1671-2 and 1699; published in English, London, 1671 and 1776; in Dutch, Amsterdam, 1672; in German, Frankfurt, 1673; and in Italian, Milan, 1675. John Dryden used Bernier accounts for the basis of his play Aurangzeb (1675).\textsuperscript{134} His accounts in the eighteenth century were praised on one hand by Modave who believed that he gave a judicious account to the French regarding India and Mr. Hasting said him to be the King of travellers,\textsuperscript{135} while others severally like Anquetil Duperron have challenged Bernier’s understanding of Indies.

8. JEAN DE THÉVENOT (1655-1668)

Another noted French traveler in XVII century was Jean de Thevenot. He was born on 6\textsuperscript{th} June 1633 at Paris. He was born into a wealthy Paris family and was educated at the College de Navarre. During the brief span of thirty-four years he had visited more countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.\textsuperscript{136} He was an ardent student of geography and natural sciences and read accounts of early travellers. He was in contact with the professionals who met his father as Gabriel Tavernier was engraver and editor of geographical maps, so he felt keen desire to actually travel it.\textsuperscript{137} Not much is known about the early life of Thevenot except that he grew up under the

\footnotesize{of thereby, in the States of the Great Mogul along with the letters to Louis XIV’s minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert. Third and Fourth volume titled Suite des mémoires du Sieur Bernier sur l’Empire Mogol contained a collection of his memoires to friends and colleagues written while in India.

\textsuperscript{133} Bernier, Travels, pp. xiv-xlvi.

\textsuperscript{134} Henri Castonnet Des Fosses, Deux Lettres de François Bernier a Mme de la Sablière’ in Mémoires de la Société d’agriculture, sciences et arts d’Angers, 1890, p. 204; Henri Castonnet Des Fosses, ‘Mémoire sur les quêtes des Indes’, Mémoires de la Société d’agriculture, sciences et arts d’Angers, 1890; Kate Teltscher, India Inscribed, European and British Writing on India. 1600-1800 (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.60-61; Peter Burke, “The philosopher as Traveller: Bernier’s Orient,” in Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubies (eds.), Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travels, (London, 1999).

\textsuperscript{135} Modave, op. cit., p. 228.

\textsuperscript{136} Thevenot, Travels of Thevenot and Careri, op. cit., p.xvi

\textsuperscript{137} Jean Boissel, “Le voyage en Perse de Jean Thevenot », Cashiers de l’Association internationale des études franaises, 1975, No. 27, pp. 110}
auspices of celebrated uncle Melchisedech de Thevenot. After completion of his studies from College de Navarre in 1652, Jean de Thevenot showed the interest in travel by touring England, Holland, Germany and Italy. Later he decided to visit the Levant and in 1655 embarked for Constantinople. He spend eleven months in the Ottoman capital and journeyed through Alexandria, Anatolia, Palestine and Ottoman Egypt before returning to France via Italy in 1662. Due to his intellectual curiosity he headed towards East and left Paris on 16 October 1663 but he could finally leave France on 24 January 1664 when he embarked at Marseilles. He visited Aleppo, the Tigris Valley, Bagdad and Persia, finally arriving in Surat by ship in early 1666 in a English ship named Hopewell, owned by an Armenian and commanded by an Italian, Captain Bernardo after paying three times fare that was charged in Muslim ship.

He was in Mughal Empire of India for thirteen months and toured central India, Ahmadabad, Cambay and the Coromandel Coast. Across the Deccan peninsula he proceeded towards Masulipatnam on the Eastern Coast passing through Burhanpur, Aurangabad and Golconda and visited the rock cut temples of Ellora. 138 Later he took ship to return to Europe via Persia139. While crossing northern Persia, his health deteriorated and he died of exhaustion on the road to Tabriz on 28 November, 1667 at the early age of thirty four and other source said he was injured in the leg by an accidental pistol shot and he died from his wound on the way back to France.140 Some called him accomplished linguist, natural scientist and botanist. He explored to inquire and study but not to acquire.

This traveller’s first work Voyage to the Levant, published at Paris in 1664, proved to be a great success and gave this traveler the reputation of great observer and able writer. The second, Continuation of the Journey to the Levant, covering Persia, was published after his death in 1674, and the last,
Journey to Hindustan, the New Moguls, and the Regions of India, was published in 1684. But Thevenot’s premature decease did not hurdle the publication of his work. The remaining parts of Thevenot’s manuscripts were arranged and published by two of his friends, Sieur de Luisandre and the French Orientalist Petis. They passed through many editions and were translated into English, Dutch and German languages.

The work of Thevenot is of great interest. He did not confine himself to an account of Indian people but also tried to describe its fauna and flora. He gave valuable remarks on the administration of Gujarat and Surat. Thevenot was careless about the nomenclature of the animals he saw. He writes indiscriminately of apes, beboons and monkeys. His personal knowledge was limited to the tract between Surat and Cambay and the road from Surat to Masulipatam. For acquiring information about other regions he usually turned to of his countrymen like Tavernier and Bernier. Thevenot is especially dependent on the account of history of ruling dynasty and civil administration of the country. While determining the historical value of his work, one can say that though his learning, integrity and sincerity cannot be suspected, yet we may not be able to accept all his statements as equally authentic counterchecking it with other available sources of that time.

Bernier, Chardin, Tavernier and Jean Thevenot all had interest in India as part of a network concerned with the collection of goods and information. Bernier inspired by Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655) who aimed to reconcile Christianity with science. This had a great influence on many travellers as they had a quest for scientific curiosity. These travellers and merchant had ties with the French government. Tavernier in his second trip which started in 1638 began the long career as a diamond merchant on the routes of India and on his return from his fifth trip he sold Louis XIV some of the greatest diamonds in the world.

9. ABBÉ D. BARTHELEMY CARRÉ (1672-1674)

Another leading French traveler was Abbe D. Barthelemy Carre. He was born on 1639-1640 and came to India at the time when a French squadron under the command of de la Haye was in Indian seas. He died probably in 1699.\textsuperscript{143} In his travel accounts he gave a accounts of his travels in 1672-74 from France to India via the Syrian desert, Mesopotamia and Persian Gulf, then in India where he went from Gogha to St Thome near Madras to Bombay, as well as from Surat to Persian Gulf, and then with outward reverse route.\textsuperscript{144} He had been sent by Louis XIV and his able minister, Colbert, to support the recently started French trade in India, and possibly to drive the Dutch from Ceylon.\textsuperscript{145} He also was evidently a kind of spy on the activities of the French East India Company, and submitted reports to Colbert on its affairs.\textsuperscript{146} In 1673, he was employed by General Blanquet de la Haye as his agent at Madras for the surreptitious supply of provisions from that place and for any desired negotiations with the English governor.\textsuperscript{147} His accounts contain valuable remarks on the weakness of the French administrative methods, compared to the Dutch and English and on the failure of the aims for which de la Haye’s squadrons was sent to India.\textsuperscript{148}

His surveillance reports on fellow Frenchmen helped Colbert to control the activities of French citizens in India. He was sent by French East India Company, not only to watch over the conduct and motions of the English and the Dutch, but also to

\textsuperscript{143} Sir Charles Fawcett & Richard Burn (eds.), The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and the Near East; op. cit., p. xxvi. Regarding the family of Abbe Carre, his elder brother le Sier Carre de Chamon was the 'Chef du Gobelet in the Kings’s household at Versailles. He hold the high post in the court of Louis XIV. Sir Charles Fawcett & Richard Burn (eds.), The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and the Near East; op. cit., p. xxvi.

\textsuperscript{144} Ibd., p. xii.

\textsuperscript{145} Ibid. p. xiii.


\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p. xiv. There was a war between Dutch against the combined forces of France and England in 1672-74. Carre called his Journal 'Le Courier de l’Orient' because Colbert sent him with dispatches for General Blanquet de la Haye.

\textsuperscript{148} Sir Charles Fawcett & Richard Burn (eds.), The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and the Near East; op. cit., p. xiv.

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observe his own countrymen. Carre undertook multiple but frequently contradictory assignments as firstly, he intervened in the spice trade, securing French commercial interests in India; secondly, he was a French national conveying military dispatches and naval secrets in France’s war with the Dutch in Indian water, thirdly he illustrates the vital aspect of his mission in the harem of the most contested of Eastern sites. His elaborate comparison of Indian harem and French convents, his definitions of the inferior Man God of Indian harems and the virile Christian God of French convents, his self-portrayal as a fictive harems lord represent Carre as an emissary par excellence, an imperial defender of French culture and Christian superiority in the vast, heathen wilderness of India.”

Abbe Carre left Paris on 28 March 1672 and reached India in October 1672 and de la Haye and his force had captured the fort of St. Thomé, two miles south of Madras, and were being besieged by troops of the Golconda state, to which the place belonged. Carre had an adventurous journey from Surat and in April 1673 he was employed by de la Haye as his agent at Madras for the surreptitious supply of provisions from the place and for any desired negotiations with the English governor. His Journal contains a full account of the operations of the French squadron from its departure in March 1670 to its capture of St. Thomé and the disastrous attempts to throw out the Dutch from Trincomalee in Ceylon. It also contains valuable remarks on the weaknesses of the French administrative methods, compared with those of the Dutch and English; on the failure of the aims for which de la Haye’s squadron was sent to India; and on the continuance of Portuguese pride and luxury in spite of their fall from power. His observations on conditions in Southern India have a special value, because most seventeenth-century European travellers confined themselves to Western and Northern India.

149 Ibid., p. xv.
The French traveller in order to protect himself from not being distinguished as spy adopted various disguises by altering his apparels and physical characters. He changed his appears according to the need while crossing desert of Baghdad, Babylon, Ottoman empire, Persia and India. He does not reveal his French identity until it become necessary. He pretended to be a Dutchman when passing through places where Dutch were powerful and Frenchmen were liable to be arrested. During his voyage he changed his nationality according to call of time as he became Dutch, Portuguese, English and French in competition with Indians for spices, profits and territories. As most of the Frenchmen were not able to recognize him due to his different appearances. He said, ‘Nine of ten French soldiers also drew near and watch us with curiosity. As they could not imagine I understood French, they expressed themselves pretty freely. One said I did not look like a Frenchman.’ He poses himself of different personality according to the need as being Dutch trader, English officer, priest, matrimonial agent, harem lord, physician, diplomat and espionage personality. Carre being a spy of French nation praised the French viceroy as a great man who resembled a second Alexander.

This traveller was not merely a tourist, his book begins with the assertion that he had passed a great part of his life in travelling and that his natural curiosity, or the orders of person he was bound to obey, had called to diverse places in the world. Carre kept notes of every tiling remarkable that he saw; and his powers of observation and description may well have induced Colbert to employ him in the expedition under Caron. His accounts give some details of the movements of Shivaji during 1671-72. Carre describes the activities of French East India Company in Mughal India where a farman was granted to the French Company to trade at Masulipatam. He also gave

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information about the mutual relations of the French with Dutch and the Dutch trade in Mughal India. He was a trusted agent of the French statesmen, who first gave solid support to the French enterprise in India.\footnote{156}

Abbé Carré, giving a detailed account of his travels in 1672-74 from France to India, via the Syrian desert, Mesopotamia (Iraq), and the Persian Gulf, in India, where he went from Goghato St. Thomé near Madras via Surat, Goa, he went Bijapur and Golconda; and back to France by sea from Madras to Bombay, as well as from Surat to the Persian Gulf, and thence by his outward route reverse. If records the adventures that befell him, the conversations he had with the people he met, and his observations on the countries he visited, and their inhabitants.\footnote{157} Carre speaks too much of himself relates too many insignificant adventures and gave information sometimes with infixed dates of events. This account may be repetitive and gave priority to unimportant events but his style of writing was vivacious. He described most parts of the country wherever he passed and about its inhabitants and its history.

\section*{10. SIR JOHN CHARDIN (1667-1677)}

Next important French traveller was John Chardin. He was born in Paris in 16\textsuperscript{th} November 1643, the son of the wealthy jeweler of the place Dauphiné named Daniel Chardin.\footnote{158} As soon as his education was completed entrusted him with the management of a commercial speculation in the East, and thus at once gratified and influenced the passion for visiting new and remote regions.\footnote{159} He left Paris at the age of 22 to visit

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  \item \footnote{157}Sir Charles Fawcett & Richard Burn (eds.), The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and the Near East: 1672 to 1674, 3 vols. (1947; rpt. New Delhi, 1990). Note: Abbe Carre was sent by Louis XIV and his able minister, Colbert, to support the recently started French trade in India. Carre was evidently a kind of spy to watch the activities of the French East India Company and submitted reports to Colbert on its affairs.
  \item \footnote{158}J. A. Sr. John, Sir Hugh Murray, Lives and Exploits of the Most Distinguished Voyagers, Adventurers and Discoverers, Hartford, New York, 1840, p. 253.
  \item \footnote{159}St. John Augustus, Lives and exploits of the most distinguished voyagers, adventurers and discoverers: in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, the South Seas, and Polar regions. Hartford H. Huntington, 1840. P. 251.
\end{itemize}
Hindustan and Persia. He was appointed as the merchant of the king. He started his journey for East in 1664 and reached Persia in early part of 1666. He lived in Persia for about eighteen months, during which period he began to learn Persian and Turkish language. He reached Isfahan in late 1666, when the Abbas II died and the conflict among his descendants became the theme of his first work *The Coronation of Soleiman III, King of Persia*. He visit India in 1667 but returned to Persia in 1669. He reached Paris in 1670 and completed his first journey. For next one year, he sold of jewelry in Europe which he brought from the first journey. His one of the important contribution was as he was the first French to make known in Europe the Nagari writing.

In his second journey he reached Persia in 1772. He stayed there for a longer period of four years during which he studied their literature, customs and his resources. Chardin principal concern was to benefit from the trade of the invaluable objects that fascinated the kings of Persia. He collected together the jewels, gems and curious clocks and watches which he had been commissioned to purchase for the King of Persia and participated in the mercantile activities.

This is shown in the two volumes under the title *Sir John Chardin’s Travels in Persia*. He was knighted by Charles II during a residence in London, where he commenced the publication. During his second journey he travelled in this country and studies its people. He also dealt with jewelry. He decided to return to France in 1677. Later he lived in France for some time he decided to settle in England where Charles II appointed him Court Jeweller and knight in 1681. He then married Esther, daughter of a Rouen Councillor in Parliament. In 1684, he lived in Holland for some time as agent to the East India Company. He died in 1713 in the south aisle of

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162 St. John Augustus, *Lives and exploits of the most distinguished voyagers, adventurers and discoverers: In Europe, Asia, Africa, America, the South Seas, and Polar regions*. Hartford H. Huntington, 1840. P. 254

Westminster Abbey. His devoted himself to his Oriental studies and other literary pursuits.

11. CHARLES DELLON (1668-1676)

Another French traveller came to India in seventeenth century was Charles Dellon (1649-1709). He was a member of the protestant church, who left France for the Indies on 20th March, 1668. After his stay for one year at Madagascar he goes to Surat. He travelled the Malabar Coast and gave a quite flattering description. He worked as a physician in Daman, where he was arrested by the Inquisition in 1673 for atheism. He was accused for three crimes, firstly to support the invalidity of Baptism, secondly, to have denounce the worship of the images and lastly, to have spoke to criticize the Inquisition and to the judges of this tribunal. He was condemned to five years of hard labour and sent to Goa, from where he was expelled to Portugal in 1676. Dellon's case was reviewed again in Lisbon, and he was released after the intervention of Bossuet. He returned to France in 1677, and became physician to the Prince of Conti. Later, he married a girl of a rich butcher and established in Paris. He died in 1710.

Dellon gives an impartial, objective description of the events leading to and during his punishment. The causes were imprisonment were the jealously of Daman governor against him164, traveller’s conversation with an Indian priest; being accused of not respecting the Portuguese religion ceremonies of salutation or kissing related to figures of the Holy Virgin and believes like objected to wear a rosary; he highlighted the Portuguese moral injustice in given the severe Tribunal and inquisitions.165 Thus on 24 August 1673, he was arrested for inquisition and accused him as a dogmatizing heretic. He was the first traveller who spoke about the dreadful cruelty of the Inquisition where the prison of Damaun was damp and unhealthy, he says “this prison, he said, was dirty, most obscure and most horrible from all those which I saw and doubt that one could moreover imagine the stinking and

dreadfulness.\textsuperscript{166} In his account Charles Dellon tells us of his arrest in the Portuguese Indies, and his imprisonment, described in great detail. He notes the horrendous state in which he was kept captive-the largest of the lower halls he was held in the prison of Daman was about 'forty feet in length, by fifteen feet in breadth,' in which forty persons were confined 'without any other place for answering the ordinary demands of nature.'\textsuperscript{167}

The French voyager gave insights into the experiences of the victims at the hands of the Inquisition. He gives the first hand information about his arrest, interrogation and torture. He goes on to describe how the prison of the Inquisition at Goa was the most foul, dark and horrible to be imprisoned. He would rather stay amongst the filth where he 'durst not lie down for fear of the swarms of vermin' with company, then in a clean cell in complete isolation.\textsuperscript{168} It is this isolation that he became subjected to which eventually led to his mental despair and attempts at suicide which involved him cutting his wrists with a sharpened coin, and then removing the bandages the doctor had wrapped his wounds.\textsuperscript{169} Dellon’s account shows the treatment given to the prisons of the Inquisition. Upon their arrival at the prison they were given a pot to wash in, another to drink, a brush was given to sweep the chamber, a mats to spread on the floor, a large close-stool pan with pot cover, as well as food being provided a generous three times a day.\textsuperscript{170} However for many this did not make up for their treatment at the hands of those who incarcerated them and subjected them to mental anguish. Prisoners were given many chances to confess before being tortured as Dellon recalls at least three times. Torture was only used on those who did not confess to get information and a confession rather than as a punishment.\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., p. 25.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., p. 35.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., p. 83.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., p. 42.
He published a book in 1687 describing his experiences in Goa. *L’Inquisition de Goa* (The Inquisition of Goa). Relation of the inquisition of Goa, published for the first time in 1687 in Leyde and 1688 in Paris, was a real success, immediately translated into German, English and Dutch and republished on several occasions during the XVIII century. In this book, Dellon tells his lawsuit and his imprisonment by the Portuguese Inquisition of Goa, in Daman and later in Brazil and in Lisbon, is in total went for 18 months. This account had an enormous influence on the posterior authors, thus for example Voltaire was inspired some in his Ingenuous.

Besides these twelve most important French travellers who visited India during the seventeenth century there are some other French travellers with scarce records such as three adventures Nicolas Des Marets, Du Belloy and Saint Amand (1640-1645), Claude Maillé (1652), François Martin (1665-1703), François Caron (1666-1673), Duplessis (1673-1689) and Bertrand (1684-86). But the detailed biography of these twelve French travellers gave invaluable information about them and fills the gap of ambiguities regarding their interaction with India.

**CONCLUSION**

These traveller were the first to give information about Oriental world to Occidental Domain. They are the not just the treasure house of information for the French travellers but also for French East Indian Company to analyze the possible opportunities for commercial and political expansions. These seventeenth century travellers records helped the eighteenth century adventures and mercenaries such as Rene Madec, Comte de Modave, Colonel Gentil, Claude Martin, Chevalier, Polier, Law de Lauriston, De Boigne, Perron, Tiefenthaler, Anquetil Duperron and Wendel etc. to formulate their adventures and travel to India. Although Indian language barrier, plagiarism, overdependence on street gossip, mutual jealousy, inaccurate observations, preconceived notions and exaggerating ideas formed a hurdle in the value analyzing but they are the stepping stone for the following voyagers, adventurers, mercenaries and government officials to critically analyse the Indian structures.
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Abstract

Since the inception, the Punjab Unionist Party played significant role in the politics of the British Punjab. Its secular character is said to be the major success to block communalism and the Sikhs, Hindus, Christians and Muslims worked together under its flag in the provincial governments from the period of 1923 to 1947. Despite all the efforts made by the party and the British it could not maintain its dominating status in the Punjab because of the interference of the political parties working at national level. As the All-India Muslim League and Indian National Congress asserted their authority in the regional politics, the Unionist Party collapsed. Its leaders had to seek shelter from the national parties and Jinnah-Sikandar Pact and Congress-Akali Pact can be quoted as the evidence which dented the strength of the Unionist Party. Many writers such as Ian Talbot, Ruguvendra Tanwar, Qalbi-Abid, and Kirpal Singh have mainly focused on the overall politics of the Punjab while some take up the period of the partition. This article is an endeavor to explore the politics of the Unionist Party during the period of 1923 to 1937, the era when the Punjab experienced a major shift from a restricted democracy to the flexible trends in the electoral politics.

Key Words: Punjab, Unionist Party, All India Muslim League, Indian National Congress, Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, Congress-Akali Pact.

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Introduction

Punjab\textsuperscript{1} is famous for its agriculture, festivals and saints. Its importance lies in the history of Subcontinent due to its geo-political and socio-economic structure.\textsuperscript{2} The British annexed Punjab in 1849 after defeating the Sikhs and preferred the traditional administrative set-up to direct rule which moved them to collaborate with the agricultural class.\textsuperscript{3} The political and administrative support established the respect of the feudal families who remained unrivaled power of the region during the British \textit{Raj}. Historically, Punjab has been ruled by various indigenous and foreign powers such as the Greeks, Chinese, Persians, Turks, Afghans, as well as empires of northern India. It came under the Muslim rule during the period of Sultan Mehmud of Ghazni and Mohammad of Ghor (principalities in Afghanistan) in the 11\textsuperscript{th} century AD, and remained a part of the Delhi Sultanate and later, the Mughal Empire up till the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. By the end of 18\textsuperscript{th} century, Sikhs became powerful in the Punjab under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839).\textsuperscript{4}

The Muslims ruled over Punjab for eight hundred years which came to an end in 1799 when Maharaja Ranjit Singh captured Punjab\textsuperscript{5} and established the Sikh empire. During the Muslims rule in Punjab they had a large area of the land which was confiscated by Ranjit Singh. The death of Ranjit Singh shattered the Sikh hegemony and their internal turmoil and fight that had caused a serious defeat in the two wars with the British and eventual annexation to the British Empire. The Muslim status damaged by the Sikh Shahi\textsuperscript{6} was restored during the British rule and they possessed a vast land in different parts including Gujrat, Jhang and Attock. The Muslims supported the British against the Sikhs due to the derogatory treatment towards them under the Sikh rule and the political instability in the region. The Punjab remained the province of British India from 1849 to 1947 though the five frontier districts including Peshawar, Kohat,

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{1} British annexed Punjab, the land of five rivers, in 1849 after winning the Anglo-Sikh wars. At that time, Punjab was consisting of the present Pakistani Punjab, Khyber-Pakhtoonkhawa, Indian Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi.
\bibitem{3} \textit{Ibid}
\bibitem{4} Ranjit Singh, a Sandhu Jatt by caste was the first Maharaja of the Sikh empire.
\bibitem{5} Andrew J. Major, \textit{Return to Empire: Punjab under the Sikhs and British in the mid-Nineteenth Century} (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1.
\bibitem{6} Sikh shahi is a synonym for the bad governance. Ian Stephens, \textit{Pakistan} (London: Earnest Benn Limited, 1963.), 133.
\end{thebibliography}
Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara were separated from Punjab in 1901 and a new province named NWFP\(^7\) was made.\(^8\)

In the Punjabi villages, possession of land was considered the main source of political power and influence. The socio-economic setup of the eastern and south western Punjab was not identical. In the eastern part, small peasants were in majority and very few landlords existed in Jalandhar and Ambala districts. So the peasants lived with cooperation and mutual understanding and less relied on the Jagirdars and Pirs (Muslim guardians of shrines) for their self interest. The cultivated land was more fertile and the region was heavily populated while in the south-western Punjab, large area was barren and not suitable for cultivation due to shortage of water and natural resources. The Zamindars (landowners) were in majority possessing big lands. People were depending mainly on them for the necessities of life.\(^9\) Ian Talbot divides the rural Punjab into five categories:

1. The feudals who had vast lands and they handed over their lands to the peasants for cultivation;
2. Farmers came who had small pieces of land for cultivation;
3. Peasants who cultivated the lands of the feudal class;
4. Tarkhan, julaha, lohar, machhi, chhimba, Kamyar, Mochi who worked as Masons, washer man, barbers etc. who were called kami (manual class);
5. Last, the labor class who did not possess land and worked as servants under farmers.\(^10\)

As a matter of fact, fifth category came in the fourth one as no specific labour class existed in the Punjab and the kami castes were hired to work in their fields. In British Punjab, the feudal class worked as a backbone of the British administration. The feudal lords gave military assistance to the rulers in return they were granted with vast lands.

The society was organized on the basis of tribal values and Bradarism\(^11\) (brotherhood) in the Punjab. The political system based on the tribal values was very strong in the eastern and western parts of the Punjab. Rajput and Jat were considered as the martial races

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\(^7\) The name of the NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010 under the 18th amendment of the constitution of 1973.


\(^11\) A baradari is a group of family who are in blood relation and generally speaking, living in a community or in neighboring villages.
who spread all over the Punjab. The British not only recognized the
social and political importance of the tribes and castes but also
sought their cooperation to strengthen their rule by channelizing
their prowess and utility. They relied on the tribal and caste system
rather than communal loyalties. According to Dushka, the people
especially the Muslims preferred the tribal customs rather than
religion. The British formulated their legal system on the basis of the
local customs and traditions instead of religious laws because the
people of this region had been living mainly on the customs and
traditions rather than the religious affiliation.\(^\text{12}\) It was so perhaps
because the religious attachment was taken as changeable while
cultural bonds could never let the people free. The society was
comprised of so many castes like Rajput, Jatt, etc. and the main
source of income was agriculture. A big folk of people like peasants
and Kami depended on the agriculture. Brahmin\(^\text{13}\) (upper class of
Hindu society and a minority in the Punjab) were not well off
economically because they did not possess agricultural lands. So
they appealed to the British to award them lands in the Punjab. So
the British gave them the status of martial race in 1916 which
enabled them to have lands and social status like other castes.\(^\text{14}\)

Three major communities including Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs\(^\text{15}\) had
been living as friends for centuries in the Punjab. The Muslims were
a majority in the western part while the Hindus and Sikhs
constituted majority in the eastern part of the Punjab. The majority
people of the Punjab lived in the rural areas and the Muslim ratio
was more than half of the population of the province.\(^\text{16}\) Punjab is
famous for its saints and the people blindly honor their teachings.
There were four orders of the Muslim mysticism, popular as Sufism:
Qadri, Naqashbandi, Suharwardi and Chishti\(^\text{17}\) Qadri faction was
more prominent for its teachings were nearer to sharia (Islamic
canon law) than other factions. The followers of this faction lived in
Lahore and Multan. The Naqashbandi concentrated in Patiala and
Sarhind states. This provided the spiritual food to the local people of
the Punjab. The centre of Suharwardi faction was Multan where the
most famous saint Sheikh Bahauddin Zakarya is buried. The last one
is the Chishti order and its centre was the eastern part of Punjab.

\(^{12}\) Dushka, Haider Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab, From Seclusion to Politics*
(Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), passim.

\(^{13}\) A Hindu priest, a high caste among the Hindus.


\(^{15}\) Guru Namak Dev was the founder of Sikhism.

\(^{16}\) Ahtuar Hussain Sandhu, “Muslim Sikh Relations in the British Punjab after the Lahore

\(^{17}\) Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, 21.
Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar was a great Sufi of the Punjab who is buried in Pakpattan.18

Sikhs and Punjab

The third important community, Sikhs, was a minority and scattered throughout the region. Punjab, a birthplace of their Gurus19 was religiously and historically a sacred place because many of their religious heroes lived, preached and had *smadhs.*20 Guru Nanak Dev (1469-1539) was the founder of Sikhism. Basically he did not plan to introduce any religion but his modified version of the beliefs resulted in a new religion. He disliked idol worship and gave the massage of oneness of God. He abhorred the caste system, class system, drinking and smoking in Hindu society.21 He was universally respected by all the sections of the people "as the king of holy men, the Guru of the Hindus, and the Pir of the Mussalmans."22 Guru Angad (1504-1522) the second Guru invented Gurmukhi23 script for the religious literature of Sikhism which enabled them to establish a distinguished identity.24 Guru Amar Das (1532-1574) the fourth Guru, founded Amritsar city and Guru Arjun Dev completed the Golden Temple which became the centre of Sikhism. The religious tussle between Sikhs and Muslims started with assassination of Guru Arjun Dev by emperor Jahangir (1569-1627) and was deepened in 1675 when Guru Tegh Bahadur (1664-1675) was murdered by the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb (1618-1707) on the refusal of accepting Islam.25 The last Guru Gobind Singh declared "to end the line of personal gurus and invest the guardianship in something permanent and inviolable."26 and established the institution of "Khalsa" in 1699 to organize his community. He advised Sikhs to use five Ks including *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (comb), *kirpan* (dagger), *kara* (steel bracelet), *kachha* (underwear).27 This gave a tangible

18 *Montgomery District Gazetteer* (Lahore: 1933), 66.
19 The Sikh religious personalities whom their followers call 'prophets.'
20 Grave where in the Sikhs bury remains of a dead.
23 Their holy book *Granth Sahib* is written in Gurmukhi script.

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identity and strength to the emerging community that Sikhs enjoy even today.

Caste system also affected the Sikhs and Khatri, Arora and Jatt castes were considered as upper class in the Sikh community. When British annexed the Punjab the Sikhs were expelled from the army jobs and the British hired the Muslims in police and army departments. As a result, most of the Sikhs became criminal minded because they suffered from starvation and poverty. Most of the Sikhs changed their religion and became Hindus again because Hinduism was their paternal religion. In 20th century, the Sikhs became strong and powerful because the British hired them again in the Indian army. The Sikhs played very important role in the battles fought by the British.

On 1 January 1859 the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, John Lawrence sought, "How should they [Punjabi people] be governed by sword or by the pen." Farah Gul Baqai is of the view that this statement by Lawrence shows the dictatorial mind of the British. There are several interpretations of the British imperialism in the Subcontinent. Some writers are of the opinion that British came to India for the economic pursuits while some opine that British entered India to establish their rule over India. To grasp the political power, they coordinated with the feudal class of the Punjab which was influential for its agricultural prosperity. So the British introduced the best canal irrigation system and the Canal Colony setup started in 1885. The British introduced better irrigation methods which improved the living standard of the local people. The British not only improved their economic condition but also gave them constitutional reforms. The first constitutional structure was formulated in 1861. The British government passed the Legislative Councils Act to introduce better provisions for the Governor-General’s Council and for local Government. According to this act, for the first time the Indian people were included in the Governor-General’s Council. Another act known as Indian Councils Act of 1892 was introduced in which the membership of the central and legislative council was increased. The Government Act 1909 also known as Minto-Morley Reforms strengthened the number of additional members in the legislative and provincial councils.

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28 Talhot, Punjab and the Raj, 32.
29 Ibid.
important clause of this act was the separate electorates for the Muslims which improved their political importance. The Minto-Morley Reforms did not provide any mode of electing the representatives. Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India gave rejuvenating remarks on the demand of separate electorate for Indian Muslims:

Let us not forget the difference between Mohammedans and Hindus is not mere difference of articles of religion faith and dogma. This difference of life, in tradition, in history, in all social aspects as well as articles of belief that constituted a community. Do not let us forget what makes it intensity and even exciting. Do not let us forget that in talking of Hinduism and Islam, we are dealing with and are brought face to face with mightiest forces that though all the countries and ages have molded the fortunes of great state and the destinies of countless millions of Mankind.32

In 1919, the British introduced Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in which they increased the franchise and provincial autonomy.33 The British desired to have a political party at regional level that could protect the rights of the local peoples. That in fact, paved the way for the creation of the Punjab Unionist Party.34

The politics of the Muslims in Punjab during the years of 1923 to 1937 proved favorable to the Punjab Unionist Party. The entire Muslim politics revolved around this party. Some other political parties at the national and regional level also performed a vital role in the Punjab Muslim politics during this period. Loyalty to colonialism and communal solidarity were the key features of the rural political tradition. In the start of 20th century, the two different communities, rural and urban, emerged. The urban politics was entrenched in communal problems while the rural politics was determined on the basis of the combined economic interest and the tribal loyalties. The communal differences were discontinued by the high class of the rural setup and the Unionists tried to increase the religious harmony among the followers of different religions. They did not try to resolve these problems through political channels while the newspapers played a vital role in exaggerating the

34 The Punjab Unionist Party was founded in 1923 to secure the interests of the agricultural class of the Punjab under the cloak of the British administrative machinery. Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Ch. Chhotu Ram, the Congress leaders, were the founding leaders. It was also called Ittehad Party and Zamindara League Party or Zamindara League.
communal problems and made the urban politics a complex phenomenon. There were less communal issues involved in the rural politics as compared to the urban one.

**Formation of Unionist Party:**

The Punjab Unionist Party founded in 1923 was the political advocate of the interests of the Punjabi communities. It was a secular party with the agriculturists as its major component making it effective and influential in the local affairs. The Unionist leadership may be perceived as the rural collaborators between government and people. It was the representative of the feudal class. In 1919, the British government introduced Montague-Chelmsford Reforms under which the Punjab Legislative Council was established which attracted prominent leaders including Faroz Khan Noon, Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana, Makhdoom Raza Shah Gilani, Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, Jogindar Singh and Baba Khatar Singh who were elected under the new constitutional reforms. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Chhotu Ram were the top organizers of the Unionist Party.³⁵ Fazl-i-Husain a lawyer by profession was from a Gurdaspur's Rajput family. Chhotu Ram belonged to a prosperous Hindu Jatt family of Rohtak. Both proved to be the successful leaders in the regional politics.

The idea of organizing a political party was originated with the Lieutenant-Governor who supported the political enlightenment in the Punjab. Fazl-i-Husain had given the shape to this idea by organizing 32 Muslim members in the first Punjab Council into the rural bloc because majority belonged to the rural areas.³⁶ The main leading factors in the creation of the Unionist party were the British Governor's support, landed aristocracy, poverty and illiteracy, lack of political awareness and educational reforms, the non-Muslim alliances and the lack of interest of the All-India Muslim League in the provincial politics of the Punjab. With the support of the British Government, the Unionist party had a dominant position in the Punjab politics. The party was dominated by the landowners but it gradually increased association of the common peasantry of the rural and urban Punjab society.

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Aims and Objectives:

Fazl-i-Husain and Chhotu Ram chalked out the party manifesto which clearly showed the following party objectives:

1. The party encouraged the lower farming class irrespective of religion, sect and baradari to work for their development.
2. It was to combine all the communities including Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs with a belief to improve their status.
3. It preserved the Punjab Alienation Act, demanded by the rural class to protect their interests from the moneylenders.
4. The Unionist party worked for the welfare of the peasants and exempted them from the taxes in bad days. In 1926, the Unionist party introduced the bill in the Council to exempt the landowners from the taxes.
5. The rural class was given a legitimate share in the provincial government;
6. Emphasis was given on the constructive reforms for the betterment of the local people.

At first, the British government encouraged Fazl-i-Husain and Chhotu Ram when they were working to unite the members of the rural areas. Jats were totally ignored during this period. Lala Harkishan Lal was appointed as the agriculture minister in 1921 but he did not get the Council support and added many problems which made the government realize that the rural administration should be made effective properly. So the British government appointed Ch. Lal Chand, the first Hindu Jat, as minister.\(^{37}\) This was the first time that a Jat got the high office in the Punjab politics. He was greatly criticized by the professional and commercial Hindu classes so he was forced to resign from the ministry and replaced by Chhotu Ram as directed by the Governor Malcolm Hailey.\(^ {38}\) The Unionist leaders were assigned the task of uniting the rural members and to protect the agriculturists from the exploitation by the moneylenders. During the period of 1921-1929, the money lending became a profitable business in spite of the growth of agriculture sector. Due to the dominance of the moneylenders, the landowners demanded for the maintenance of Alienation of Land Act 1901. Mian Fazl and Chhotu not only accepted these demands but also adopted it as a party.


\(^{38}\) Malcolm Hailey was the new Punjab Governor and against the Unionist Party.
program on which they gained support of the rural legislative members.\textsuperscript{39}

In a very short time, they presented many bills such as Money-lenders Registration bill, the Punjab Court Bill, the Punjab Rent Regulation bill in favor of the agriculture class for approval in the Council. The Unionist party was successful to minimize the difficulties of the landowners which they faced and compelled the British government to revise the land Act 1901. In 1923 election, the Unionist party got majority seats in the Legislative Council. It was a great achievement of Fazl-i-Husain and he was appointed as minister of revenue on 11 January 1926. He worked very hard for the improvement of this department. After the few days of his appointment, he passed a bill of Punjab land revenue in the Council. In a very short time, the department not only progressed but also became proficient in service delivery. In 1926, the British government appointed Manohar Lal as minister instead of Chhotu Ram. Malcolm Hailey did not form new ministry of Unionist party during his last days as Governor due to which the position of the Unionist party became weaker in the Punjab politics especially in 1930 when Sir Fazl provided his services for the administrative Council of Viceroy for the period of five years, it was very difficult for Chhotu Ram to unite the party. It was the great effort of Sir Fazl to reserve seats for the Muslim students in the Punjab to improve educational standard.\textsuperscript{40}

**Unionist and its opponent Parties**

At the regional level, the rival political parties were Shiromani Akali Dal\textsuperscript{41}, Kisan Sabha and Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, Khaksar Movement and the centre of their political influence were rural rather than urban areas. During this period, these parties were the greatest challenge for the Unionist party. Congress and Muslim League were the major political parties working at national level but both the parties were not successful to get fame in the regional politics. It was very difficult for them to create any problem for the Unionist party. All who plunged into the regional politics faced similar political situation which was not favorable for them. The British government

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{39} Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee 1929-30 (Lahore: Govt. of India, Central Publication Branch, 1930), 10.
\textsuperscript{40} A. Hussain, *Main Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography* (London: 1944), 160.
\textsuperscript{41} Akali Dal was founded on 14 December 1920 but with the name of Gurdwara Sewak Dal. It was named Akali Dal on 23 January 1921 but on 29 March 1922, it was renamed as Shiromani Akali Dal. Dr. Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, http://www.shiromaniakalidal.org/in/0 2-07-2012.
\end{footnotes}
announced Communal Award in April 1932 after the Round Table Conference. The important clause in the award was the separate electorate, not only for the Muslims but also to all the minorities including Europeans, Sikhs, Hindus, Achhoots (untouchables), Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians living in the Subcontinent. The Congress did not accept the Communal Award and MK Gandhi started agitation against it. The untouchable class was also given the separate electorate right that was condemned by Gandhi. He considered it a conspiracy to divide the Hindu society. The Congress got the Muslims’ support during the Khilafat Movement but the coming events dwindled down the nature of their relationship. The Punjabi people disliked the Congress as they considered it the party of moneylenders because it protected their interests. Congress protested against the Alienation of Land Act 1901 which showed its inclination towards the moneylenders and the urban rather than rural and peasants.42

Majlis-i-Ahrar,43 Akali Dal and Kisan Sabha were a great challenge for the Unionist party in the rural Punjab. The strategy of the Majlis-i-Ahrar mobilized the Muslims masses through the emotional and sensitive topics related to the religion. Their main concern was the Sunni particularly those living in Punjab. It motivated the masses on social, religious and constitutional issues. It was the pro-Congress party and against the division of India. When the Nehru Report was publicized, the Majlis-i-Ahrar fully supported the Congress stance.44 It became popular among the middle and lower classes of Muslim society. Kisan Sabha was an anti-British political party to protect the interests of the peasant and poor classes in the Punjab. Its leadership objected that the Unionist party was the representative party of the feudal class only.45 Kisan Sabha presented a demand to the British government to introduce some better reforms regarding land and taxes. In 1930, Punjab faced great economic crisis which increased the supporters of the Kisan Sabha.

Gurdwara movement was a drive launched by the Akali Sikhs against the Hindus to end their control over the Gurdwaras. A large number of people participated in this movement. Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee comprised of 175 members was established in 1920 to take the responsibility of maintaining the Sikh religious

42 Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, 86.
43 Majlis-i-Ahrar was founded in 1931. Ch. Afzal Haq played important role in its formation.
44 It also supported the Red Shirt Movement in the NWFP which was against the creation of Pakistan.
places. In this Committee, Akali Dal represented more than other political groups while most of its leaders belonged to Khatri and Arora castes.46

**Unionist Party and the Government of India Act, 1935**

Simon Commission discussed to award voting rights to the maximum people. So the Unionist leaders including Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gormani, Syed Mubarak Ali Shah and Mian Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana demanded more feudal seats (from four to ten) in case of the increase in voting rights. Syed Mubarak said that the representation in the legislative institution was the right of the feudal class. Protection of the feudal class was the actual will of the British government which was expressed through the Unionist party. Under the two party systems, only 745,000 Punjabis had been given the voting right. The British government increased the franchise and more than 2,000,000 new people entered the practical politics of the Punjab by enjoying the right to vote.47 These new voters included different classes of society such as feudal, peasants, municipal voters and the common people of the villages. The terms and conditions of the franchise were flexible only to facilitate the feudal class.48 The Round Table Conferences49 produced a white paper which paved the way for the Government of India Act 1935. In these days, Fazl-i-Husain tried his best to protect the Muslim interests because the Muslim League had gone to the background. According to the Government of India Act 1935 following was the eligibility criteria for the voters:

1. Landlord paying five rupees tax annually was eligible to have voting right.
2. Peasant having 6 acre irrigated land and 12 acre arid land was eligible to cast the vote
3. Villager paying 8 Rupees tax was given the voting right.50

These recommendations were greatly criticized by the urban politicians. Sir Gokal Chand Narang raised the point that one-fourth (¼) of the total number of the voters were not agriculturists so

47 Indian Franchise Committee (London, 1932), V, 142.
49 The Round Table Conferences (1930-32) were an opportunity provided by the British to the Indian leaders to reach an agreed constitutional package.
Lothene Franchise Committee\textsuperscript{51} increased 400,000 in the Punjab constituencies. Overall one out of ten persons in Punjab fulfilled the eligibility criteria to become voter\textsuperscript{52} which shows that the Government of India Act 1935 could not bring a revolutionary change in the electoral process in the Punjab as most of the population was deprived of the democratic right.

**Unionist Party and Elections in 1937**

The Unionist party warmly welcomed the new reforms introduced in 1935 Act more than the Congress and Muslim League. In April 1932, Fazl-i-Husain after retiring from the membership of the Governor-General Executive Council reorganized the Unionist party on the request of his friends including Chaudhary Shahabuddin, Feroz Khan Noon, Sikandar Hayat and Ahmad Yar Daultana. Malik Barkat Ali also shared his suggestion regarding Unionist party in April 1932.\textsuperscript{53} The Act gave self government and significant autonomy to the provinces that could strengthen the regional parties such as the Unionist party. The first general elections in Punjab were held in 1937. The Unionist party chalked out a manifesto which demanded adult franchise that could help to eliminate the separate electorate system. By this way, the seats reserved for the communal groups were to be suspended automatically. The Unionist manifesto was greatly criticized by the press that the Unionist party included this anti-Muslim demand just to soothe the Sikhs.\textsuperscript{54} The Unionist party during the elections organized no public meetings and gatherings.\textsuperscript{55} The main objective of the Unionist party was just “to stick to power.”\textsuperscript{56} In 1935, it was expected that Fazl-i-Husain maintained his hold on the Unionist party during the election period but it was not possible due to his weak health and the feud within party. Growing repute of Sir Sikandar Hayat\textsuperscript{57} was a challenge to Fazl-i-Husain. In 1936, Fazl-i-Husain expressed his views in a pamphlet “Punjab Politics” that he would participate in the election campaign however he had to face the Muslim League. Before the elections of 1937, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah\textsuperscript{58} offered Fazl-i-Husain the platform of the


\textsuperscript{52} File 9/1/33-R&KW and 9/7/33-R&KW, Reforms Office, NAI.

\textsuperscript{53} Tamwar, *Politics of Sharing Power*, 92.


\textsuperscript{55} Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, 106.


\textsuperscript{57} Sikandar belonged to Khattar family of Wah, and became finance minister in 1930.

\textsuperscript{58} Founding Father of Pakistani nation.
League to contest the forthcoming elections.\textsuperscript{59} Fazl-i-Husain declined the invitation. His influential position in the Punjab politics made him rude and selfish so he preferred self-interests to the Muslims’ rights. Ashiq Batalvi asserts that this refusal upset Jinnah because the Muslim League had no popularity in the Punjab so it needed the cooperation. After failure of the negotiations, Jinnah met Allama Muhammad Iqbal\textsuperscript{60} who assured his possible help.\textsuperscript{61} Ashiq Batalvi’s opinion about Jinnah’s sadness on Fazl-i-Husain’s refusal seems no more logical because Fazl-i-Husain being a leader of a regional caliber cannot be matched with the stature of Quaid-i-Azam. He basically tried to facilitate Fazl-i-Husain to play a broader role in the Muslim politics but the latter could not think beyond the regional interests. The offer made by Jinnah did not mean that he was depending on his support. As a politician, Jinnah’s negotiation with politicians was a democratic and wise strategy but different writers took it a point against Jinnah. Fazl-i-Husain passed away before the elections 1937 and Sikandar Hayat became leader of the Unionist party; the elections were fought and expectedly the Unionists won almost 90% of the Muslim seats along with a good number of the non-Muslim rural seats.\textsuperscript{62}

Before the elections, Jinnah had established the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in May 1936 in which the Punjab was represented by 11 members of Majlis-e-Ahrar-i-Islam and Ittehad-e-Millat parties. In June 1936, these parties resigned from the Muslim League Board and the League became too weak to send its candidates to the constituencies. The Congress, though a major political party founded in 1885, also had a weak position in the rural politics of the Punjab although its district and primary branches existed throughout the Punjab. Despite its well-organized structure, it failed to make any big influence in the province. As soon as the days of the elections were coming closer all the political parties seemed enthusiastic in the election campaign. The League established four sub-working committees. On the other hand, Congress set up Punjab Parliamentary Board and launched a strong propaganda. Hindu Nationalist Party and Akali Sikhs agreed to support the Congress. The two major political parties, Congress and League were holding public meetings all over the province. Jinnah and Nehru were busy in addressing many processions. The leaders

\textsuperscript{59} Noor Ahmed, Martial Law se Martial Law tak, (Lahore: 1965), 179.
\textsuperscript{60} A Punjabi poet, thinker and politician who remained constantly involved in the politics to secure their due rights.
\textsuperscript{61} Ashiq Husain Batalvi, Iqbal kay Akhri Dou Saal (Lahore: 1961), 306-10
\textsuperscript{62} The Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore), 19 January 137.
of the Unionist party did not launch such activities even it did not print the candidates’ lists before the polling.\textsuperscript{63} In many constituencies, the candidates had to contest among themselves and the winner was to be considered to be a Unionist.\textsuperscript{64} Many leaders contested the elections not on the basis of the Unionist party program but they got success on their own traditional, social and religious influence. Many Unionists got the votes on the basis of biradrism.\textsuperscript{65}

In the eastern part of the province, the Unionist party was fully supported by the Jats so the party got many votes in the Muslims and Hindu constituencies in Rohtak district of Punjab. In the western part of the Punjab, peasants were in majority and totally dependent on their landlords so, they were acting upon according to the wish of their landlords and cast their votes in the favor of the Unionist party.\textsuperscript{66}

The Muslim spiritual and religious pillars of the regional politics supported the Unionist party. To David Gilmartin, the spiritual families were given a vast land by the government. These sajjada nashins (the pirs or spiritual successors of the Muslim mystics or sufis) had a huge number of the followers who were ready to act what the pir would order. All these pir were the supporters of the British government.\textsuperscript{67} These pirs including Makhdum, Gilani and Quraishi fully rendered their services to the Unionist party in the elections.\textsuperscript{68}

Polling started on 18 January and continued for ten days. In the election days, there was a huge rush of lorries, carts and targas (horse carts) on the roads to take the people to the polling stations but only 1/3 people reached the polling stations to cast their votes.\textsuperscript{69} The results of the provincial elections were announced in March 1937. Total number of the seats was 175 and the party position is given as under:

\begin{itemize}
  \item The Times of India (Bombay), 13 January 1937.
  \item Ibid. 29, 8 February 1937.
  \item Talbot, Punjab and the Raj, 108.
  \item Ibid.
  \item The Civil and Military Gazette, 19 September 1937.
\end{itemize}
Election results

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<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Number of seats</th>
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<tr>
<td>Punjab Unionist party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
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<td>Muslim League</td>
<td>02</td>
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<td>Hindu Mahasabha</td>
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The Unionist Party got tremendous success in 1937 elections. Only two Muslim Leaguers, Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Malik Barkat Ali won the two seats but later on Raja Ghazanfar Ali deserted the League and joined the Unionist party. Only Malik Barkat Ali represented the League in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. After the elections, Sikandar Hayat, leader of the Unionist party was invited by the Governor of the Punjab to form ministry. He announced cabinet consisting of Ahmed Yar Daultana, Khizar Hayat Tiwana and Feroz Khan Noon, etc. Malik Barkat Ali fervently criticized Sikandar ministry as “the worst possible ministry that could ever have been formed.”

After the announcement of the results, the League lost its parliamentary strength; its successful candidate Raja Ghazanfar was induced by the Unionist party to become the Parliamentary Secretary and he accepted the offer very happily.

Javed Haider Syed is of the opinion that Jinnah himself assigned Raja Ghazanfar the task to work for the League within the Unionist Party circles.

Jinnah-Sikandar Pact

The Unionist Party carried the day in 1937 elections and this period was very important not only in the Punjab history but also in the Indian history. The British government was very happy on the Unionist party success. Sir Sikandar became the first Premier of the Punjab. In October 1937, the Muslim League held its annual session at Lucknow. The main outcome of this session was the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact which played very important role in the politics.

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70 The Tribune (Lahore) 3 March 1937.
71 The Civil and Military Gazette, 4 April 1937.
73 Dr. S. Qalb-ı-Abid, Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47 (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd., 1992), 197
important feature of this session was that three Muslim Premiers from Punjab, Bengal and Assam\textsuperscript{74} joined the League. Before the meeting of the Muslim League Council, Jinnah, Sikandar Hayat, Malik Barkat Ali and Mir Maqbool Mahmood met in a separate room. The draft was written by Mir Maqbool Mahmood and after some amendments this statement was read by Sikandar Hayat in his speech.\textsuperscript{75} Following were the main recommendation of this pact:
1. Muslim League accepted the Unionist Party government and the Unionist Party agreed to support the League at India level.
2. The premier of Punjab agreed that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party would join the Muslim League.
3. The Muslim members of the Unionist Party would submit to the central and provincial board of the League.
4. The Provincial Parliamentary Board was re-established.
5. The League would have no objection on the coalition government of the Unionist party.\textsuperscript{76}

After this pact, many questions aroused that why Sikandar Hayat accepted the pact? Why he chose the weak League? What was the Unionist interest from the League? Many arguments were given in this regard. According to M.A.H. Isphani, Sikandar Hayat joined the Muslim League not with devotion but as a matter of necessity because he wanted to protect his ministry from the Congress influence.\textsuperscript{77} Isphani’s opinion was countered as the Congress had lost its popularity in the Punjab so the Unionists had no threat from the Congress and they were unable to create any trouble for Sikandar government. According to Sajjad Zaheer and Ashiq Batalvi, Sikandar Hayat agreed to join the pact because he wished to merge the Punjab Muslim League into the Unionist Party. Congress’ mass contact movement and Akali patch-up with Congress in the Punjab Assembly may be the other motivating factors to sign this pact.\textsuperscript{78} The Muslim League became a strong political party after this pact.

Ch. Chhotu Ram did not favor the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and said, it was a big political mistake.\textsuperscript{79} Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman mentions in his book \textit{Pathway to Pakistan} that the League was strengthened by the contribution made by Sikandar. The status of the League was

\textsuperscript{74} Sikandar Hayat from Punjab, A. K. Fazlul Haq, Bengal and Sir Muhammad Saadullah from Assam.
\textsuperscript{75} M. Rafique Afzal, \textit{Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings} (Lahore: 1969), 38-40.
\textsuperscript{76} Batalvi, \textit{Iqbal kay Akhri Dou Saal}, 492-94.
\textsuperscript{77} \textit{The Civil and Military Gazette} (Lahore), 15 July 1937.
\textsuperscript{79} Governor to Viceroy, Oct.1937, L/P&J/5/238
promoted at provincial level by Sikandar otherwise it might be restricted to the minority provinces and become inactive.\textsuperscript{80} No doubt, Sikandar’s tilt improved the League position but his wish to completely subjugate the Punjab Muslim League could not be fulfilled. At the provincial level, it was easy for him to finish any party while at national level the situation was different therefore wise enough he was and did not challenge Jinnah’s position. The better way was to comply with the League. Jinnah as a political leader needed the Unionist support at regional level and agreed that the Punjab Muslim League would function under the control of the Unionist party.\textsuperscript{81}

Allama Iqbal greatly criticized those activities which were the outcome of Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. On 1 November 1937, Allama Iqbal asked Jinnah to send him a copy of this pact to confirm Sikandar’s statement that Jinnah agreed to give majority to the Unionist party in the Parliamentary Board. In this way, the Unionist leaders tried to merge the Punjab Muslim league into the Unionist party.\textsuperscript{82} Not single but different reasons pushed Sikandar to conclude the pact in October 1937. Both the parties benefited from this pact. Apparently the League seems in loss as its provincial wing went under the Unionists while at the national scene the League got a big support.\textsuperscript{83}

Conclusion

The Punjab Unionist Party emerged as a pro-British political party. Feudal families joined it for their own interests and having no influential rival party it kept on enjoying power until the emergence of All-India Muslim League in the ‘first general elections’\textsuperscript{84} of 1937. The League’s entrance into the regional politics proved a big upset and the Unionist Party started losing its base from the provincial politics. Jinnah-Sikandar Pact was a mistake on the part of the Unionists who wanted to dilute the League’s influence but it proved vice versa. The increase of voting base also proved a jerking blow to the Unionist Party and the popular support went ultimately in favour of the League. The performance of the Unionists was also not admirable so the Muslims wanted to test the League which had come down to the regional level in the elections 1937. The British support

\textsuperscript{80} Talbot, \textit{Punjab and the Raj,} 125.
\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Tribune (Ambala),} 23 October 1937.
\textsuperscript{82} Rafique Afzal, \textit{Malik Barkat Ali,} 47.
\textsuperscript{83} Tan Tai Young, \textit{Punjab: The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947} (Lahore Vanguard, 2005), 305-06
\textsuperscript{84} Ahtiar Hussain Sandhu, “Muslim-Sikh Relations in British Punjab after the Lahore Resolution of 1940,” 97.
due to the peace, recruitment and agricultural products of the province motivated the British to elevate the position of the Unionists and this policy successfully continued. The Unionist Party was well countered by the League but the anti-League forces maintained its political influence through manipulations. The Unionists played very significant role in the provincial politics and British enjoyed unrivaled status in the province. The politics from 1923 to 1937 revolves around the Unionists who served their communities as they could.
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Quest for an Islamic Welfare State and Endeavors of Small Religious Parties: A Case Study of Jam‘iyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan

*Mazher Hussain and **Dr. Shahid Hassan Rizvi

Abstract

After 9/11, there is a heated debate on the political and economic aspects of Islam. It is believed that Islamic socio economic order, being an effective part of Islamic code of life, finds solution to everyday problems which a person faces at individual and collective levels. Barelvi School of Islamic Scholars who actively and unconditionally supported All-India Muslim League (1906-1947) for its demand of Pakistan decided to come on the forefront in order to transform the nascent country into a moderate Islamic republic in the light of aspirations and instructions of M.A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. Hence, they formed a religio-political party entitled Jam‘iyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan (JUP) in 1948. In the current article, an effort has been made to highlight the endeavors of JUP, one of the smaller religio-political parties of the country who worked as pressure groups in order to force power brokers to transform Pakistan into an Islamic welfare state.

Key Words: Religion, Politics, Welfare State, Rightist

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Introduction

Barelvi faction of the Ulama that actively participated in the Pakistan Movement (1940-1947) and gave its unconditional support to M.A.Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, very soon realized that their objectives associated with the struggle for Pakistan could only be achieved through a constitutional and political struggle; and as per need of the parliamentary system prevailing in the country, they must converge and consolidate their energies on a political platform. Therefore, Barelvi ulama established the Markazi (Central) Jam‘iyyat-ul-Ulama-i-Pakistan (MJUP- hereafter JUP) in 1948. Being an effective and active part of the Religious Right of the country they concentrated their efforts to transform Pakistan into a true Islamic state established through the promulgation of the Islamic constitution in the country. They stressed upon the elimination of all the social and moral evils as the founder of the country had aspired in the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP). Moreover, it was also hoped to propagate Islamic teachings among the Muslims by initiating the spirit of religious cum political awakening and the spirit of Jihad among them and direct their attention from western culture and civilization towards Islamic culture and civilization. For this purpose and to safeguard the position of the religious right JUP demanded allocation of seats for the ulama of all factions in the national and provincial assemblies in order to guide the government. Hence, the establishment of an Islamic state in the country was the aim of JUP.

The Concept of Welfare State in Islam

The term ‘Islamic Welfare State’\(^1\) demonstrates an administrative set up in which the government assumes responsibility for minimum standards of living for every citizen, which includes provision of social security against unemployment, health issues, old age and disability; provision of free or subsidized education and medical services; social justice through fair distribution of income and wealth among all citizens through effective system of taxation; provision of full-time employment to everyone as per one’s education and skills; public ownership of utility services to make sure uninterrupted supply on affordable rates and even further subsidized rates for low-income groups.\(^2\)

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Theoretically the terms 'Islamic State' and 'Welfare State' are synonymous in a way as Islam provides, in mode and functioning, a true basis for socio-economic and spiritual well-being of man. It, in addition to Quran and Sunnah—the primary sources of Islamic law, provides democratic principles of Shura (consultation), Ijma (consensus) and Ijtihad (legal independent interpretation of problems not precisely covered in the Quran), as secondary sources of Islamic law in order to chalk out the basics of a welfare state.  
Islam, through the creation of a welfare state, focuses on achieving the total welfare of mankind, which is based not only on the manifestation of economic values but also on moral, spiritual, social and political values of Islam. In this way, it ensures socio-economic welfare of its citizens and functions for material welfare of its people through provision of basic necessities of life for all, guarantee of a comprehensive social security system and establishment of social justice, etc. Moreover, it also functions for the spiritual well-being of its people through the establishment of Islamic system of life for the Muslims and full religious freedom for the non-Muslims.

As far as the administration and authority in an Islamic welfare state is concerned, the central power or sovereignty belongs to Allah alone and a Muslim ruler (termed as Khalifa) has to govern within the limits set by Allah and examples demonstrated by the noble Prophet (PBUH). He plays a central role by setting an example of fair play, honesty, integrity and justice in individual and collective affairs. He is accountable, not only for his actions for ri’aya (the ruled) or raiy’yah (citizens). Moreover, accepting public office is like a punishment except when he fears Allah, follows the traits of piety and performs assigned duties virtuously. An exemplary muttaqi (pious) ruler values the life hereafter over worldly state of affairs. Prophet Mohammad’s persona was the indicator of the meaning of uniqueness and the emphasis on self-presentation as the outward manifestation of a unique inner ‘guardian leader’ constellation of attitudes, behavioral demonstration and prophet-hood. As per saying of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), each and every Muslim ruler is supposed to perform twin roles i.e. ‘servant leader’ and i.e. Sayyid-al-qawm (guardian leader of the people) and khadim-al-qawm (the

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4 Ibid., 52
5 Akram Zia al-Umri, Majalis Muashra, trans., Azra Nasim Faruqi, (Islamabad: Islamia Research Institute, 2005), 35-37
servant of the people). He is supposed to seek their welfare and guide them towards good.7

Islam recognizes that a ruler must be selected with the ‘acceptance of the people’—precisely called ‘suffrage’ or ‘electorates’ in modern day politics. Hence, it gives people the fundamental right to elect a representative who would dispense the divine ideals of justice in serving the people. The authority in an Islamic State has to be based on the principles of good governance, availability of cheap and swift justice, and respect for human dignity by ensuring the rule of law. It can be securely believed that Islam upholds core democratic values; in fact a truly Islamic democracy would do away with the negatives that are often accompanied by secular or western style democracies and establish a welfare state where everyone is treated according to the law.8 Moreover authority in an Islamic state manifests three founding features, based on the Quranic vision and guidance on one hand and the experience under the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the rightly guided caliphs on the other:

i. An Islamic government is essentially a “constitutional” one. The constitution is the agreement of the governed to government by a set of clear and agreed upon terms. The source of the constitution is the Quran, the Sunnah, and anything that is deemed relevant, effective, as long as it is not inconsistent with Islam.

ii. An Islamic political system is always a participatory one, right from establishing the very institutional framework to implementing it. In Islam this aspect is institutionalized as Shura, inculcating that the leadership and the policies was to be conducted on the basis of participation.

ii. The leadership and the holders of authority are accountable to people. Above all, the leaders like all other Muslims are accountable to Allah and His divine guidance. The leader must present him for any accountability demanded by the people.9

The key characteristics of a truly Islamic welfare state in the light of above discussion would, therefore, be as follows:

• Sovereignty belongs to Allah alone.10

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8 Ishahi, Islami Riyasat, 33-37
9 Muhammad Umar Chapra, Objectives of the Islamic Economic Order, (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1979), 6-11
10 See Preamble and Article 2A, Constitution of The Islamic Republic of Pakistan
• In matters of faith, Allah has compelled nobody to believe; the ways of good and evil have been clearly indicated. Anyone may believe or disbelieve and in doing so was to be responsible for the consequences. There must not be any compulsion, in the matter of faith. Everybody in the Islamic state must be free to follow their religious or belief system, provided his or her conduct is not detrimental for others.11
• Non-Muslims can live peacefully as citizens of a Muslim realm.12
• There shall be no racial discrimination. People become high or low only because of their character.13
• All avenues of economic exploitation must be stopped so that wealth does not circulate only in the hands of the few. There can be no room for *riba* (interest) and the economy must be free of this evil.14
• A person shall be free to earn as much as he or she can by legitimate means, without exploitation or fraud. However beyond a certain minimum, there was to be a tax on capital.15
• Women shall have an independent economic status. All their inherited wealth and their personal earnings shall be their own property.16
• A truly Islamic State can never be a monarchical state. It must be a democratic republic in which the Head is elected by a vote of the community on the basis of his capability and character.17
• It is incumbent on the ruler to have a council of advisers and consultants for purposes of legislation or major decisions. They shall be selected purely on merit.18
• There shall be no special class of priests in an Islamic society, though persons leading a better religious life and possessing a better knowledge of religious affairs have a legitimate claim to honor. They were to enjoy no special privileges.19

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11 See Part II of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 for details
13 Ishai, *Islam Riyasat*, 48
14 Professor Dr. Anis Ahmad, “Perceptions of Islamic Laws and Shari’a in Pakistan” in Dr. Maqsudul Hasan Nuri (Ed.), *Islam and State: Practice and Perceptions in Pakistan and the Contemporary Muslim World*, Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2011, 56-63
15 Muhammad Umar Chapra, *Towards a Just Monetary System*, (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1986), 19
16 Umri, *Madni Muashra*, 44
17 Atzal Iqbal (1965), *Diplomacy in Islam*, (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1965) 14-18
18 Jaffari, *Nahj-ul-Balagha* (fr.), 513
There shall be perfect equality of opportunity and equality before the law. The law shall make no distinction between a Muslim and a non-Muslim either in civil or in criminal cases.\(^{20}\)

The judiciary must be independent of the executive.\(^{21}\)

These are the fundamentals of an Islamic welfare state and are mandatory to every Muslim ruler or ruling majority. According to majority of authorities on Islamic law, these fundamentals can neither be negated nor altered as they are based upon Divine laws.\(^{22}\)

**Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah’s Vision of Welfare State:**

The progressive and democratic ideals which the founding father Muhammad Ali Jinnah kept before him during struggle for a separate homeland coincided with most of the above mentioned features of an Islamic welfare state. A cursory look at the vast literature on Pakistan Movement shows that he was not only concerned with the political aspect of the movement but also consistently expressed his views regarding the socio-economic uplift of masses in general and Muslim society in particular.\(^{23}\) These views in their rudiments reflect a remarkable continuity of approach from the earlier days of his political career to the period he occupied the position of Governor General of Pakistan. For example, in Muslim League’s 30th Annual Session held at Delhi in 1943, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared that the goal of Pakistan Movement was to set up a ‘People’s Government’ which would not allow landlords and capitalists to flourish at the expense of masses.\(^{24}\) Only such a government could establish a society in which human welfare would be consciously sought as the major objective of social policy. This was how a democratic welfare state would come into existence. Rafique Ahmad (2001) is of the view that “... although the Quaid-i-Azam was not a professional economist, he had a firm grasp of the basic notions which constitute a welfare-oriented economic philosophy. He viewed the proper form of society as one in which the interests of the community as a whole transcended those of the individual and in which economic relationship were motivated by


\(^{21}\) Ibid. 111

\(^{22}\) Islahi, *Islami Riyasat*, 53

\(^{23}\) Sharif al Mujahid, *Ideology of Pakistan*, Reprint, (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University Islamabad, 2001), 81-84

good was to and concern for the interests of others rather than by pure profit-seeking intentions.”

Responding to his public reception at Chittagong, Quaid declared: “You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man.”

In the speeches and statements of the Quaid-i-Azam, the major objectives of such a welfare state have been demarcated into three broad-ranging guidelines:

i. Proscription of accumulation of wealth in few hands, aiming at leveling up the general standard of living amongst the masses, and the interests and welfare of the people as a whole should be taken into consideration.

ii. Development of an indigenous economic system, based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice, instead of blindly following of the Western economic theory and practice.

iii. Effective role of the public sector in providing a network of social and public utility services and relief and amenities, especially in underdeveloped areas and State control over the key industries.

The above guiding principles provided the foundations for a multitude of welfare-oriented policies which the Quaid-i-Azam aspired to be followed for the development of various socio-economic sectors.

In this regard, Yusufi (1996) quotes Quaid’s words “The Western economic theory and practice was to not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice”.

Moreover, in the 25th Annual Session of Muslim League in 1937, an economic, social and educational program was chalked out. Its salient features were the fixation of working hours for factory

26 Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi (ed.). Speeches, Statements and Message of the Quaid-i-Azam, (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 1719-20
27 Ibid. 1961
28 Ibid. 1987
29 Ibid. 1989
30 Ibid. 2019-20
31 Ibid. 2733-38
workers and other laborers; determination of minimum wages; 
improvement of the housing and hygienic condition of the laborers 
and make provision for slum clearance; reduction in rural and urban 
debts and abolish usury; award of a moratorium with regard to all 
depts, whether decreed or otherwise, till proper legislation has been 
enacted; securing legislation for exemption of houses from 
attachment or sale in execution of decrees; obtaining of security of 
tenure and fixation of fair rents and revenue; elimination of forced 
labor; undertaking of rural uplift work; backing up of cottage 
industries and small indigenous industries both in rural and urban 
areas; encouragement for the use of Swadeshi (locally made) articles, 
specially hand-woven cloth, induction of an industrial board for the 
development industries and the prevention of exploitation by 
middlemen; working out means for the relief of unemployed 
persons; pressing on compulsory primary education; restructuring 
of the secondary and university education, specially a scientific and 
technical one; enforcement of embargo; elimination of un-Islamic 
customs and usages from Muslim society; administration of a 
volunteer corps for social service.32

It would be helpful to mention the findings of the Report of the 
twenty-three member Economic Planning Committee appointed by 
the Quaid-i-Azam in 1947. A comprehensive Twenty-Year 
Development Plan was devised for economic and social uplift, state 
industrialization, free primary education, reform of land system, 
security of tenure, improvement in the condition of labor and 
agriculture, control of money lending, provision of welfare services, 
removal of gross inequalities of income, and development of health, 
housing, transport and trade sectors.33

This plan laid great stress on distributive justice and recognized the 
role of state in devising measures to remove the prevailing 
inequalities of income and property. Apart from a long-term 
egalitarian vision, the plan further emphasized that latest technique of 
production to be acquired and made accessible to small and 
medium producers in such a way as to ensure a minimum annual 
rate of growth of six percent in national income.34

One important element in the Quaid-i-Azam’s vision of a welfare 
state was its non-discriminatory character in promoting prosperity 
among all sections of the people irrespective of caste, creed, color

32 Ibid 2741-49
33 Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan, (Karachi: National Publishing House, 
1970) 137-143
34 Khalid Shams ul Hasan, Quaid-i-Azam’s Unrealized Dream, (Karachi: IBS, 1991), 58
and religion. For this he drew inspiration from the teachings and practices of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). As a matter of record, in his countless speeches, statements, and messages before and after the establishment of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam emphasized the role of Islam as a comprehensive code of life standing for non-discriminatory social justice, fair play, democracy, fraternity among the people, and welfare of masses as a whole.

During the Allahabad Session of All-India Muslim League in 1942 he was asked as to what type of state Pakistan would be. He replied: “It was to be an Islamic State on the pattern of Medina State with human rights, liberalism, democracy and complete tolerance and freedom of conscience to all citizens without any distinction of color, creed, language, and race as granted by the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) to Christians, Jews, idol worshippers and all others. Justice, brotherhood, liberty, equality and fraternity was to reign supreme”.

The richness and variety of the Quaid-i-Azam’s observations on socio-economic issues shows that although he fully benefited from currents of contemporary thought on various issues, he did not allow them to dominate his own approach to life and its problems. His professional mastery of law enabled him to go deep into the heart of an issue, acquire details, and cast new light on it according to his own rational and enlightened interpretation. This way of looking at things helped to develop certain recurring socio-economic and political themes in his intellectual set-up such as role of participatory political power in solving economic problems, equality of man, promotion of justice and fair play, seeking of human welfare as a deliberate objective of social policy, workable solution to specific problems even if it meant disturbance of status quo, eradication of poverty and income gaps for cultural emancipation of masses, uplift of agricultural and industrial workers, and education of the people at all levels, with particular emphasis on professional education and science and technology.

36 Hasan, Quaid-i-Azam’s Unrealized Dream, 59-60
37 Ziauddin Ahmed, “Quaid’s Concept of State” in Dawn, (Karachi, 6 September 1997)
38 Ahmad, “Democratic Welfare State as Visualized by the Quaid-i-Azam”, 1137–1146
Rightist Political Stream and the Establishment of an Islamic Welfare State:

The religio-political right in Pakistan has been determined to achieve its agenda since 1947. Its primary focus has been on Islamization of the state generally through religio-socialization of the state.\(^39\) It made early gains on the Islamization front, by managing to define the ideological discourse of the state through the Objectives Resolution of 1949. The religio-political right also had its say in the form of a formal constitutional acknowledgment that divine laws would have precedence over laws made by Parliament and also managed to get Shariah laws adopted during the rule of the third military dictator General ZiaulHaq. Despite these significant achievements, the religious right incessantly worked for absolute Islamization of the state.\(^40\)

As far as party manifestoes are concerned, ‘enforcement of divine law’ is the common agenda in the manifestos of all religio-political organizations. Their primary objectives also include plans for economic, political, constitutional and foreign policy reforms. But their emphasis is on complete Islamization of the state and society. Many of these parties recommend reforms but remain silent on how those would be translated into policy. Many of their recommendations have tremendous commonalities and at times it would be difficult to tell one organization’s manifesto apart from that of another if the organization’s name was not mentioned in the document.\(^41\)

Mainstream political parties in Pakistan also share many objectives of the religio-political parties.\(^42\) For instance; Pakistan Muslim League has promised in its manifesto that it would turn the country into “a modern ideological Islamic State”.\(^43\) Tehrik-e-Insaf’s statement of objectives focuses on ways of making Pakistan an ideal Islamic state.\(^44\) The Pakistan People’s Party maintains “Islam is our way”.\(^45\)

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\(^39\) More details on the issue can be seen in Muhammad Amir Rana, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan* (Lahore: Mash’al Publications, 2002).


\(^41\) Ibid. 48

\(^42\) See manifestos of almost all political and religious parties in Prof. Muhammad Usman and Masud Ashar, *Pakistan ki Siyasi Jama’atein* (Urdu), (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1986)

\(^43\) Usman, *Pakistan ki Siyasi Jama’atein*, 55

\(^44\) See Manifesto of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) at www.insaf.pk

\(^45\) See Manifesto of Pakistan’s People’s Party (PPP) at www.ppp.org.pk
But if all political parties, excluding those who represent left-wing ideology, share the same vision, where is “the point of divergence”? First, religious organizations engage in multipurpose activities, including the religio-socialization process. They believe that political parties are not capable of bringing about the desired change since they only follow political norms and are accommodative towards global, political, strategic and economic trends. On the other hand, religious parties distinguish themselves on the basis of religion and consider themselves to be saviors of Pakistan’s Islamic ideology. They are generally suspicious of the country’s political leadership, and think that it wants to turn Pakistan into a secular state.46

The proliferation of religious organizations usually occurs on account of different interpretations of religious ordains along sectarian lines. For instance, when the JUP, JI or JUI say that no law could be made against Quran and Sunnah, they seek to confine legislation within the Hanafi framework and they claim that the state must follow the majority’s faith in its legislative function.47 Other sects want political protection and endorsement of their respective religious ideas. Most of these religious parties believe that parliament should only identify the areas where Shariah legislation is required. They do not envisage a role for parliament beyond that nor are they clear on what role it was to play after Islamization of constitution and legislation is accomplished.48

The commonalities in the agendas of religious-political parties enable them to join hands to strive for their common goals. Up till 200349, their joint venture can be described as follows:

i. In 1952, in an early demonstration of joint action to pursue common objectives, religious scholars from all sects developed a consensus on an Islamic constitutional framework consisting of 22 points. The framework later provided the fundamental principles to all religious organizations in Pakistan and their manifestos centered on the same 22 points. The framework emphasized supremacy of ‘divine’ laws and declared that the state must not make laws contrary to Shariah. Later, many of the clauses from the same framework were included in the Constitution of 1973.50

46 Rana, “Agenda of Religious-Political Organizations”,49
47 Ibid. 51
48 Ibid. 52
49 Ibid
50 “Nizam-e Islam ke Pakistan ke Ulama kemutafaqa ba‘is nukat”, in Ijtihad, Issue No. 5 (May), 113-114
ii. The second major consensus among religious-political parties emerged in 1977, when all of them joined hands to form an alliance with the opposition parties in order to topple the government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and enforce Nizam-e-Mustafa in the country. The movement resulted in martial law in the country and paved the way for Gen ZiaulHaq's Islamization drive.51

iii. The third major union occurred in 2002 when religious-political parties formed an electoral alliance, called the Mutahidda Majlis-e-Amal (MMA). In General Elections 2002, the MMA won 63 seats in the National Assembly formed its government in the North West Frontier Province and was the part of the ruling coalition in Baluchistan.52

Religious-political parties set aside their sectarian differences on all of these occasions but their partnership never survived for long. The alliances were short-lived not because of any sectarian difference or disagreements over agenda, but on account of power struggles and varying political strategies of the groups forming the alliance. There are both ideological and tactical divergences among religious-political organizations. On ideological level, the framework of religious organizations not only encompasses a bearing on their worldview, it also defines the boundaries of their political activism. For instance, the JI is connected with the Muslim Brotherhood movements across the world and represents the global Islamist agenda in Pakistan. Sohail Mahmood argues that that is the reason why most JI members are more interested in matters affecting Muslims in other countries than in the affairs of their local communities.53 On the other hand, the tactical level refers to the potential of the religious right to maneuver and mobilize its support base to gain maximum benefits and defines their political discourse.54

51 Muhammad Munir, From Jinnah to Zia, (Lahore: Vanguard, 1980)2nd ed, xix
52 Mazher Hussain, Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittehadon mein Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani Kirdar—Quami Ittehad se Mutahidda Majlis-i-Amaltak (The Role of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani in the Political Alliances of Pakistan—from Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) to Mutahidda Majlis-i-Amal (MMA), (Joharabad: Allama Shah Ahmad Noorani Research Centre Pakistan, 2009)529-537
53 Sohail Mahmood (1995), Islamic Fundamentalism in Pakistan, Egypt and Iran, Lahore: Vanguard Books, 70-71
54 The JUI, JUP and MJAH can be termed conservatives incidentally which generally focus on local issues. This despite the fact that the JUI holds links with the Taliban in Afghanistan and groups affiliated with it engage in Indian-held Kashmir, it strongly believes in the electoral and political process and participates in it accordingly. [Joshua T. White (2008), Pakistan’s Islamist Frontier, NY: Center on Faith & International Affairs, 34-48 &62-64]
The JUP’s Quest for an Islamic Welfare State:

As far as JUP’s efforts are concerned in this connection, its leadership, soon after the inception in 1948, aligned its efforts with the rightist political forces in order to establish an Islamic welfare state as was dreamed as well as promised by the leaders of the Pakistan Movement. JUP was perhaps the first religio-political party which drafted an outline of Islamic constitution and presented it to M.A.Jinnah, the then Governor General of Pakistan. JUP throughout its history remained undaunted in its objective to make the country a welfare state in the light of Quran and Sunnah. Later, the same objective was articulated into the popular term and slogan of establishing the Nizam-i-Mustafa, a model for an Islamic welfare state. JUP worked tirelessly for Islamic character of the Constitution, both in and out of the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan (1947 to 1973) and Parliament (1973 onwards). It joined hands with the religio-political right in order to keep pressure for articulating the Constitution on Islamic lines. It effectively played its role outside the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP) for the formulation of the 1956 Constitution.

Even during the despotic rule of Ayub Khan, the JUP leadership did not compromise on the constitutional issues. JUP strongly reacted when the government, in order to please secular as well as leftist lot of the country, changed the name of the state through an ordinance to just ‘Pakistan’ by removing ‘Islamic Republic’ from its nomenclature. In response to the questionnaire circulated to get public opinion on the constitutional draft, Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazimi, the Nazim-i-Ala of the West Pakistan JUP wrote that the constitution must be based on the principles of the Quran and Sunnah and a maximum period should be announced for bringing all un-Islamic laws into conformity with teachings of Islam.

55 Jam‘iyat Ulama-i-Pakistan: 1948-1979, 209
56 JUP claims that its proposed model of Muhammadan Socio-economic Order is based on the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah, which had aptly been articulated in its manifesto.
57 The immediate results of these efforts were the adoption of the Objectives Resolution by the CAP on 12 March 1949 and Ulama’s 22-Points adopted as “Principles of an Islamic State” formulated by 31 leading ulama belonging to different religious parties and organizations.
58 The JUP kept on watching every step taken by the CAP for drafting the Constitution and gave its suggestions to the Basic Principles Committee of the CAP accordingly. In 1954, the JUP leadership through a number of conventions highlighted the need for opening a religious department to help implement the Islamic principles in matters of inheritance, divorce, religious education and maintenance of mosques.
59 The nomenclature of the country ‘Islamic Republic of Pakistan’ (IRP) was altered with ‘Republic of Pakistan’ (RP) which was a grim message especially to the religio-political parties about the designs of President Ayub. JUP leadership, albeit the liberal stance of the
stressed the need for giving all protection to basic human rights of the citizens.\textsuperscript{60} However, the 1962 Constitution completely set aside the recommendations of the Constitution Commission for incorporation of the Islamic provisions of the previous constitution.

President Ayub's denial to fulfill the promises for enforcement of Islamic Shariah forced Sunni ulama to join anti-Ayub forces, especially the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM), which culminated on Ayub's acquittal from the power corridors and arrival of General Yahya Khan, C-in-C and new CMLA.\textsuperscript{61} The latter pledged to restore democracy in the country and made proper arrangements for holding the very first general elections in the country's history. These elections had a unique significance due to their ideological orientation of 'Islam' versus 'Socialism', especially in West Pakistan.\textsuperscript{62} On the issue of 'welfare state' the manifestoes of both right and left spectrum differed a lot. The PPP forwarded its socialist ideals through a mammoth Kissan (Peasant) Conference at Toba Tek Singh while JUP responded strongly by holding a Sunni Conference at the same place in mid 1970.\textsuperscript{63} The ulama, in their statements, expressed the hope that the JUP would emerge as a third force against the advocates of Socialism and Capitalism and the 'Congressite' Islamic parties.\textsuperscript{64} JUP developed a well-knitted, delineated and comprehensive manifesto in 1970s which is still in vogue after slight amendments after periodical reviewing in the due course of time.

\textbf{Ingredients of Welfare State in JUP's Manifesto:}

JUP's the 1970 party-cum-electoral manifesto is one of the fundamental documents which provides a clear picture of its concept of a welfare state. The core of the manifesto was the declaration of Islam to be the state religion; protection of Maqam-i-Mustafa [the Holy Status of the Noble Prophet (BPUH)] and pledge to work for the enforcement of the Nizam-i-Mustafa [The Islamic System, first

\textsuperscript{60} new constitution, welcomed it with the plea that real concept of 'Islam' depends upon the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. (Monthly Al-Saedd, Multan, April 1962, 12-13)

\textsuperscript{61} Even the JUP leadership was alleged to support Ayub Khan during 1964 Presidential Election. In response to such allegations, the WP/JUP leadership made it clear that they supported Ayub Khan on account of his promises of enforcement of Islamic Shariah and they would draw back this conditional support in case of perfidy of these promises. (Monthly Rizwan, Karachi, January 1965, 3-7)

\textsuperscript{62} Muhammad Ramzan, 'The Religio-Political Parties and the Election of 1970', unpublished M. Phil. Thesis, (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1985), 118-123

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid. 124

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.125

\textsuperscript{64} Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, 13 June 1970
introduced in the form of Medina State by Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)]. The manifesto, among other things, gave an outline of the Islamic society for the country. It also stated that a separate department of internal and external preaching would be organized in a way that books translated into various foreign languages would be available to both the indigenous as well as foreign preachers and the followers of Islam. The JUP elected members were required to work in the Assemblies for framing a constitution on the basis of Quran-o-Sunnah, Ijma-i-Ummah and Qiyas, and for its enforcement. The party was to take affidavit from its candidates that they would work for Islam, Pakistan and betterment of the citizens; live strictly in accordance with Islamic principles and resign from their seats if desired by the party. The country would be named as the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' with the Islam as state religion. The provisions of the Quran, Sunnah, and the Fiqh-i-Hanafi would form the basis of constitution. The head of the state would always be a male Muslim of right beliefs. The government would not be dictatorial but the head of the state would run it in consultation with the elected representatives of the people and other functionaries of the government. Any agency authorized to elect the president would also have the right to depose him by a majority vote. The president would not be above law and would have equal rights with other Muslim citizens. The non-Muslims would have the right to live according to their religion and culture. It was the duty of the state to eliminate the abominable (munkirat) and establish the good (marufat) of Islam. The party strongly opposed Socialism, Communism Capitalism and all other ‘isms’ and announced that it would ban all political parties which stood for Secularism, opposed to the fundamentals of Islam. It also stated that JUP would repeal all laws repugnant to the Islamic values, the Quran and Sunnah and Fiqh-i-Hanafi. It announced to give defense, foreign affairs, currency, foreign exchange and international trade and communication under the control of the Centre, while the residual powers were to vest in the provinces.

Since the economic philosophy of an Islamic state is based on the concept of social justice, an Islamic state is destined to provide equal opportunities to all its citizens to earn their livelihood; Islam, in compliance with the social justice, first of all discourages and

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65 Hussain, Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittehadon mein Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka Kirdar, 682-683
66 Ibid. 685
67 Ibid. 686
68 Ibid. 693
69 Monthly Al-Habib, Lahore, October 1970, 2-5
condemns concentration of wealth in few hands; secondly it ensures
fair and equitable distribution of wealth through effective
measures. To check concentration of wealth in few hands, unlawful
and unfair means of acquiring wealth like interest, games of chance,
bribery, business malpractices such as short measuring, short
weighing, hoarding, embezzlement, theft and robbery have been
strictly prohibited. Fair and equitable distribution of wealth has been
ensured by Islam through Zakat and charity, through taxes and
compulsory contributions levied by the Islamic state, and last of all
through the laws of inheritance and will. In order to meet its ideal of
socio-economic justice, Islam prefers social rights over personal
wealth such as rights of the poor relatives for financial support,
rights of the needy neighbors for assistance, rights of the slaves and
servants for help, rights of the wayfarers (musafirs), friends and
general Muslims who need financial aid. Since afore-mentioned
social rights of others are to be fulfilled and payment of Zakat may
not be enough for the same, the Prophet of Islam is reported to have
said: “In one’s wealth there are other rights besides Zakat”. Thus
the followers of Islam are required to fulfill the needs of the poor and
if Zakat revenues are insufficient, the Islamic welfare state can ask
them to give more so that the needs of the poor can be met.

The JUP not only incorporated the economic philosophy mentioned
above into its manifesto but also aspired to introduce Islamic
economic system in the country based on it. As per manifesto, no
land revenue would be received from small owners possessing up to
twelve acres. Islamic tenancy laws would be introduced. Interest
would be abolished and banking system would be run on
partnership. All industrial monopolies and cartels would be done
away with. All key industries of steel making, oil-refining, electric
power and railways would be the responsibility of the state.
‘Partnership’ would be essential to all industries. Workers would get
a share in profit of industries. Hoarding, black-marketing and
profiteering would be serious offences. Insurance, speculations,
gambling, horse racing, obscene and pornographic literature,
alcobol, and adultery would be eliminated and persons committing
these offenses would be awarded severe punishments. Islamic
Hudud laws would be enforced. Zakat would be collected by force
and a separate department would be set up for this purpose.

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70 Chapra, Economic System of Islam, 74-75
71 Chapra, Objectives of the Islamic Economic Order, 23-26
72 Hussain, Pakistan kay Siyasī Ittehadonmein Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka Kirdar, 696
73 Ibid., 696-697
74 Ibid., 697
75 Ibid.
Moreover, *Bait al-Mal*—the conventional Islamic instrument for the collection and dispersal of Zakat etc, would be ascertained to establish. Job surety would be given to all citizens and in case of non-availability of jobs they would be given reasonable unemployment allowance. No legal land would be confiscated in any case; however, illegal land would be returned to its real owners and in absence of any claim would be distributed among the landless and poor peasants. Concentration of wealth was to be dealt through instruments like *Shirakat-o-mudharibat* (a kind of sleeping partnership in Islam) in banking system, by which people were to share both loss and the profit; license and permit systems were to be abolished. The rights of workers and peasants were to be fully safeguarded. Unnecessary taxes were to be replaced by taxes in accordance with Shariah. Small and cottage industries were to be established in rural areas to improve the condition of destitute people. Key industries were to be nationalized and run by the government in accordance with the Islamic economic system. Workers were to have shares in the industrial enterprises of the country.

JUP’s manifesto stated that equal opportunities to the citizens for their development and fulfilling their basic needs were to be provided; access to the general benefits of economic development was to be provided. The major economic fields were to be addressed to achieve the party objectives were agriculture, rural development, urban problems, industry and commerce, and rights of workers and low-income people.

Since the country’s economy depended generally on agricultural development in 1970s, as it is today, therefore, the agriculture sector assumed considerable space in JUP’s early version of manifesto. It focused on termination of lease holdings of public lands. Leases of the lands exceeding 25 hectares were to be taken back and redistributed. Millions of hectares of cultivable agricultural land under the government control lying useless could be developed and distributed among the landless farmers. Local inhabitants were to be given priority in this regard. Subsequent to the Islamic law, possession of worthless state-owned agricultural lands was to be given to those who were to be cultivating it. Rights of peasants were to be fully guaranteed and the agricultural system was to be brought

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76 Ibid, 697-698  
77 Ibid, 698  
78 Ibid, 698-699  
79 Ibid, 699
in accordance with the Islamic laws. *Ushr* was to be absolved with the payment of land revenue and the proper rate of water cess was to be determined. The government was to be responsible for supply of canal water to those farmers and land owners who were to pay the water cess.⁸⁰

As per manifesto, it was the duty of the government to provide fine seed to the farmers. Fertilizers, diesel, electricity, tractor, and agriculture equipments and implements were to be provided on proper rates; loan without interest were to be given on easy terms to the owners having up to twelve and a half acres of land. The small farmers were to be given more incentives so that the overall production may be increased. Proper steps were to be taken for corporate and industrial farming in order to increase agriculture produce.⁸¹ An equitable system of buying and selling of grains and cereals were to be set up through which the legal rights of both the farmers and consumers were to be safeguarded. Cattle farming, goat and sheep hoarding, fisheries, bee-flapping, dairy farming and poultry farming were to be mechanized on modern lines and were to be given the status of industries. Moreover, financial and technical support was to be provided for this purpose.⁸²

JUP gave special attention to rural development in order to minimize the differences between rural and urban mode of life and control rural-push and urban-pull factors. It was promised that homeless families would be provided with Seven *Marla* plots and interest free loans would be given for construction purposes. Villages would be connected to cities through metalled roads in order to resolve the transportation and increase farm-market linkage. Moreover, it was promised to promote and protect agricultural and cottage industries, especially in villages and interest free loan were to be given in order to develop these industries. In this way job opportunities would be increased while the flow of population towards cities would be minimized.⁸³

On the other hand the JUP manifesto also insured the solution to urban problems. For example; residents of *kachi abodies* (undeveloped settlements) were promised to enjoy property rights throughout the country. In addition, proper planning would be executed in order to build houses in every city according to the local

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⁸⁰ Ibid.
⁸¹ Ibid., 699-700
⁸² Ibid. 700
⁸³ Ibid., 700-701

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growth rate of population so that problems like spread of kachi abadies might not emerge again. As far as reforms in the sectors of industry and commerce are concerned, the JUP manifesto claimed to be the optimistic one. The procedure for the approval of establishing new industries was to be made easy. Ministry of industry would be responsible for all procedures in this respect which would be bound to decide the case within three months. As per need, the industries were to be established throughout the country. However, the industries were to be preferred in those areas where the raw material was available. Besides public sector, industries in private sector would also be encouraged.

JUP’s policy to promote national and foreign trade was both rational and simple. Import of items of luxury and other unnecessary items were to be stopped completely. In order to develop local industry import of those items were to be necessarily stopped. However the rates of Pakistani products were to be supervised effectively. All the possible steps were to be taken to increase the exports of Pakistani products into foreign markets and the products were to be standardized. Government monopoly over exports was to be abolished.

JUP did not ignore the rights of workers and low-income people while chalk ing out its manifesto. It worked for the promotion of constructive unionism. As per manifesto, the activities of unions were to be being encouraged. Unconditional right of unionism was to be granted and its removal without any solid reason would be a crime. Moreover; partnership to industry was to be awarded to workers and legal procedures were to be devised after consulting industrialists; labour-management relations were to be made pleasant. Minimum salary package of workers were to be revised and adjusted keeping in view the basic needs of life. Existing salaries were to be increased in order to in order to ensure an honorable life; efforts were to be done to benefit the workers giving maximum production. Performance of federal and provincial departments of industry was to be made better in consultation with the representatives of trade unions and experts in trade and commerce.

84 Ibid. 701
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid. 702
87 Ibid. 702-703
In addition, weekly system of salaries was to be introduced for the welfare of workers and delay in payment of wages were to be considered as a crime. Workers of industrial firms were to be given protection to their employment along with better terms and conditions. Before setting up of any new industry the concerned industrialist would ensure to provide housing and treatment facilities and quality education to the children of workers. Old industries were to fulfill the conditions within six months.88

A board consisting of the representatives of the government, industrialists and workers was to be established which were to be compile recommendations regarding rights and interests of workers, increase in production and amendments into industrial laws. The government would introduce a system through which the control of the government over internal and external trade was to be abolished.89

Above and beyond, the workers were to be given the right to get pension after fifteen years of service and every worker were to be have the right to get full pension after thirty years of service. A worker, if disabled during duty, were to be treated free of cost. If even then he does not recover, were to be provided with full pension.90

As far as necessary facilities were concerned, the manifesto advocated free medication, cheaper housing and convenient transportation system. All possible steps were to be taken for alleviation of poverty, unemployment. Residential facilities would be improved and necessities of life would be provided on convenient terms. Agricultural as well as industrial loans were to be provided in order to boost up both small and large scale economic activities.91

The Education System, as per manifesto of the JUP, was based on Islamic values. Selection of the teachers was to be quality-based so that they might infuse an Islamic spirit of knowledge into the young generation. ‘Education for All’ would be ensured and adult education (for the persons who could not attend school due to any reason) was aspired to be arranged.92 The Quran, Sunnah and Fiqh were to be taught at all levels. Arabic was to be made compulsory while English

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88 Ibid. 703
89 Ibid. 703-704
90 Ibid. 704
91 Ibid. 705
92 Ibid. 706

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was to be given the status of an optional subject. In order to remove differences between both wings of the country, among other things, it was decided to introduce Bengali in the West Pakistan while Urdu in the Eastern Wing as compulsory subjects. Co-education at all levels would be discouraged. Free education up till secondary level would be ensured. Islamic Ideology along with the Ideology of Pakistan was to be safeguarded and consolidated by all possible means and both print and electronic media be used to proliferate it.

As per terms of the suggested health policy on national level, no poor person was to remain deprived of proper treatment. Better arrangements were to be made for sanitation. Hygienic principles were to be publicized on mass scale. Sports and games were to be encouraged on national level. Adulterators were to be punished publically. The numbers of general hospitals and maternity clinics in rural areas was to be increased. Doctors and physicians were to be appointed in villages with special incentives and privileges. Family planning clinics was to be converted into general clinics with better facilities. Every doctor was to be able to visit foreign country in order to get further education after serving for at least two years in Pakistan. Terms of employment for nurses were to be standardized up to the foreign level in order to discourage the tendency of seeking jobs abroad. Pharmaceutical industries were to be set up within the country through public-private partnership. Furthermore, private pharmaceutical industries were to be permitted to make medicines. Establishment of hospitals in private sector was to be encouraged and guaranteed not to be nationalized in future. However these hospitals were to be bound to abide by rules and regulations devised by the government. Indigenous system of allopathic and homeopathic medicine was to be patronized and promoted. Hospitals under this system were to be established under governmental control. Existing unregistered allopathic medicine practitioners were to be given legal protection after having proper training courses.

JUP described very clear defense policy by making the country self-sufficient in defense. The military trainees were to be instructed on Islamic lines in order to infuse true spirit of jihad. All the adult Muslims were to be given military training. A department of civil defense was to be established. Research and development in nuclear energy sector was given due consideration in the manifesto.

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93 Ibid.706-708
94 Ibid.708-709
95 Ibid.709-710
Internal security of a country considerably depends upon a well-designed foreign policy. JUP manifesto claimed that foreign policy was to be reformulated in the light of religious and national interests. Cooperation among the Muslim countries was emphasized. Negotiations with India were to be sought in order to safeguard the rights of the Indian Muslims. Muslim right for self-determination throughout the world would be respected especially in Kashmir, Palestine, Cyprus and Eretria. Other oppressed nations were also to be supported in their independence movements. Colonial forces in any form or nomenclature would be resisted. A bloc of Muslim countries was to be forged and any conflict among them was to be solved through arbitration.\textsuperscript{96}

JUP manifesto advocated an independent judicial system and the constituents of the system would be committed, upright, pious persons with elevated character. Justice to the people would be provided free of cost. Qualified lawyers both in skill and conduct would be appointed on key posts. Civil administration was deemed to be the servant of the people. Any exhibition of pride and extravagance in the expenditure by officers was not permitted. The existing wide gap in the salaries of government employees and private agencies would be bridged. All amenities of education, medical aid, housing, etc., would be provided to the employees.\textsuperscript{97}

The policy of JUP regarding minorities was in total conformity with the injunctions of Islam.\textsuperscript{98} In the JUP manifesto, it was delineated that the legal rights of minorities in government services, technical institutes and professional educational institutions would fully be protected. They would get complete civic and legal protection.\textsuperscript{99} Government would be responsible for safety to their lives, properties, honor and freedom as citizens. Moreover, it would provide protection to the property associated with worship places of minorities. There would be no interference in the social and religious affairs of minorities. They would be free to act according their religion but would not be permitted to preach against the principles of Islam. The decision of the legislation for protection of finality of Prohet-hood through the Second Amendment (1974) to the Constitution 1973 would be protected.\textsuperscript{100} Likewise, whatever laws

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.710

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid. 695-696

\textsuperscript{98} Haq. "Islam and Rights of Minorities in Pakistan", 88-106

\textsuperscript{99} Hussain, Pakistan kay Siyasi Ittehadon mein Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani ka Kirdar, 710-711

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.711
the minorities want to approve for the reformation of their communities would be passed. However, these laws should not be in contradiction with the national interest. There would be full freedom of religious education, culture and civilization, religious practices to minorities within the limits of law.

Conclusion

To sum up the JUP’s ideals on the Islamic welfare state, it can be concluded that JUP is working for the supremacy of Quran and Sunnah in Pakistan, enabling every Muslim to lead life according to the teachings of Islam in order to set up an ideal Islamic society. A parliamentary form of government in conformance with the Shura system of Islam would be introduced in the country. It aspired to grant equal rights to people, develop feelings of love, fraternity and sympathy among the people so that ethnic, linguistic, regional, sectarian, and class prejudices might be eradicated. Such a judicial system would be set up, through which each and every person would be provided with justice and the existing disparity among the citizens of different parts of the country would be done away within minimum time. All the courts would adhere to the Shariyat-i-Muhammadi and in this way the inhabitants of the state, without any distinction, would be made accountable to law. There would be set up such a judicial system where just would be provided without any pressure, leading to the elimination of every type of cruelty, exploitation and injustice. In order to remove the existing flaws in the present system of the country, an administrative system would be framed, where each component would perform his duty in accordance with the religious and democratic values.
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Political Role of Karachi in Formation and Removal of Federal Governments

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Abstract

Karachi’s size and composition of population makes it a ‘mini Pakistan’ in many ways. Due to its unique characteristics Karachi has earned an un-ignorable and a distinctive position in National and Provincial politics of Pakistan and Sind. As a city it has the largest number of seats in national and provincial assemblies.¹ It has been observed that the local developments taking shape in Karachi result in political changes on national level. There is hardly any parallel city to Karachi in terms of its political equation to overall politics of a particular country. Karachi’s political dynamics and political handling has always played its role in major political changes and developments of Pakistan. It has become imperative to study Karachi as a political catalyst to understand the nitty-gritties associated in this phenomenon. This paper particularly studies the role of various representative groups of the city in the formation and removal of the federal governments of Pakistan in a historical perspective.

Key words: Karachi, Federal Government, National and Provincial assemblies, elections, demography, planning

¹ Karachi has 20 seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan from NA 239 to NA 258 and 42 seats in the Provincial Assembly of Sindh from PS- 89 to PS- 130. http://ecp.gov.pk

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Introduction

Being the largest concentrated population of Pakistan in the current assembly that took shape in 2013 Karachi has 20 electoral seats in the assembly of 272 seats. This is the largest number from any single city. Many political scientists of Pakistan and world have opined that the current number of seats allocated to Karachi is insufficient. In comparison to other large cities like Lahore and Faisalabad the constituency/population ratio is much higher in Karachi. The second largest number belongs to Lahore with 13 seats in national assembly. This means around 7% of representation of Pakistan is from Karachi only. In comparison to any other city in the world and its ratio of representation in national politics this is amongst highest.

Since the beginning of electoral politics in Pakistan Karachi has played pivotal role in the national politics. For nearly fifteen years after independence Karachi remained the national capital of the country.\(^2\) It may be noticed that the national government may not have come from Karachi however it had always relied heavily on the mandate of Karachi. Some governments have lost the confidence of national assembly and had been dismissed on behalf of disturbances in Karachi. 1965 presidential elections, 1970, 1977, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997 general elections, all political parties and observers have reiterated the significance of Karachi in national politics.

Karachi’s role in removal of federal governments: 1958

At the time of independence Karachi was not largest in terms of population however immediately after the influx of refugees and migrants Karachi started to become focal point of political activity. By 1958 Karachi had assumed the role of a decisive political battle field. The declaration of first Martial Law was also connected to the social, political and economic conditions of Karachi. “It was agreed that the general elections would be held in November 1958. However with the help of the Republican Party and other parties favorable to him (President of Pakistan Iskander Mirza), he was able to have All Parties Conference to agree on postponement of elections from November 1958 to February 1959. Qayyum Khan, President of Muslim League (the founder party of Pakistan), refused to participate in the Conference and threatened to launch direct action against government if it did not announce a firm date for elections.

\(^2\) Karachi was the first federal capital of Pakistan and remained so from 1947 till 1962 when the capital was shifted to the new city of Islamabad.
There were clashes between Muslim League workers and the police in Karachi. At that point it appeared that Mirza was losing control of the democratic forces in the country and could not influence the electoral process’. On this pretext the first countrywide martial law was imposed when the Field Martial General Ayub Khan took over the government on 7th October 1958.

Although seven Prime Ministers were changed before the military coup of 1958, these political changes were not a result of movements and political activism. During the first eleven years there was a struggle between the politicians and bureaucracy for government. For the first time military took over the country and its rule was later legitimized on the basis of Doctrine of Necessity.

1969

Up till the separation of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh, Karachi was as significant as it became after 1971. Even then in some instances Karachi played its role in political movements of national level. The first vibrant role played by Karachi was during the presidential elections of 1965. The main contestants were President Ayub Khan and Ms. Fatima Jinnah, the beloved sister of the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Ayub, using his powers managed all areas into his favor however the main anchor of support for Ms. Jinnah was Karachi which did not succumb in front of Ayub’s tactics. Elections were conducted on 3rd January 1965 and on 4th the results were announced. The results proved the fears of general public that these elections were going to be rigged. “Miss Jinnah had a lead over Ayub Khan in Dhaka Division (5986 against 5861), Chittagong Division (5779 against 4794) and Karachi Division (1061 against 907). In all, over the administrative division, Ayub Khan had a huge lead over Miss Jinnah”.

On 4th of January Captain (retired) Gohar Ayub led a victory rally on various roads across Karachi which resulted into first major ethnic clashes between two prominent ethnic groups of Karachi, Urdu speaking and Pukhtoons. “The morning of the 4th January revealed

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3 Hamid Khan, Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, (OUP, Karachi: 2005), P 124
4 The ‘Doctrine of Necessity’ was established in 1954 in the Mauhi Tameezuddin vs Government of Pakistan Case. It lasted till 2008.
5 Hamid Khan, op cit, p. 174
6 Pukhtoons and Hindko speakers were dedicated voters of Ayub Khan and he had asked thousands of people from KPK to move towards Karachi to overpower the voters of Fatima Jinnah, who were, Urdu speaking. See Herbert Feldman for details, “Quite apart from the sense of antagonism between parties which led, when encouraged and fostered, to violence, the state of public order in Karachi was further endangered by the systematic
Captain Gohar Ayub, standing in a jeep, apparently firing pistols into the air in unrestrained paroxysm of delight, and leading a procession of trucks through the streets of Karachi. These were all driven by Pathans since most of Karachi’s trucking business was in their hands. The procession chose to turn from Garden Area towards Teen Hatti roundabout. From where it turned towards Liaquatabad, the strong hold of Miss Jinnah’s supporters.

"That night, the Pathan henchmen went down into those areas, including Liaquatabad, known to have been solidly opposed to Ayub Khan and there wrought vengeance. Huts and dwelling-places were burnt down and people were fired upon. Those attacked promptly defended themselves and a night-long battle ensued. The injured were taken to hospitals with bullet-wounds and when order was restored the visible damage indicated the anger and determination with which the contending factions had fought and defended themselves. In these elections Karachi rejected Ayub Khan and since then became a center of activity against Ayub Khan’s authoritarian rule.

Later in 1968-69 when political groups started a movement to oust Ayub Khan and his military regime from power, Karachi developed the reputation of major political battlefield. Since then Karachi assumed the role of stem of the ship of national politics. "By mid-February 1969, in cities like Lahore and Karachi literally thousands of students, supported by other groups like women associations, some workers’ unions, and the bar associations, had become capable of organizing such massive demonstrations and rallies that the police were heavily outnumbered."

Till today the government of Ayub Khan is second longest after Zia in term of time period. Ayub Khan was a non-political president hence he had to prove that his government was better than democracy. For which he concentrated his energies in terms of developing Karachi as an industrial hub. By the end of his rule Karachi had assumed the

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7 Ibid. p. 400
8 Ibid. p 400
9 Khalid B. Syeed, Politics in Pakistan: The nature and direction of change, (Praeger, New York: 1980) p. 146
position of the only major industrial city in Pakistan. During the movement against Ayub the same factories proved to be catalyst for political change. Although the movement against Ayub Khan was a nation-wide effort and involved strata of society in addition to the working class—notably professionals such as lawyers, teachers, doctors, etc.—the factory workers of Karachi showed a militancy which was not paralleled anywhere else in the country...By 24 March virtually all the factories of Karachi comprising some 40% of the Pakistan’s industrial capacity, were on strike.10

1977

In the elections of 1977 Karachi rejected PPP and the coalition of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) turned Karachi in its favor. They secured 9 out of 11 seats from Karachi11. “The announcement of results on 7 March thus caused general astonishment and led to immediate claims that the election had been rigged......PNA’s immediate response was to boycott the provincial polls and stage a nationwide strike on 11 March”12. Agitation started by PNA was mostly focused in Lahore and Karachi. “A general strike called by PNA for March 11 was successful in Karachi, Hyderabad and Multan, and partially so in other major cities and towns. On the strength of this response, the PNA announced continuous protests rallies and processions beginning on March 14”13. Demonstrations of thousands were a regular feature of Lahore and Karachi until Bhutto’s rule ended.

To control these demonstrations as last resort he took support of his supporters and put them in front of PNA demonstrators. This step proved to be major mistake. “Bhutto had another card to play: the unleashing of a counter- movement. Convinced that much of his troubles stemmed from the immobilization of his own loyalists by Section 144, its lifting was intended to free government supporters to demonstrate on Bhutto’s behalf. With the police now playing a more passive role, PPP gangs took up the battle against PNA in the streets and civil war seemed imminent. Armed clashes occurred in several major cities and on April 20 fire- bombings and shoot-outs between rival groups brought martial law to Karachi, over the next

11 In 1977 election Karachi had 11 seats in NA, (NA-183 to NA-193). PPP won only two seats NA-188, Abdul Karim Gabol and NA-193 Abdul Hafiz Pirzada.
two days to Hyderabad and Lahore, and an army-enforced peace elsewhere. Virtually all PNA spokesmen still at large were rounded up, and a full government news censorship was imposed”

1990:

Since proclamation of martial law on 5th July 1977 by Zia ul Haq, the military administration lasted till the incident of C130 occurred on 17th August 1988. Later on 16 and 18th November general elections were conducted and after almost 11 years of military government democracy got another chance and the leader of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) Benazir Bhutto became the first elected woman prime minister of Pakistan and the Muslim world. By this time new political force from Karachi had emerged in the form of Muhajir Quami Mahaz. Compared to the earlier representation of Karachi MQM was solely based in Karachi and some parts of Urban Sindh contrary to the earlier PNA that was also popular in other parts of Pakistan. Even in the presidential elections of 1965 Miss Jinnah secured victory over many other parts of Pakistan along with Karachi. “Her (Benazir Bhutto’s) first step was to forge alliance with the MQM and JUI (FR) [Jamiat e Ulema e Islam led by Maulana Fazlur Rehman]. These alliances gave her a clear majority in the National Assembly”

With 93 seats in National Assembly Pakistan People’s Party needed support of other political parties to form government. MQM with 13 seats in NA supported PPP. Later there were some discords between MQM and PPP over law and order situation in Karachi and Hyderabad that resulted into withdrawal of MQM’s support. “The MQM-PPP accord proved short-lived, victim of the unwillingness or inability of Benazir and the PPP to fulfill their part of the bargain. Indeed upon assuming office, the PPP instituted policies that were interpreted by the Muhajir leadership as pro-Sindhi and/or anti-Muhajir”

September massacre and PakkaQila operation in Hyderabad gave rise to sharp public reaction from citizens of Karachi and Hyderabad. “In February 1990 hundreds were killed as heavily armed student groups rampaged in Karachi and Hyderabad. Atrocities were committed by both sides and reports of kidnapping and torture of student leaders were widespread. Apparently for failing to keep order, Bhutto dismissed Sindh’s chief minister and its

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14 Ibid, p 617
15 Hamid Khan, op.cit. p. 408

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inspector-general of police in March, but the violence continued unabated.”

Rather than solving the ethnic problem with political dialogue the PPP dominated administration resorted to strict state action towards the dissenting population. “On May 26, 1990, security forces of the Sindh provincial government fired upon a crowd that had failed to disperse in Hyderabad, Pakistan’s fourth largest city. The crowd had assembled to protest the continuation of a stringently enforced 16-hour-a-day curfew that had been imposed by the local authorities on the city since early May. Many women and children were among the 45 who were killed and 250 wounded. The security forces comprised mostly Sindhis and Pathans, and virtually all who were shot were Muhajirs.”

This measure of subduing the opposition further aggravated the situation. Sindh Government became a target for criticism from all corners of Pakistan. Even the international community was skeptical of PPP.

Later when the president of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan decided to dissolve the national assembly he gave 5 reasons for it. One major reason was Karachi. “The federal government failed in its duty under Article 148(3) of the Constitution to protect the province of Sindh against internal disturbances, politics of violence among citizens and widely condemned failure of the provincial government and its law-enforcing agencies, and also, in this behalf, failed to act under appropriate provisions of the Constitution.”

1993

After the dismissal of Benazir’s government in 1990 general elections were conducted and new government was formed. This time the runner-up of 1988 elections IJI secured the highest number of seats. This number was not enough to make a government on their own; they needed support of smaller political parties. MQM again gave their shoulder to IJI like they did with PPP in 1988, trying their luck once again now with a new coalition. Last coalition with PPP resulted into an urban conflict between MQM supporters and PPP’s government supported by workers.

Mian Nawaz Sharif was the prime minister of this new coalition government. He had served as Chief Minister of Punjab after 1985

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17 Ibid, p. 952
18 Ibid, p. 938
19 Hamid Khan, op.cit, p. 413

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elections under Zia. He looked promising in his plans during early days of his tenure. He had various and multi-dimensional difficulties ahead of him. Once again along with other difficulties Karachi with its challenges was in the need of utmost attention. Nawaz did not learn from the mistakes of his predecessor and once again unleashed the state machinery against MQM in Karachi and Hyderabad.

There were many significant events that took place in Karachi during first tenure of Nawaz as Prime Minister. In 1991 MQM leadership decided to take the political agenda to next level and convert the energies of MQM from only Mahajir community to all the downtrodden population of Pakistan. There was a proposal of reforming Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz to Muttahida Qaumi Movement, in which MQM would address the issue of all communities of Pakistan rather than only Muhajir. There were three strong dissenting voices from within MQM. “This was opposed by a ‘gang of three’ which included an MQM provincial minister, Badar Iqbal, and the MQM’s joint secretaries, Aamir Khan and Afaq Ahmed. They were expelled and fled the country”\(^{20}\).

As a result MQM got divided into two factions one became Muttahida Qaumi Movement with Altaf Husain its leader and Mahaji Qaumi Mahaz (Haqiqi) with Afaq Ahmed and Amir Khan as joint leaders. The division sparked a fresh flurry of violence in the city over the control of areas all across Karachi. The government on the other hand saw it as an opportunity to get rid of Muttahida Qaumi Movement and replace it with MQM (H). In 1992 state operation against the dacoits of Sindh was launched and later the direction of the operation was turned towards urban Sindh namely Karachi and Hyderabad. “It was in Karachi that the intervention by the Army had its greatest impact, as its deployment in the city took the MQM completely by surprise. In confusion many of its activists went underground and MQM legislators resigned from the Provincial and National Assemblies”\(^{21}\).

The President of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan was growing contentious by the government of IJI and by April 1993 the two main offices of President and Prime Minister had their horns locked over many issues. On 17\(^{th}\) April 1993 Nawaz Sharif addressed the nation and over television and radio and openly challenged the authority of President. On the following day on 18\(^{th}\) of April Ghulam Ishaq Khan issued and order of the dissolution of National Assembly. Amongst

\(^{20}\) Ian Talbot, op.cit. p. 324

\(^{21}\) Ibid p. 324-325

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other pretexts the issue of law and order specifically of Karachi was one of the most important one. Point ‘e’ of the dissolution order said, “The functionaries, authorities and agencies of the Government under the direction, control, collaboration, and patronage of the reign of terror against the opponents of the government”22.

1996

After two successive dismissals of Benazir’s and Sharif’s governments new elections were conducted in 1993 under the care taker government. This time once again PPP under the leadership of Benazir was able to emerge as the single largest party in National assembly. MQM which has shown majority in Karachi at previous polls boycotted the elections. As a result the polling in Karachi was very low and the seats were divided between PML (N) and PPP. Nawaz Sharif this time decided to shed the cover of IJI and come out in open to face election singularly without a coalition of IJI.

The elections were closely contested between PML (N) and PPP. Only 13 seats separated them, PPP had 86 and PML (N) secured 73 seats. In the absence of MQM in National Assembly both parties were looking forward towards making alliances to claim the office of Prime Minister. Finally PPP was successful.

The second government of Benazir was weak from beginning. Other than the overall problems Karachi proved the biggest challenge to her. The time period from 1993 to 1996 was the worst Karachi had ever witnessed. “The constant killings in Karachi through most of 1994 and 1995 under- mined her government’s reputation, and her final year in power was marked by a growing sense of confrontation with the president”23.

Other than MQM, Karachi saw a unique incident that sparked a new flurry of political confrontation against PPP. Mir Murtaza Bhutto the elder brother of Benazir was shot dead in cold blood in-front of his house 70 Clifton along with some of his loyal followers. Mir Murtaza was the head of PPP (Shaheed Bhutto) group, which was claiming to be the real successor of Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto. “Mir Murtaza Bhutto was shot to death by police on September 20 outside his residence in Karachi. Opposition leaders and Murtaza’s followers accused the prime minister and her husband, Asif Ali Zardari (whom Benazir had

22 Hamid Khan, op.cit., p. 428
23 John Bray, “Pakistan at 50: A State in Decline?”, International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 73, No. 2, Asia and the Pacific (Apr., 1997), p 319
appointed as investments minister), of being involved in the murder. Murtaza had formed a faction of the Pakistan People's Party known as PPP- Shaheed Bhutto ("martyr" Bhutto) in opposition to his sister"24.

All the political confrontation for the control over Karachi culminated into bloodiest turf fight. The two factions MQM (H) and MQM (Muttahida) fought like perfect enemies and scores of youth of Karachi were slayed. MQM (H) was getting its support from the government machinery in the return of ousting MQM (Muttahida) from Karachi. After long fight and thousands of deaths nothing was settled and in 1996 Benazir's government stuck into a whirlpool of troubles. The President of Pakistan Farooq Khan Laghari, a PPP man, grew weary of the failure of the government and constantly declining state of Pakistan.

Finally in the fourth quarter of 1996 Farooq Khan Laghari decided to put his foot down. The dissolution order was issued in the night between 4 and 5 November 1996. The first point of the order was regarding the law and order in Karachi. “a) Thousands of persons in Karachi were killed in police custody and false police encounter in violation of their right to life guaranteed under Article 9 of the Constitution”25. Karachi once again proved to be a catalyst in political scene of Pakistan.

From 1997 to 2013:

After so many dismissals due the conditions of Karachi the governments learnt very important lessons, not to ignore Karachi and its political dynamics. At the polls MQM (Muttahida) proved their dominance in Karachi in the elections of 2002, 2008 and the most recent 2013, and the later governments respected this mandate and accommodated MQM in their governmental setup according to its share in the National Assembly. In every federal cabinet since 1999 MQM had its members as ministers.

After the military takeover of Musharraf on 12th October 1999 MQM felt further secure due to the policy followed by him regarding MQM and Karachi. In the assembly formed after the elections of 2002 MQM once again dominated Karachi. From President House a new governor was appointed in and MQM gave his name this time. Dr.

25 Ibid, p. 452
Ishrat ul Ibad Khan was made governor of Sindh on December 27, 2002, the office which he holds since then till now. Currently after 2013 elections MQM does not have its ministers in federal cabinet however the governor of Sindh, who has to be nominated from federal government, belongs to MQM, indicating some sort of liaison between the federal government and MQM.

Since then, 2002, three governments by three different political parties have come and in power however Governor Sindh has enjoyed the confidence of all of them including the current government. There have been many incidents which caused violence and disorder in Karachi however they did not prolong too much and were resolved comparatively swiftly.

Another unique element of this period is that military intervention on 1999 was the last time that political government was disrupted and since 2002 two successive governments have completed their term. Both of them were replaced through election after five years. Karachi has still maintained the pivotal position in the national politics of Pakistan.

Conclusion:

The research reveals that such heavy influence of any one particular area or a city can be truculent for political system of modern democracies. Especially multi ethnic, multi-cultural and multi sectarian country like Pakistan could not afford concentrated political power. The population concentration and developmental pace of Karachi should be checked by the government to allow other cities to develop and play their role in the progress of Pakistan. Today Pakistan needs political stability to achieve its targets in economics, education, and foreign relations. For which precise planning is needed to understand the gravity of the situation and chalk out strategy to redistribute the urbanization across Pakistan on parity.

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27 From 2002 till 2007 PML (Q), from 2008 till 2013 PPP and 2103 to date PML (N).
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