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THE SOCIAL & ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB

1901 — 1939

(Including Haryana & Himachal Pradesh)

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Foreword by
GIANI ZAIL SINGH
Chief Minister, Punjab

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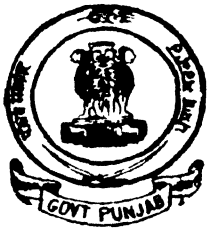
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FOREWORD



Chief Minister, Punjab,
Chandigarh.

Politically the period between the years, 1901 and 1939 was the most tumultuous one in the recent history of Punjab. It was marked by spasmodic revolutionary movements, blood-baths, widespread terrorist actions, wonderfully peaceful mass upsurges like the Gurdwara Reform agitation, Civil Disobedience movement culminating in the martyrdom of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrade-in-arms.

There is no dearth of authentic history books regarding these eventful years. Many a historian and scholar have toiled hard to collect, compile and annotate sufficient material for research students interested in the subject. But I would like to say that there have been few attempts on the part of writers to analyse scientifically the interplay of economic forces behind these events. A book of history is not a mere narration of events, defeats or victories in wars, exploits of generals, statesmen and heads of social institutions.

It is the economic changes and ever shifting production relations that determine the course of social upheavels, revolutions and history. Therefore, for a correct appraisal of history of a particular period, we have to delve deep into the economic and social changes taking place in the society. This is exactly what Dr. B.S. Saini has attempted to accomplish in this scholarly work.

Quoting profusely from the Census Reports, District Gazetters and other official reports and publications, the author has succeeded in painting a comprehensive picture of all the facets of life of the people of Punjab during that period.

The changing social structures in the rural areas, migration of population, land relations, money lending, worship of local deities, beliefs in witchcrafts, charms to ward off evil eye, magical incantation, caste prejudices, polygamy, polyandry, dowry system, communal tensions, folk-lore, entertainments, theatre, fairs, expansion of educational facilities and cooperative movement and various reforms movements and the like have been dealt with kaleidoscopically. I have particularly liked the way Dr. Saini has presented statistically supported details of irrigational systems and the pace of agricultural production in Punjab. His observations regarding the changes in the manners and social habits are also very interesting.

During the last three decades or so the boundries of Punjab have contracted considerably. Most of the customs described in this book are not to be found anywhere in new Punjab now but its virility and zest for hard work remains.

I hope the book will prove a veritable gold mine of encyclopaedic information for research scholars. The general readers will also read it avidly because the glimpses of one's past always have a great fascination and attraction.

I congratulate the author for the strenuous work that he has put into the writing of this book.

INTRODUCTION

"Social history might be defined negatively as the history of a people with the politics left out". (Trevelyan, G.M., *English Social History*, 1946, p.vii). Closely associated with it is economic history, since the social patterns govern economic conditions. Both are so inter-related that without the one, the other becomes unintelligible and almost futile.

Historians until recently concerned themselves only with political events such as wars, dynasties and governmental institutions and their growth. 'To speak of ordinary people would have been beneath the dignity of history". (Eileen Power, *Medieval People*, 1955, p.11) It was in accordance with the older conception of history as the annals of a country's political events that scholarly works on the history of the Punjab have been written, while little or no notice has been taken of its socio-economic aspets e.g., conditions of agriculture, industry, trade and transport, state of labour, its methods of work, wages and leisure, and general ways of life and thinking of the people as a whole. These, however, are of primary importance for an adequate comprehension of the political structure. Such a study is specially urgent in the modern democratic age in which the average if not the common man is of real consequence and not the kings or their courts. The present work is thus an attempt to bring to light certain neglected aspects of the social and economic history of the Punjab under the British.

The Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849. From that year to 1901, it witnessed a slow but really deep and far-reaching social and economic changes brought about by the new administration. The rivers were harnessed to irrigate the arid but potentially fertile lands, forests were cleared, roads constructed and railways laid out. These developments stimulated trade and

agriculture to an appreciable extent. Some bad customs like female infanticide and *Sati* had ceased to exist, but certain religious ideas and practices, the rigid social stratification caused by the caste system, conservatism, superstition and fatalism still pervaded every sphere of life and impeded economic progress almost at every step. The status of women still called loudly for reform. A vast majority of the population remained illiterate. The people produced, consumed and distributed things just as their fathers and forefathers had done before them. The primitive methods of production prevailed in agriculture and in industry. The latter was fast declininig, owing to the growing competition with foreign goods. The human birth and death rates were very high and fluctuating. To sum up: some improvement could be traced in the general standard of life of the populace, otherwise it was pitifully low.

The Punjab was primarily an agricultural province; in other words, agriculture was its chief industry. But it is a paradox that both agriculture and the agriculturist were in a depressed state at the beginning of our period. This is explained by the fact that prior to British rule in the Punjab, the peasant's capacity to borrow capital for meeting his various social and private requirements was strictly limited by the lack of economic, legal and political security and land could hardly be considered to offer security for borrowings. But under the British rule the price of land increased enormously, which enhanced the power of peasant proprietors to borrow on the strength of it. Further, whereas previously it had not been customary for a creditor to seize the land of his debtor, under the new laws and their systematic execution through courts, now land could be mortgaged and if not redeemed within the stipulated period became the creditor's property. The village money-lender began to accept readily land as security and if his loan was not repaid, he either became the absolute owner of the mortgaged land or the *de facto* owner of the labour and produce of his debtor, who no longer could escape from his liabilities. Unfortunately, the illiterate and ignorant peasant squandered away his borrowings on marriages and other unproductive social ceremonies instead of investing them in improving land or agricultural equipment with the result that he could not meet his obligations to his creditor. Thus, curiously

enough, greater security meant more loans and deeper indebtedness.

Government could not ignore this evil for long, because it had always regarded India as a producer of raw materials for the industries and manufactures of Britain and also as the most important consumer of the finished products of her industry. Thus in order to safeguard the agriculturists' interests as their labour supplied oilseeds and cotton and some wheat, too, and the bulk of recruits for the Indian army, the Government passed the Punjab Alienation of Land Act (XIII of 1900) which came into force the following year. This Act imposed restrictions on the transfer of land to non-agriculturist classes. It opened a new chapter in the social and economic history of the province and laid the beginnings of a beneficant agrarian policy of the Government. This is why the year 1901 has been selected as the starting point of the period of this study. Its terminating date is the year 1939; this being both an accident and a necessity. The Second World War broke out in 1939 and diverted the Government's energies towards supplying materials and recruits to the armed forces. All the programmes of economic development had to be deferred and the expenditure on the various departments was curtailed, even though the war gave some impetus to industrial production. Unfortunately, the collection, compilation and publication of many a useful statistical data were abandoned to lighten the working of the various departments and also to meet an acute shortage of paper. In the absence of such statistical information it is hard to fathom the depths of economic activity.

The period from 1901 to 1939 witnessed vast changes in the social and economic life of the Province. The co-operative movement which was launched in 1904 instilled a new spirit of hope, thrift and mutual help into the minds of men. It also brought about a change in their economic outlook and made them more willing to modify their social practices and institutions. Education progressed gradually and tended to become popular even among women. The First World War promoted these tendencies in several ways. The Punjabi soldiers returning from Europe and the Middle East brought in better ways of living into their families and their villages. The War also stimulated nationalism and the desire for

economic independence, and these aspirations were partially met by the Montford Reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act, 1935. A striking change in the economic outlook of the Government, therefore, took place. The acceptance by 1923 of the principal of discriminating protection for Indian industries paved the way for industrialisation. The promotion of the means of transport deeply affected our social organisation and stimulated trade and agriculture. The latter became more commercialised and, therefore, profitable. The agriculturist was protected from the evil designs of rural Shylocks by a series of debt laws. The economic growth was temporarily eclipsed by the world-wide economic depression in the late 1920's. Notwithstanding this serious check, the general well-being tended to improve and the living standards were definitely higher at the end of the period of our study than at its beginning.

A brief outline of the plan of this work is as under. It is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter is on the natural resources and all the aspects of the population, which are directly related to the economic progress of a country. The second concerns the social customs and institutions; the third is about religious beliefs and religious reform movements. Then follows a chapter containing a detailed study of popular dwellings, food and costumes, amusements and folk-culture. The fifth chapter constitutes a close study of the various phases of educational developments. The sixth chapter is divided into two sections : the first part deals with agriculture and its allied problems, while the second traces the expansion of irrigation. The seventh chapter is on rural indebtedness and co-operative movement followed by the next three chapters, which give a critical survey of industry, transport and trade, and finance respectively.

Care has been taken to avoid repetition and whenever such an occasion has arisen, only a passing mention is made to maintain the continuity of the account. Therefore, a certain point may not be found at an apt place simply because it has been placed at the more appropriate one. Within limits ample statistics have been given, wherever these are wanting, it is entirely due to their paucity and non-avialability from anywhere. A lot of time and labour have been spent on marshalling facts and analysing the

statistical information for presenting it in an intelligible form, and let me hope that the whole account will be judged to have been prepared objectively and in an impartial manner.

In the collection of materials, I have been much helped by the Director, National Archives of India, New Delhi and his staff through their efforts to secure permission for me from the various Ministeries of the Government of India to consult their records. Likewise, I am indebted to Shri V.S. Suri, former Director of the Punjab State Archives, Patiala and his staff and to the Librarian of the Dwarka Das Library, Chandigarh. My thanks are also due to the Librarians of the National Archives of India, New Delhi ; National Library, Calcutta ; Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi ; Panjab University Library, Chandigarh ; Delhi Public Library, Delhi ; Central Public Library, Patiala and the Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Library, Chandigarh.

I would like to place on record my sincere thanks to Professor H.R. Gupta, former Head of the History Department, Panjab University, Chandigarh, who encouraged and guided me in every way in the preparation of this piece of work. I also feel deeply indebted to Prof. Paras Ram Kaushal, my teacher for his constant interest in my work. It is also not easy for me to give an adequate expression of my gratitude to Professor R.R. Sethi, former Head of the History Department, Panjab University, without whose help the compilation of this work in its present form would not have been possible. I would, however, like to add that for all the opinions expressed or errors committed none of those who assisted me or whose advice I have sought are responsible.

Panjab University Extension Library,
Ludhiana

B.S. SAINI

July 3, 1975

ABBREVIATIONS

Census	Census of India. Report.
D.G.	District Gazetteer (Punjab).
Ed.R.	Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab. (Annual)
G.O.I.	Government of India.
N.P.R.	Native Papers (Journals and Periodicals) published in the Punjab. Report of the Government of India.
P.A.R.	Administration Report of the Punjab and its Dependencies. (Annual)
P.N.Q.	Punjab Notes and Queries.
R.C.A.	Royal Commission on Agriculture in India. Abridged Report, 1928.
R.C.S.	Report on the working of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab. (Annual)
S.A.B.I.	Statistical Abstract of British India. (Annual)

1

NATURAL RESOURCES AND POPULATION

NATURAL RESOURCES

Physical Factors

The important role played by physical factors in determining the social and economic life of a country can hardly be exaggerated. By universal consent, they are some of the chief elements that condition the structure of society. A brief description of the physical factors of the Province as they influence the population is, therefore, a necessary prelude to a critical investigation into its social and economic history.

Geographical position—The undivided Punjab, including the Indian States, covered an area of 1,48,610 square miles in 1941 and formed, as it were, a peninsula extending into the north-western corner of the British Indian empire. It was bordered on its north and west by Tibet, Kashmir, the north-west Frontier province and Baluchistan. To its south lay Rajputana and Sind, which were comparatively undeveloped and sparsely populated. On its east was situated the United Provinces. The Punjab, thus, had mountains and desert along three of its boundaries and these inhospitable tracts offered very few markets for its products. The province had no natural seaport. Its nearest seaport Karachi, was not less than 750 miles from Lahore, its capital.[1]

River system—The Province was traversed by a network of snow-fed rivers. The Yamuna formed almost the entire boundary line in the east, while the Indus flowed partly through the Province and partly along its boundary on the west. Between the Yamuna

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, 1923, pp. 1-2.

and the Indus are the five rivers, viz., the Satluj, the Beas, the Ravi, the Chenab and the Jhelum, which gave the Punjab its name.[1] Flowing through broad basins, these rivers formed large tracts of rice alluvial soil along their banks.[2] Only the Indus and the Yamuna were navigable and they served as arteries of commerce particularly in the pre-railway era.[3] The great irrigation works on which the material prosperity of the Punjab so largely depended were also fed by them.[4]

Soil—The soil is one of the world's greatest natural resources.[5] The Punjab, barring the mountainous and parts of the sub-mountainous tracts, was in the main a vast level plain of alluvial origin. It formed a part of the great Indo-Gangetic plain with a gentle slope of about one foot per mile from east to west. In composition the soil was generally a sandy loam which was deficient in humus, but well supplied with essential mineral constituents.[6]

The soil of the riverain tracts contained much alluvial mud and generally a ploughing or two gave a splendid harvest. But the greatest defect was that the quality of these lands was both varied and variable and very often a productive land in one year became a sandy waste in the next due to flood action.[7] Vast tracts of desert-like sandy soils known as the Thal occupied most of the area between the rivers Jhelum and Indus.[8] The soils of the Himalayan and lower ranges were generally light and stony and cultivation was impossible on a large scale and over large areas due to the precipitious nature of the region.[9]

In some tracts, especially where local conditions had raised the level of the water-table, the natural salts present in the soil concentrated on the surface as a result of evaporation and covered

1. The name of the Province, Punjab, is composed of the Persian words 'Panj' and 'Ab' meaning 'five waters or five rivers'.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 3-4.
3. See Chapter IX.
4. See Chapter VI
5. "Soil Conservation in the Punjab", *The Advance*, October, 1955, Vol. II, No. 10, p. 21.
6. *R.C.A. Vol. VIII (Evidence)*, 1928, pp. 171-72.
7. Douie, J.M , *Punjab Settlement Manual*, 1908, pp. 2-3.
8. *D.G. Shahpur*, 1917 pp. 12, 148-51; *D.G. Muzaffargarh*, 1929, p. 204; *D.G. Mianwali*, 1915, p. 4.
9. Punjab Government, *Report of the Punjab Forest Commission*, 1937-38, p. 55.

the ground, often for miles together, with a saline effervescence known as *kallar* or *reh* which acted as a clog on cultivation.[1]

The major portion of the Punjab plains, thus, contained a deep alluvial soil which could be irrigated with great advantage, and with a moderate and well-distributed rainfall was capable of growing a wide variety of crops.[2] In this respect the Province was singularly blessed and its agriculturists were more fortunate than those of many other parts of India.[3]

Rainfall —Rainfall exerted an immense influence on the agriculture of the province, particularly in the unirrigated tracts. It was, however, not evenly distributed over the Province and varied from torrential precipitation in the hills—Kangra received over 100 inches annually—to a fall of only a few inches in districts like Multan, which, in some years, got less than 2 inches and in which the average was about 5 inches.

What is important, however, in a study of the Punjab rainfall is not so much its amount as its timeliness; and since it was most uncertain agriculture in the Province was a highly speculative venture.[4] In 1901-2, the irrigated area was less than one-half of the total sown area in the Province.[5] Although more and more area was being brought under irrigation, the area depending entirely upon rainfall was still very large[6]. Needless to say, therefore, that any fluctuation in the seasonal rainfall brought misery or prosperity to large numbers of people. As in other provinces of India, the finances of the Punjab were directly affected by the amount of rainfall that it received, because in years of drought large remissions and suspensions of land revenue had to be granted with the result that expenditure on beneficent activities was restricted. The Finance Member, Sir Houald Boyd, rightly remarked in 1936. "The weakness of all our budget estimates, of course, is that they depend to such a great

1. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 8; *D.G. Multan*, 1923-24, p. 145.
2. *R.C.A., Introduction to Vol. VIII* (Evidence), p. 3.
3. Calvert, H., *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, 1932, pp. 63-5.
4. "For several months in every year, India is on trial for her life, and she seldom escapes without a penalty". (Quoted by L.C.A. Knowles in *Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire*, 1924, p. 278.)
5. Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, *Agricultural Statistics, 1901-2 to 1935-36, Publication No. 52, p. 97.*
6. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Supplement 3 to Publication No. 52*, p. 5.

extent on seasonal conditions. A good monsoon and full rivers make a prosperous province and a prosperous Government. A failure of the rains or low supply in the rivers may wreck our budget prospects."[1]

Climate—Owing to its geographical position, remote distance from the sea and to its scanty rainfall, the Province was subject to the extremes of climate. In the latter part of December and January and sometimes in February, the night temperature almost touched the freezing point, while during the day the thermometer generally did not rise above 75°F.[2] In summer, lasting from the beginning of April to the end of June, fierce dry heat prevailed in the afternoon and in May and June the temperature ranged from 110 °F to 120°F.[3] Dust-storms and thunder-storms were common in the hot weather and invariably tended to reduce the temperature by a few degrees.[4] The climate of the Himalayan tracts was cool in summer, while an intense cold accompanied by snowfall was experienced in winter on high altitudes.[5]

Agricultural Products

The total cultivated area in the Punjab was in the neighbourhood of 3 million acres as compared to 2.43 million acres in 1901-2. Food crops accounted for about three-fourth of the total sown area. The non-food crops occupied the remaining one-fourth area. Of the food crops, food grains (cereals and pulses) covered over 70 percent of the total area, cereals alone accounting for over 50 percent. The other food crops (sugarcane, fruits, vegetables, condiments, spices and miscellaneous) were sown only on 2 to 3 parcent of the total area under crops. Of the non-food crops the fodders were the most important and generally occupied more land than all the other non-food crops put together. Next to fodders came the fibre crops, followed by oil seeds. Drugs, narcotics, dyes, and miscellaneous crops together accounted for less than one percent of the total area. Fodder crops and fibre crops were

1. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Hon'ble Sir Houald Boyd on February 25, 1936.
2. *I.G.O.I.*, XI, 1886, p. 291.
3. *Ibid.*, XX, 1909, p. 257.
4. *D.G. Shahpur*, 1917, p. 27; *D.G. Jhelum*, 1904, p. 27; *D.G. Lahore*, 1917 p. 27; *D.G. Multan*, 1923-24, p. 17; *Gazetteer of Hissar District and Loharu State*, 1915, pp. 17-18.
5. *I.G.O.I.*, XI, 1886, p. 291.

gaining in popularity, the area under these two being 9.7 and 4.8 percent respectively of the total sown area during 1906-11, and 15.0 and 7.5 percent during 1932-36. The areas under drugs and narcotics also increased slightly, while dyes registered an abnormal fall owing to the increasing use of synthetic dyes.[1]

A survey of the principal crops of the Province

(i) **Wheat**—Wheat, the staple food of the Punjabis, was the premier crop of the Province and was grown everywhere except on very light unirrigated uplands. The principal wheat producing areas were the canal colonies and well-irrigated lands of the central Punjab.[2] The area under wheat gradually increased from 56.6 lakh acres in 1901-2 to 99.6 lakh acres in 1928-29. After that there occurred a slight fall, the area in 1932-33 being 85.9 lakh acres.[3] This decrease was due to fall in prices on account of the world economic depression. The situation began to improve after 1933 and the area under wheat in 1939-40 was 95.6 lakh acres.[4] The outturn was subject to wide fluctuations depending on the caprices of season, because about half the area under the crop was always unirrigated. The total yield of the crop in 1939-40 was 37.6 lakh tons.[5]

(ii) **Gram**—Gram stood next to wheat in acreage, covering, as it did, 15.4 percent of the total cultivated area of the Province.[6] It was predominantly an unirrigated crop, sown for most part in the districts of Hissar, Rohtak and Ferozepur, where rainfall was uncertain. Its sowing and production were accordingly subject to violent fluctuations. It was usually grown mixed with wheat, linseed, oilseeds or barley. The total yield of the crop in 1939-40 was 5 lakh tons.[7]

(iii) **Maize, great millet and spiked millet**— Maize was generally grown in the mountainous and sub-mountainous tracts

1. See Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, *Agricultural Statistics, 1901-2 to 1935-36, Publication No. 52*, pp. 18, 97; *Supplement* 3 *to Publication No. 52*, p. 5.
2. Trevaskis, H.K. *The Punjab of Today*, I, 1931, p. 326.
3. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p. 61.
4. *S.A.B.I.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, pp. 553-55.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 556.
6. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p. 21.
7. *S.A.B.I.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, pp. 553-55.

and in the central Punjab, while great millet and spiked millet were grown in the areas where there was less moisture. The total area under the three crops in 1939-40 was 11.4 lakh acres, 7.7 lakh acres and 30.6 lakh acres respectively.[1]

(iv) **Fibre crops**—Among the fibre crops cotton was the most important crop of the Province. It was grown generally throughout the Punjab, but chiefly in the Multan and Lahore Divisions and in the districts of Rohtak and Hissar. The water requirements of this crop are high and exacting. Therefore it was mainly grown as an irrigated crop. Of the total area of 26.4 lakh acres under it in 1939-40, not less than 24.6 lakh acres was irrigated.[2] The total outturn of cotton was 10.1 lakh tons in that year.[3]

Of the other fibre crops, san hemp, a local variety of hemp, was the most important and was grown for green manuring or for local manufacture of ropes. The area under all fibre crops excluding cotton was 46,032 acres in 1939-40.[4]

(v) **Rice**—Rice was essentially an irrigated crop mainly grown in the districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Sialkot, Dera Gazikhan, Karnal and Ambala In 1939-40 the total area put under this crop was 9.7 lakh acres,[5] and the outturn of the crop was 4.4 lakh tons.[6]

(vi) **Tea**—The district of Kangra was the only tract suited for tea cultivation and the first plantation was established there in 1849. The area under the Crop gradually increased from 1,254 acres in 1854 to 9,537 acres in 1892 and to 10,016 acres in 1901-2. Thereafter it registered a gradual fall and stood at 9,757 acres in 1920-21 and 9,569 acres in 1935-36.[7] The area under tea was 9,328 acres in 1939-40 and yielded 28 lakh lbs. of the commodity.[8]

Forests

The total area of forests under the Forest Department was 60.56 lakh acres in 1901-2. It represented about 10 percent of the

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 556.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 553-55.
5. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Supplement 3 to Publication No. 52*, p. 4.
6. *S.A.B.I.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, pp. 553-55.
7. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p. 88.
8. *S.A.B.I.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, p. 556.

total area of the Province (British territory).[1] One third of this area was situated in hills, and the remaining two-thirds was in the plains.[2] The percentage of forest area to total area of the Province fell to 5.8 percent in 1939-40.[3] This reduction mainly occurred in the plains due to the extension of canal irrigation.

Types of forests— Two main types of forests were broadly distinguished viz., the forests in the plains and the forests on the hills.

The forests in the plains, known as dry forests, comprised the tracts of scanty rainfall and sandy soils in the west of the Province. These forests were of little economic value. The characteristic trees found were *farash, karil, jand, jal* and *phulahi.*[4]

Forests on the hills, on the other hand, were of great economic value. The chief factors influencing the distribution of species were the elevation and rainfall. On the lower hills grew *chir* or *chil* pines and bamboo. The *chir* pine, however, sometimes extended up to a height of 6,000 feet or above. The most important bamboo forests were in Kangra district, occupying an area of about 14,000 acres. At elevations of between 5,000 and 8,000 feet the principal trees found were the valuable *deodar* growing either by itself forming pure forests or mixed with blue pine, silver fir, spruce, various kinds of oak and trees of other deciduous species. The chief *deodar* forests were in the valleys of the Satluj and the tributaries of the Yamuna in Bushahr and Jubbal states and along the banks of the rivers Ravi in Chamba and Chenab in Pangi. Above 8,000 feet *deodar* and blue pine disappeared altogether and above 10,000 feet sub-alpine conditions began.[5]

Utility of Forests—Forests play a very useful part in the economy of man and of nature. The indirect uses of forests are that (i) they render the climate more equitable, increase the relative humidity of the air, reduce evaporation and tend to increase the

1. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, pp. 113-4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. XIX.
3. *S.A.B.I.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, p. 57.
4. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 297.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 8; Trevaskis, *Punjab of Today*, I, p. 379; *D.G. Kangra* (Kulu and Saraj), p. 1917, p. 116; *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 56.

precipitation of the moisture, (ii) they store the rain-water in the soil and prevent its too rapid surface flow and that (iii) they increase the fertility of the soil, as they help to form rich vegetable mould even from mineral soils.[1]

In the Punjab the direct usefulness of forests was chiefly due to the produce from them and the large amount of grazing which they provided. They supplied firewood, timber and the necessary raw materials for a few industries such as *bhabbar* grass for paper-making, tanning materials such as barks and a few fruits, resin, turpentine, etc. The forests also played an important role as providing employment for a large number of people. There were, for instance, large numbers of wood-cutters, sawyers, carters, carriers, raftsmen and many others deriving sustenance directly from the products of the forests. Of the major products timber was the most important and the total outturn of timber and fuel was 355.5 lakh cubic feet in the 1939-40, while the value of the minor produce was Rs. 20.74 lakhs.[2]

The commercial exploitation of the forests, however, was not commensurate with their immense resources. Mr. Trevaskis estimated that the Punjab made commercial use of only about 10 percent of the value of its forests.[3] The chief difficulty in this respect lay in lack of means of transport and communication.[4] Nevertheless the fact that forests had begun to be appreciated as a financial asset by the Government can best be illustrated by the income of the Forest Department. The forest revenue, which was Rs. 14.6 lakhs in 1901-2,[5] rose to 17.2 lakhs in 1915-16[6] and to Rs. 25.3 lakhs in 1939-40.[7]

Forest Policy—During the Sikh rule and even in the early years of the British rule in the Punjab, the process of reckless destruction of forests to meet the increasing demand for fuel had led to the denudation of a vast area under forests resulting in widespread erosion of hillsides ,in the Siwalik region. Rules and

1. *R.C.A.*, pp. 226-7; India Government, *Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1924-25, p. 203; Ribbentrop, B., *Forestry in India*, 1900, p. 49.
2. *S.A.B.I.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, p. 570.
3. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, I, pp. 386-7.
4. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, pp. 38-39.
5. *S.A.B.I.*, II, 8th Issue, pp. 148-49.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, pp. 294-99.

executive orders were passed from time to time in order to protect the forests, but it was not earlier than 1865 that the first Government Forest Act put the whole subject on a legal basis. But there were many loopholes and defects in the Act which the people used to their selfish ends.[1]

At last in 1878 the Government began a regular system of conservation and replanting which saved the remaining forests from destruction and greatly improved the trees and the produce. The forests were divided by law into three classes : (i) "Reserved", which were permanently maintained and strictly controlled, (ii) "Protected", in which state control was laxer and the exclusive and to which neighbouring population had free access for many purposes and (iii) "Unclassed", which were given over to public use with slight restrictions by the Government.[2] The forest area thus classed in 1911, 1920 and 1939 is shown below[3] :—

Year	Reserved forests in sq. miles	Protected forests in sq. miles	Unclassed forests in sq. miles	Total sq. miles
1911	2,208	5,203	1,312	8,723
1920	2,060	4,036	530	6,626
1939	1,525	3,207	810	5,542

As already alluded to, the spread of canal irrigation caused large area of waste-land producing a certain amount of fuel and managed by the Forest Department to disappear. To compensate this loss, large areas were given to forest plantations by irrigation. The most important of the plantations were the Kot Lakhpat and Changa Manga plantations in Lahore district, the Khanewal Terah, Pir Mahal and Pirowala plantations in Multan district and Arifwala and Chichawatni plantations in Montgomery district. Though the irrigated plantations could not act as substitutes in all respects for the areas denuded it was hoped that they would furnish firewood and timber to some extent and in times of scarcity provide fodder to the cattle.[4]

1. *I.G.O.I., Indian Empire*, III, 1907, Chapter II.
2. Punjab Government, *Land Administration Manual*, 1931, par. 721.
3. The table has been compiled from the annual *S.A.B.I.*
4. *R.C.A., Introduction to Vol. VIII*, 1928, p. 683.

Animal Resources

There is hardly any need for emphasising the importance of animal life to an agricultural Province like the Punjab. The fauna of the Province was richer and more varied than its flora, but the rich variety of wild animal life was gradually disappearing owing to the rapid spread of cultivation.[1]

Cattle were the most important part of the livestock possessed by the cultivator. "Without them the fields remain unploughed, store and bin stand empty and food and drink lose half their savour, for in a vegetarian country what can be worse than to have no milk, butter nor ghee ?[2] The cow and the buffalo were mainly prized as supplying milk. The bullock supplied practically all the motive power for ploughing, for lift irrigation, etc., the use of horses or mechanical power being practically unknown. Animals used in agricultural operations, as well as goats and sheep, contributed practically all the manure used by the cultivator, the use of artificial manure being as yet not common. Donkeys and mules were used as pack animals everywhere. The camel held a very important position among the domestic stock in the sandy tracts of the Province, where these animals were employed for riding and carrying loads.[3] Horses and mares were chiefly used for carting and riding. The sheep were kept for the sake of their wool and goats for their milk and meat.[4] Sheep were also used as pack animals in Lahaul.[5]

In spite of the supreme importance to the Province of an adequate and healthy livestock, conditions in this respect left much to be desired. They were generally so deplorably poor and ill-fed that there was a serious deficiency of cattle power. The census figures for livestock in the Punjab reveal that the number of plough cattle did not keep pace with the rise in the total area sown as is shown by the following table[6]:—

Again, a large number of these cattle were economically superfluous. The livestock census for 1935 estimated that there

1. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, I, p. 345.
2. Darling, M.L. *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt.*, 1925, p. 32.
3. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p. 302.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 15.
5. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, p. 320.
6. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p. 26.

Year of the census	Total plough cattle	Average acreage sown	Plough cattle per 100 acres sown
1904	46,71,000	2,52,21,797	19
1923	45,32,647	2,91,25,341	16
1935	44,91,768	3,13,31,296	14

were some 75,000 cattle, which were neither used for breeding nor for any other work[1] and had been kept alive only because of religious sentiments or the inhabitions or traditions.[2] This prejudice against destroying such useless and inefficient animals meant a progressive reduction in the economic utility of the cattle and constitúted a serious drain on the agricultural resources of the Province.[3]

The direct and indirect losses due to disease among cattle were heavy. Loss of catte by death was an important cause of rural indebtedness. The enfeeblement of surviving cattle was perhaps an even more serious problem. The uncertainty of animal life also compelled the cultivator to keep reserves of cattle which he was unable to feed properly and thus he neglected their quality.[4] It is a matter of genuine satisfaction to notice that the Veterinary Department was doing much in reducing the appalling incidence of disease and mortality among cattle. The número of cases treated at veterinary hospitals and dispensaries was steadly on the increase, showing there by an improving appreciation by the cultivator of the useful work done by the Department.[5] The Veterinary Department also addressed itself

1. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
2. *Indian Year Book*, 1938-39, p. 324; Darling, M.L., *Rusticus Loquitur*, 1929, p. 105; Mukhtar Singh, *Kisan* (Urdu), n.d., pp. 271-4.
3. "It has been calculated that the annual loss due to maintenance of old and defective cattle in India amounts to no less than Rs. 176 crores or about four times the income from land revenue." (Anstey, Vera, *Economic Development of India*, 1939, p. 54).
4. *R.C.A.*, par. 236.
5. India Government, *Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India (1935-36)*, pp. 248-49.

to the task of improving the breed of cattle at the Cattle Farm, Hissar.[1] But much remained to be done to improve the conditions in which the ordinary stock of the peasant was bred and maintained.

Mineral Production

The mineral potentialities of the Punjab were markedly small. The deposits of coal and iron, which are so essential to keep the wheels of industry moving, were too poor to be worked profitably on a large scale. As such the Province had to depend on other parts of India for their supply. We shall now proceed to take a brief survey of some of the most important minerals exploited on a commercial basis in the Punjab.

Salt—Rock salt was the most important mineral of the Province. It was worked at Khewra in Jhelum district and at Kalabagh in Mianwali district.[2] Impure salt containing only 73 to 87 per cent sodium chloride was also quarried at Drang and Guma in Mandi State for consumption in the neighbouring hilly areas.[3] The latter source yielded only about 400 tons of salt annually.[4] Salt was also manufactured in Gurgaon district by evaporating the natural brine. This salt, though edible, was poor in quality and was gradually losing its market to Khewra salt of better quality.[5] The outturn of salt from Khewra mines was 21.2 lakh maunds in 1900-1, and 35.5 lakh maunds in 1940-41.[6]

Saltpetre—Saltpetre was generally found on old sites mixed with other chemical salts[7]. It was separated from its associated salts by refiners and during the Sikh rule it was produced in small quantities only to meet the local demand. After annexation, refineries were established and in 1903-4 there were 35 refineries working in the Province which produced 1 lakh maunds of refined saltpetre.[8] It was generally used for manufacturing fireworks and gunpowder for blasting and was in considerable

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 285-87.
2. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, pp. 312-13.
3. *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, p. 157.
4. India Government, *Salt In India*, 1946, p. 17.
5. *I.G.O.I., Provincial Series*, I, 1908. p. 270.
6. India Government, *Salt in India*, p. 13.
7. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p. 312.
8. *Ibid.*

demand for industrial purposes also, for instance in connection with the manufacture of glass, for the preservation of food and for manurial purposes. Its demand greatly increased during the First World War and the highest figure of production was reached in 1917, when 2.4 lakh maunds of the value of Rs. 34 lakh was manufactured.[1]

Petroleum—Oil springs were found in the district of Rawalpindi, but their output was insignificant.[2] The recorded output from the springs in 1913-14 was only 1,200 gallons.[3] But the discovery of Khaur field in Attock district opened a fresh field for expansion. The first well was spudded up and put on production in 1914. The development of the field was retarded temporarily by abnormol conditions created by the First World War, though drilling progressed continuously.[4] The refinery at Rawalpindi was opened in February, 1922.[5] Prior to 1922 the maximum annual output of about 3/4 million gallons was attained in 1918, when the war rendered imports from abroad costly and difficult, but it fell subsequently and was only 51,492 gallons in 1920.[6] The completion of a road from Fateh Jang to the oil field at Khaur and the laying of a pipe line from Khaur to Rawalpindi enabled the Attock oil to be placed on the market at competitive prices.[7] This stepped up the production and the total outturn of petroleum in 1925 rose to 80.4 lakh gallons.[8] The production further increased to 192 lakh gallons in 1928-29[9] and to 211.1 lakh gallons in 1938-39.[10]

Coal—The only important colliery in the Punjab had been worked by the North-Western Railway near Dandot in Jhelum district since 1884.[11] Its total outturn of coal in 1901 was 67,730 tons.[12] In 1904-5, 10 new coal mines were opened in the Jhelum

1. *S.A.B.I.*, 1911-12 to 1920-21, pp. 664-5.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1922-23, p. 119.
3. *S.A.B.I.*, 1911-12 to 1920-21, pp. 662-3.
4. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 43.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, II, p. 45.
6. *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 119.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *S.A.B.I.*, 1920-21 to 1929-30, pp. 772-3;
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, pp. 782-3.
11. India Government. *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, XLVI, 1915, pp. 69-70.
12. *P.A.R.*, 1902-3, p. 56.

district and 2 in the Attock district.[1] Two more were started in the Shahpur district next year.[2] But "these were all small workings."[3] The expansion of the coal mining industry was subject to certain limitations. The transport facilities were not adequate and the seam was short. Another defect was that the Punjab coal was of poor quality.[4]

Iron—Iron was found in Kangra district at several points along the Dhaola Dhar in the form of crystals of magnetic oxide of iron in decomposed and friable mica schists. The quality closely resembled the best Swedish iron and the supply was practically inexhaustible. But the remoteness of the tract, lack of fuel and labour and means of communication prevented exploitation on a large scale. Iron mines were also worked at Kot Khai in Simla and in the hill states of Júbbal, Bushahr, Mandi, Suket, Sirmur and Chamba, but the produ̇ction was very low, the output of iron ore in the Simla district in 1901-2 being 4 tons only.[5]

Gold—The Province possessed no gold mines. Gold was, however, found in small quantities in the sandstones of the Salt Range and in the bed of the rivers. It was extracted by a laborious process of washing and the outturn was always small and precarious.[6] Thus the quantity of gold obtained by the process of washing in 1911 was 135 ounces, in 1914, 250 ounces, in 1920 61 ounces and in 1934 only 1 ounce.[7]

Other metals—There were many rich copper deposits in Kulu and the Simla Hill States and stibnite was found at Shigri in the valley of the Chandra river in Lahaul.[8] There also existed an ancient copper and silver bearing lead mine at Padhan near Solan, rich in the veins of argentiferous galena bearing 60 percent lead and copper pyrites bearing 25 percent copper.[9]

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1. *Ibid.*, 1904-5, p. 29.
2. *Ibid.*, 1905-6, p. 32.
3. *Ibid.*, 1904-5, p. 29.
4. *Report of the Department of Industries, Punjab, for the year ending March 31, 1927.* p. 2 (part B).
5. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 116; *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 60.
6. India Government, *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, XLVI, p. 97.
7. *S.A.B.I.*, 1911-12 to 1939-40, pp. 762-83.
8. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p.314.
9. *Census 1941, Patiala State*, pp.6-7.

Mica—Potash mica of clear ruby colour as well as spotted one was found at Ghata Sher, Mausnauta and Panchanauta in the districts of Narnaul of the erstwhile Patiala State.[1] It was also found in the Sirmur state, but not in large sheets.[2]

Alum—Alum was produced from a pyritous shale, which occurred in large quantities near Kalabagh in Mianwali district.[3] Alum in an impure form was also found in the Rainka, Paounta and Nahan tahsils of Sirmur state.[4]

Other minerals—Sulphur deposits were found in Jhelum district and of the total production of 2,61,972 tons in India during 1944-46, Jhelum district and Baluchistan contributed about 87,324 tons.[5] Besides, the Punjab possessed several types of clay and chalk occurring in Delhi Division and Jhelum district.[6] Marbles of variegated colours occurred in the district of Narnaul of the erstwhile Patiala state.[7] Gypsum and limestone were extracted in the Salt Range, Delhi district and Hoshiarpur and borax was manufactured in a considerable quantity at Sadhaura in Ambala district.[8] Slate quarries were worked at Kund in Gurgaon district, Bakhli in Mandi state and at Kanihara in Kangra district.[9]

POPULATION

Growth of Population

The increase in the population of the Province during the period 1901 to 1941 was 40.8 percent as the following figures showing population for the successive decennial censuses would show[10]:—

It is obvious that the rate of growth of population was uneven and irregular. The cause of this excessive fluctuation,

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Gazetteer of Sirmur State*, 1934, p. 82.
3. *D G. Mianwali*, 1915, pp. 137-8.
4. *Gazetteer of Sirmur State*, p. 82.
5. Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1957, p. 62.
6. *I.G.O.I., Provincial Series*, I, p. 286.
7. *Census 1941, Patiala State*, p. 7.
8. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12., pp.121-2; *D.G. Ambala*, 1925, p. 99.
9. India Government, *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, XLVI, p. 286; *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920. p. 158.
10. *Census 1931*, XVII, p.158; *Census 1941*, VI, pp. 8-16.

Adjusted figures	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
British territory	19942715	19579046	20685478	23580852	28418819
Punjab states	4424398	4212794	4416036	4910005	5891042
Total	24367113	23791840	25101514	28490857	34309861

in striking contrast to the steady rate experienced in most of the western countries, was a tendency towards a rapid rate of increase checked by the operation of positive checks such as poverty and disease. Thus during the period 1891-1901 the population increased by 9.1 percent, but during the next decade the population declined by 2.2 percent. The principal cause of the decrease was the appearance of recurring epidemics of plague during the early years of the decade, the total number of deaths caused being over two million in the British territory alone.[1] In spite of the epidemic of influenza in 1918, which directly caused about a million deaths, and the heavy casualties suffered by Punjabi soldiers in the First World War, the rate of increase of population during 1911-21 was as much as 5.5 percent.[2] The decades 1921-31 and 1931-41 were free from any epidemic disease and were, therefore, very favourable for growth in numbers. The rate of increase during these two decades was 13.5 percent and 20.4 percent, respectively.

Birth-rate and death-rate—The size of the population of the Punjab was exclusively dependent upon birth-rate and death-rate, both emigration and immigration being negligible. The birth-rate and death-rate in the Province were very high and were subject to violent fluctuations.

The birth-rate varied between 35.1 and 46.9 per mile during 1901-1939.[3] Among the specific factors responsible for high birth-

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 41-2, 59.
2. *Census 1921*, XV, pp. 60-62.
3. See Annual *Reports of the Public Health Administration in the Punjab.*

rate were early marriage, the socio-religious sanction behind it, climate and the early attainment of puberty. The absence of prolonged period of education and training, social attitude encouraging a large family, which received further support from the prevalence of the joint-family system, and the very low level of living which encouraged man to look to sex life as the easily available and cheap source of relaxation and recreation—all these were also contributory factors.[1]

The rate of deaths fluctuated between 21.3 and 81.0 per mille of the population. The highest death-rate was recorded in 1918, the year in which large numbers were carried away by the influenza epidemic, and the next highest was in 1907, when plague was at its worst. Other years of high mortality were 1902-5, 1908, 1924 an 1926, owing chiefly to outbreaks of malaria and plague.[2]

The outstanding feature of the death-rate was the high infantile mortality. It was shockingly high as compared with other countries. The rate of mortality of infants under one year was 308 per 1,000 during 1901-11.[3] This heavy rate showed some signs of abatement in succeeding years except in abnormally unhealthy years. During the decade 1911-21 the rate was 219 per mille, while during 1921-31 it dropped to 186 per mille.[4] The infantile mortality rate per mille on an average for the years 1930-41 was 174.4, which was much higher than in other advanced countries.[5]

Distribution of Population

Density of population—The density of population largely depends on climatic conditions, security of life and property, standard of comfort, economic resources and the stage of economic development, in other words, on the physical environment and the use of it made by man.

According to the 1941 Census the density of population over the whole of the Punjab was 248 to the square mile as against 178

1. See Annual *Reports of the Public Health Administration in the Punjab.*
2. Lalwani, K.C., *Essays on Economic Planning*, 1957, p. 227.
3. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Vital Statistics in the Punjab*, 1943, p. 7.
4. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 215.
5. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 220; *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 146.
6. *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India*, 1946, pp. 4-5.

in 1901; 174 in 1911; 184 in 1921 and 208 in 1931.[1] This density was made up of several densities, varying in 1941 from 54 in the Chamba State to 899 in the district of Amritsar.[2] Generally it varied everywhere in accordance with the agricultural resources. The district of Lyallpur affords an important and most striking instance in this respect. In that district only 15 persons to the square mile were found in 1891, but with the extension of canal irrigation cultivators flocked to it from other parts of the Province, raising the density to 272 in 1911 and to 368 in 1931.[3] In a similar manner, other canal colonies were also fast growing in density of population. Apart from these, other important factors, which exercised any considerable influence on the density, were the climate the growth of industrial and trading centres, the facility of means of transportation and marketing.[4]

Distribution of population according to major communities—The proportion of the major communities per 10,000 of population is shown below[5]:—

Community	Proportion per 10,000 of population according to				
	1901 Census	1911 Census	1921 Census	1931 Census	1941 Census
Muslims	4,961	5,107	5,105	5,340	5,322
Hindus	4,127	3,579	3,506	3,018	2,911
Sikhs	863	1,211	1,238	1,429	1,491
Christians	27	82	133	148	149

It is evident that all the communities except the Hindus added to their numbers and that the Sikhs were increasing at a greater rate than the rest of the population.

Increase among the Muslims—The Muslims showed an increase in their numbers at each census except that of 1921, when a decrease of 2 per 10,000 of the population took place among them. No adequate explanation for this decrease is available.[6]

1. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 85; *Census 1941*, VI, p. 17.
2. *Census 1941*, I. Pt. I, Tables, pp. 122, 132.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 31; *Census 1931*, XVII, pp. 14, 84-5.
4. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 65.
5. *Census 1941*, VI. pp. 46-7.
6. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 174. The actual increase in the number of the Muslims, however, was 67,966 during the period 1911-21. (*Census 1911* XIV. p. 193: *Census 1931*. XVII. p. 191).

Decrease among the Hindus—The decrease in the number of the Hindus, on the other hand, requires careful examination. Pandit Hari Krishan Kaul in his report on the 1911 Census enumerated the causes, which, in his opinion were responsible for a smaller rate of growth among the Hindus as compared with other religions. He laid particular stress on (i) restriction of fecundity of enforced widowhood, (ii) evil effects of child marriage on prolificness, (iii) loss of vitality in consequence of the occupations and habits of the Hindus in towns and (iv) the difference in food.[1] As regards the first point, there is no doubt that the number of widows among the Hindus was comparatively large and this must have exercised somewhat adverse effect on their population, but the number of children in each community ought to depend on the number of married females of child-bearing ages and their number was higher among the Hindus than among the Muslims or the Christians. In 1931, among the Hindus out of every 1,000 women aged 15-40 years, 855 were found married as against 862 among the Sikhs, 798 among the Jains, 830 among the Muslims and 800 among the Christians.[2] Thus one factor was more than counteracted by the other. As regards the second point, a very curious fact was revealed by the census enquiries made in 1931 that both among the Hindus and the Muslims the rate of survival was the highest among children whose mothers were "below 12 when married."[3] So, early marriage does not seem to have been a major cause in decreasing the population among the Hindus. Regarding the third point, the 1931 Census gave eloquent reasons to refute the allegation that mere residence in towns had "so serious a drawback as is sometimes supposed to be."[4] Similarly the dietary factor was also set aside as a vulnerable cause in checking the growth of population among the Hindus.[5] In the face of these facts, the real cause must be searched for somewhere else. This is discussed below.

Increase among the Sikhs due to absorption of the Hindus—In the opinion of the Superintendent-in-charge of the 1931 Census Khan Ahmed Hasan Khan, "so far as the natural increase is

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 99-103.
2. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 296.
3. *Ibid.* "Younger the wife or the husband, the larger the average family". (Wattal, P. K., ***The Population Problem in India, 1916***, p. 25).
4. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 297.
5. *Ibid*...pp. 298-99.

concerned, Hindus were almost as 'progressive' as the other communities in the Province".[1] The first cause of diminution among the Hindus was the changed instructions issued in the 1911 Census about the definition of Sikhism. Prior to that year only those persons were recorded as Sikhs who, according to the tenets of the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, grew long hair and abstained from smoking, but since then any one was recorded as Sikh who returned himself as such whether or not he practised those tenets.[2] The second cause was the absorption of the many members of low castes, who adopted Sikhism in order to "escape the *inferiority complex*".[3] Thus between 1901 and 1931 whereas Hindu scavengers decreased from 9,34,553 to 3,68,224 the Sikh scavengers increased from 21,673 to 1,57,341.[4] Apart from the lowest classes a large number of conversions to Sikhism were taking place from amongst the Hindu agricultural castes. Thus the Hindu Jats decreased from 15,39,574 in 1901 to 9,92,309 in 1931, while the Sikh Jats increased from 13,88,877 to 21,33,152 during the same period.[5] Conversions to Sikhism among the Hindu Rajput and Saini castes were also heavy.[6] It is not possible to give an adequate explanation of this movement except that Sikhism was often accepted for economic reasons, the expenses at social ceremonies and rites among the Sikhs being less than those of the Hindus.[7] The increase among the Sikhs at the expense of the Hindus had commenced since 1891, and between 1891 and 1901 they increased at the rate of 13.9 per-cent as compared with 2.4 among the Hindus.[8] This phenomenal increase continued even during the very unhealthy decade preceding the Census of 1911, when the total population of the Punjab had shown an actual decrease.[9] In a similar manner the big rise in the Sikh population during the decades 1911-21, 1921-31 and 1931-41 was obviously not due to natural increase alone. The most eloquent evidence is supplied in this connection by the difference between the enumerated and calculated (on the basis of birth-rate and death-rate) Sikh population and thus determine approximatly the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
2. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 114.
3. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 308.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *D.G. Attock*, 1930, p. 125.
8. *Census 1901*. XVII; p. 122.
9. "The gain seems to have occurred mainly by accretions from the Hindus". (*Census 1911*, XIV, p. 153.).

amount of gain due to absorption of non-Sikh (primarily Hindu) population. From the schedule given below, it is evident that 5,42,596 persons were so absorbed during 1921-31.[1]

Particulars	All religions	Sikhs
(1) Actual population 1921	2,51,01,514	31,07,296
(2) Enumerated population aged over 10 years in 1931	2,02,45,375	29,43,466
(3) Calculated Sikh population aged over 10 years in 1931 (survivors of 1921)		25,07,588
(4) Absorption among the Sikh aged over 10 years		4,35,878
(5) Enumerated population under 10 years in 1931	82,45,482	11,28,158
(6) Calculated Sikh population under 10 years in 1931		10,21,440
(7) Absorption among the Sikhs under 10 years		1,06,718
Total estimated absorption (by adding items 4 and 7)		5,42,596

These calculations are based on the assumption that the proportion of survivors (persons aged over 10 years) of the 1921 Sikh population would be the same as that for the total population. Any excess in the Sikh population in 1931 aged over 10 years would, therefore, be due to absorption from other communities as the Sikhs were not likly to gain in numerical strength through any other cause, much less through immigration, as among them the number of emigrants was larger than that of immigrants. The estimate of absorption in the population under 10 among the Sikhs would bear the same ratio of the calculated surviving Sikh population aged 10 years and over, as the children of all religions under 10 have to the total population aged over 10 years in 1931.[2]

1. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 306.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-7.

Similar calculations cannot be made for the period 1931-41 due to lack of statistics. Though the census of 1931 envisaged that "in future a still further reduction in the number of Hindus due to further desertions may be expected unless the lower middle agricultural tribes and members of occupational castes and untouchables can be induced to stay in the Hindu fold.[1] The prediction came out to be true as the following figures showing the absolute increase or decrease among the Hindus and the sikhs reveal.[2]

Year	Hindus	Sikhs
1901-11	—15, 41, 462	+ 7, 78, 682
1911-21	+ 2, 85, 911	+ 2, 25, 801
1921-31	— 1, 99, 931	+ 9, 64, 328
1931-41	— 3, 85, 606	+10, 44, 561

Increase in the number of the Christians—The increase among the Christians was partly due to natural causes and partly due to conversions from other religions, mainly low caste Hindus and muslims.

Local distribution of the major communities—The Hindus were in majority in the districts of Hissar, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Karnal, Simla and Kangra, while in the districts of Ambala and Hoshiarpur their numerical strength was greater than that of any other community. The Muslims predominated in 17 districts,[3] the proportion varying from 91 per cent of the total population in Attock district to 51 per cent in Gurdaspur district,[4] while in the districts of Jullundur, Ferozepur and Amritsar they were most numerous as a community. The Sikhs did not have a clear majority in any district except in Ludhiana, where they were more numerous than either the Hindus or the Muslims.[5] They resided chiefly in the central Punjab.[6] In the Indian states the Sikhs predominated in Faridkote

1. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 306; *Census 1941*, VI, pp. 42-5.
3. Namely, Gurdaspur; Lahore; Sialkot; Gujranwala; Sheikhupura; Gujrat; Shahpur; Jhelum; Rawalpindi; Attock, Mianwali; Montgomery; Lyallpur; Jhang, Multan; Muzaffargarh and Dera Gazikhan. (*Census 1931* XVII, p. 289).
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

and Patiala, the Muslims in Bahawalpur, Kapurthala and Malerkotla and the Hindus in the rest.[1] The Christians were mostly found in Simla, the summer headquarters of the Government of India; Lahore the capital of the Punjab and some of the Indian States in which their proportion varied from 1 to 6 per 10,000 of the total population.[2]

Population in towns and villages—The preponderant position of agriculture in the economic life of the people is reflected in the distribution of the population between the urban and rural areas as the occupation of the people determined their habitat. The following table shows the proportion of urban and rural population at the various censuses[3]:—

Year	Urban	Rural
1891	10.7	89.3
1901	10.6	89.4
1911	9.8	90.2
1921	10.3	89.7
1931	12.4	87.6
1941	14.7	85.3

The decrease during the decade 1901-11 in the urban population was owing to the outbreaks of the epidemics of plague and malaria which took an extraordinarily heavy toll of life in the towns. The increase during the period 1911-41 was, apart from natural increase and migration, due to enumeration of certain places as towns which in the previous censuses had been declared as villages.[4] According to the 1941 census there were 283 towns and 52,047

1. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 89; *Census 1941*, VI, pp. 2-3.
4. "A study of the increase in urban population is not altogether a simple matter, because there are certain places which were treated as towns at past censuses, but ceased to be so treated at the succeeding censuses — while some places heretofore treated as villages were declared as towns owing to an increase in their population or a change in their characteristics." (*Census 1931*, XVII, p. 90).

villages in the Punjab and there were only seven towns with a population of over 1,00,000 each.[1]

This excessively uneven distribution as between the towns and the country-side indirectly shows the economic backwardness of the population. In provinces like Bombay and Bengal the development of organised industries resulted in a phenomenally rapid growth of the towns population, in marked contrast with the almost stationary character of the urban population in the Punjab.[2] Civilisation and progress have always originated in cities, from which they have radiated into the country-side which, left to itself, has seldom displayed the capacity for progressive development. Nevertheless, it is a matter of genuine satisfacation that the distribution of the population between city and country was altering in favour of towns, though very slowly, but the processes of development of industries, trade and transport, and by the attractions of the great amenities available in the urban areas.[3]

Sex composition—Sex composition exerts profound influence on the socio-economic life of the people. Below is given the number of females per 1,000 males enumerated at various censuses[4] :—

1901 Census	1911 Census	1921 Census	1931 Census	1941 Census
854	817	828	831	846

The heavy fall in female population in 1911 was due to the ravages of plague which proved particularly fatal to women as they led an indoor life.[5] Thereafter the proportion of females shows an increase. But even if we take the figure for 1901, which is the highest, it is not encouraging.

The disparity in the sexes has been ascribed to various causes. In the first place, it is now very well established that the deficiency of females at birth is a universal phenomenon (in the Punjab, during the period 1901-1940, there were 110.4 male childern born for every 100 female childern).[6] This disproportion was corrected in European

1. *Census 1941*, VI, pp. 2-3.
2. *Ibid.*, I Pt. I, p. 26; *Census 1931*, I, Pt. I, p. 44.
3. *Census, 1941*, I, pt. I, p. 26; Calvert, H., *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab* 1936, pp. 56-7.
4. *Census 1941*, VI, pp. 2-3.
5. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 211-12.
6. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Vital Statistics of the Punjab*, p. 5.

countries by the higher rate of infant mortality in the case of males than in the case females.[1] "Organically the female sex is stronger".[2] But conditions in India were distinctly unfavourable to female life in contrast with European conditions. From the age of 5, the death-rate among females showed an excess over that of males. The highest rate of mortality among females was found in the age periods 10-15 and 15-20, mainly because these comprised the periods of first confinement. There is thus nothing surprising about the results. Secondly, an explanation is also afforded by the existence of certain social practices such as that of the ***Purdah***, which was especially disastrous in its effects on the health of women residing in the towns.[3] Another probable cause is that female life was held cheaper than in the advanced countries of the world, not only by men but by women themselves, and this resulted in a deliberate neglect of health in case of females.[4] Again, women of the poorer classes were seldom in a position to enjoy the necessary period of rest before and after delivery and strain of overwork inevitably impaired their physique. The unskilful midwifery of the village *dai* was a further contributory cause.[5]

The deficiency of the females in the general population was further accentuated in the case of the towns. This can be accounted for by the migratory character of the labour class, who seldom brought their families to the towns, and secondly, by the absence of employment of women in urbrn industries.[6] The census returns for 1931 revealed that the bigger the town, the smaller was the number of females in it. This is best brought out by the table[7] on page 26.

It need scarcely be pointed out that this low proportion of females to males in the large towns adversely affected the health, comfort and morals of the inhabitants in general and of the labouring classes in particular.[8]

1. Dewett, K.K., *Indian Economics*, Third ed., p. 35.
2. *Ibid.*, Ninth revised ed., p. 39.
3. *Census 1931*, I. Pt. 1, p. 7.
4. "A distinction is made except in well-to-do families between the food given to girls and that prepared for boys girls are usually insufficiently clad-- In the illness of female children no notice is taken unless the ailment becomes serious, while the slightest indisposition in a boy upsets the whole family and the best available medical assistance is summoned ". (*Census 1911*, XIV, p. 231.)
5. Blunt, Sir Edward, *An Introduction to Some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian People*, 1938, p. 72.
6. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 13; *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 69.
7. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 96.
8. Anstey, Vera, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Town with population of	Females per 1,000 males
Over 1,00,000	622
between 50,000 and 1,00,000	698
,, 20,000 and 50,000	724
,, 10,000 and 20,000	733
,, 5,000 and 10,000	790[1]
and below 5,000 . .	774

Distribution according to age—The principal economic significance of age-composition of a population is the proportion of workers (effective population) to the total population. The age composition of the population of an advanced country would look like a pyramid with a wide base and with sides slowly rising as we proceed in age groups. In the case of the Punjab the age pyramid had a broad base owing to high birth-rate and tapered towards a point sharply, indicating the inferior longevity of the population. The average expectation of life was not more than 25 years. There were relatively very few people beyond the gae of 50.[2] Worse than that, most people in the topmost age groups constitued a liability, counting prayer beads and thinking of the other world, where as in advanced countries, they constitute the pick of the nation and provide leadership in all spheres.

The commonly accepted limits for the productive or the working population are between the ages of 15 and 60 or 65 in Europe. In the Punjab, on the contrary, the upper limit had necessarily to be lower, because old age and incapacity for work set in much more quickly than in Europe and America. The accepted age limits in India, therefore, were 15-40 years. The effective or working population of the Province in this sense was only 40 percent of the total population. In France it was 53 percent and in England 60 percent,

1. "The towns with a population of less then 10,000 inhabitants have a comparatively higher proportion of females, such towns in many cases are really overgrown villages and in them the proportion of the sexes remains practically unaffected by immigration". *(Ibid.)*

2. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 137.

taking for these two countries the limits of 15-60 for the productive population.[1] This was a huge economic loss, indeed.

OCCUPATIONS

There was a great disproportion in the vocational distribution of the population which, indirectly, reflected an unbalanced state of economy in the Punjab.[2] Division of labour had not proceeded very far and more often that not a man followed several pursuits which in Europe would have been quite distinct.[3] We shall now consider the relative importance of the occupations from which the people derived their livelihood.[4]

Agriculture—Agriculture was the mainstay of the great majority of the people. In 1931 there were 63,80,714 actual workers[5] engaged in cultivation. Besides, 4,66,995 males and 19,486 females followed this industry as subsidiary to some other occupation.[6] These figures showed an increase of 25.7 per cent over the figures for 1921.[7] The increase was due to (i) increase in population, (ii) post-war demobilisation and (iii) expansion in cultivation.[8] The increase was the greatest in Simla and adjacent States and in the districts of Gurgaon, Hissar, Jhelum, Rohtak, Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Gujrat. On the other hand, the districts of Jullundur, Karnal Ferozepur, Muzffargarh and the states of Kapurthala and Sirmur showed decreases in the number of workers. The decrease in these districts was explained by the

1. Wadia, P. A. and Joshi, G. N., *Wealth of India*, 1925, p. 60.
2. "Occupational distribution of population is an important guide both as to the material welfare of the individuals as also the economic progress of the nation". (Lalwani, *op. cit.*, p. 239).
3. *I. G. O. I., The Indian Empire*, I, 1907, p. 486.
4. The only authentic source of information about the occupations of the people is the census reports for 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931. The Census for 1941 was made during the Second World War and, therefore, could not go into details. As such, it does not throw light on this aspect at all. Unfortunately, owing to changes in the basis of classification of the occupational groups in the different censuses, comparisons become unreliable. But the Census for 1931 made some adjustments and made the figures for 1921 comparable with those for 1931. Hence, only figures for these two censuses have been relied upon. To make the best use of the statistics given in the previous censuses, only the general trends have been noticed and, where figures are given, they should be considered with due caution.
5. Actual workers mean earners (47,67,522) plus working dependents (16,13,192).
6. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 220.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

Census of 1931, thus: "The conclusion too be drawn is that in these last named areas the limit has been reached, beyond which the land is unable to yield a return to the labour of cultivators".[1]

Another disturbing feature about this industry was the fact that it was attracting deserters from the traditional function of the caste in increasing number.[2] Thus farm servants and field labourers increased from 4,33,653, in 1901 to 11,92,187 in 1911, showing an increase of 174.9 percent.[3] In the next decade it showed a decrease of 3.9 percent.[4] The decrease was ascribed by Mr. Calvert to "a tendency to rent the land rather than cultivate through hired labour",[5] because during the same period the number of persons living on income from rent of agricultural lands had increased from 6,26,000 to 10,08,000.[6] The decade 1921-31 witnessed an increase of agricultural labourers (actual workers) from 4,63,906 to 7,36,028, giving a percentage increase of 58.7.[7] The increase took place all over the province and could easily be ascribed to the increase in the number of cultivators (owners and tenants), who naturally needed more field labourers to help them in seasonal agricultural operations.[8]

Stock-breeding—The occupation of stock-breeding was claiming more and more persons, since good cattle were necessary to meet growing cultivation. The total number of workers engaged in stock-breeding as their principal occupation was 2,10,116 in 1921.[9] This number rose to 2,53,564 in 1931. In addition to this, there were 16,616 earners who were engaged in this work as subsidiary to some other occupation in 1931.[10]

Trade—There were 6,17,118 actual workers engaged in trading professions in 1931 as against 5,83,428 in 1921, showing an increase of 5.8 percent.[11]

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1. *Ibid.*
2. Crooke, W., *Natives of Northern India*, 1907, p. 130.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p, 539.
4. *Census 1921* XV, p. 381.
5. *Ibid.*, 354.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Census 1931*, XVII, pp. 220, 223.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

(i) **Money-lending**—"After agriculture, money-lending is the most important industry in the Province".[1] In 1911 as well as in subsequent census returns money-lenders were grouped together with bank managers, exchange and insurance agents, money-changers, brokers etc. The total number of persons supported by occupations connected with banking and money-lending increased from 1,79,501 in 1901 to 1,93,890 in 1911 or by 8 percent.[2] Their number, however, decreased during 1911-21 to 1,66,960,[3] mainly due to the expansion of the co-operative credit movement and the legal protection to the peasant proprietor.[4] The decrease also maintained itself in the decade 1921-31 when a further fall of 2.3 percent was registered in the number of actual workers (from 44,503 to 43,479) following this profession.[5]

(ii) Hotels and Restaurants—A new social development in the Punjab during first forty years of the present century had been the increasing taste of people to take refreshments and meals at hotels and restaurants in the towns.[6] This development had taken place mainly due to increased facilities for travelling and rise in the standard of living. Thus whereas only 4,084 persons were engaged in this trade in 1921, ten years later their number increased to 12,855, giving and increase of 214.8 per cent.[7]

(iii) Trade in other sorts—Similary persons following trade in textiles, wood, furniture, metals, building materials, pottery and toilet articles showed a big increase indicating a rising standard of living and an increasing taste for luxury.[8]

Industry—The overwhelming preponderance of agriculture in the occupational pattern of the Province is once again brought forward by the backward state of its industry. In 1921 the number of persons supported by industry constituted 49,85,014 persons as against 1,53,13,515 by cultivation.[9] There were 17,91,609 actual

1. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, I, p. 129.
2. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 514.
3. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 361.
4. See Chapter VII.
5. *Census 1931* XVII, p. 228.
6. Darling, M. L. *At Freedom's Door 1949*, p. 53.
7. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 228.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Census 1921*, XV, pp. 381-5.

workers engaged in industrial pursuits in 1931.[1] Another depressing fact is that the majority of the industrial workers were engaged in cottage industries. The industries which claimed by far the great majority of industrial labour were textiles (4,00,628); industries connected with dress and toilet (4,54,859) ; wood industry (1,96,691); cermic industry (1,68,710); food industries (87,206) and metal industries (83,847).[2] All the above industries showed increases over the figures for 1921.[3]

Transport—With the development of communications and means of transportation, new avenues of employment were opened. Between 1901 and 1921 the number of persons supported by transportation increased from 4,55,809 to 5,17,586.[4] In the next 10 years (1921-31) the number of persons employed in transport of all kinds increased by 23.2 percent.[5] This rapid expansion was however, prone to cause unemployment among muleteers, *tonga* and bullock cart drivers, etc., as is revealed by the decrease in trade in means of transport (makers of *ekkas*, *tongas* and other carts) by 35.7 percent during 1921-31.[6]

Public Forces and Public Administration— There were 1,03,620 persons employed in 1931 in Public Forces which included the army, the police and village watchmen.[7] The Punjabis were essentially a martial race and had built up a great reputation for their military exploits and loyalty. The British always "looked to the Punjab for a very large part of its fighting force,"[8] and during the First World War the Punjab sent nearly 4 million soldiers to fight for them to the various theatres of war in foreign lands.[9] Due to increase in population the police force had to be increased to maintain law and order. In 1931 there were 41,609 persons in the British territory in the police department.[10] Similarly, the village watchmen increased from 8,189 in 1921 to 24,065 in 1931 showing an increase of 161.9 percent.[11] This increase was due to the increase in the number of villages and village population.[12]

1. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 226.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-3.
4. *Census 1901*, XVII, pp. 539-41; *Census 1921*, XV, pp. 381-5.
5. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 227.
6. *Ibid.* , pp. 228-9.
7. *Ibid.* , p 230.
8. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 25.
9. O' Dwyer, Michael, *India As I Knew It*, 1925, p. 230.
10. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 230.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

Government service was a coveted occupation and parents educated their sons only to see them fixed up in government employment. In contrast to this general tendency, employment in this field, though expanding, was limited. There were only 50,864 persons employed in 1931 in government service.[1]

Employment to the educated was also provided by the expanding activities of the Local Bodies. Here too, however, the prospects of employment were bound to be limited after some time. In 1921 the local bodies gave employment to 6,125 persons.[2] After ten years the number of servants in the local bodies had increased to 16,624, showing an increase of 171.4 percent.[3]

Professional and liberal arts—The following figures show the general trends in professional and liberal arts[4]:—

	1921 (Actual numbers)	1931 (Actual numbers)	Variation percent
Religion	1,19,711	1,02,252	— 14.5
Law	5,621	10,237	+ 82.1
Medicine	17,608	29,685	+ 68.6
Instruction	21,652	39,023	+ 80.2
Letters, Arts and Sciences	35,355	32,230	— 8.8

The number of priests and ministers was progressively on the decline. Between 1911 and 1921 their number declined by 5.1 percent and between 1921 and 1931 by 31.2 percent.[5] On the other hand religious mendicants, servants in religious edifices and on burial and burning grounds, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers, etc., were on the increases.[6] The decrease in the number of priests and ministers was probably due to the increasing inability of the people to maintain them on economic grounds.

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 384; *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 243.
6. *Census* 1931, XVII, p. 243.

Law, Medicine and Instruction showed marked increases. While the increase in the number of medical practitioner and persons in teaching departments was most welcome, the increase in the number of persons following law as their profession was indeed alarming, because it shows that litigation must have been on the increase.

In Letters, Arts and Sciences are grouped (A) authors, editors, journalists and photographers, artists, sculptors and image makers, scientists, astronomers, etc. (B) musicians, actors and dancers and (C) horoscope casters, astrologers, etc., and conjurors acrobats, reciters, etc.[1] The above table shows a decrease of 8.8. percent in this group as a whole as compared with the figures for 1921. But in group (A), although there was an increase of 38.8 percent, the total number did not exceed 3,298. Similarly group (C) also showed an increase of 5.7 percent, although there were only 5,568 persons under this head in 1921. The real decrease, therefore, had taken place in group (B). There were 24,648 persons engaged in music and dance in 1921, but their number decreased to 21,737 in 1931.[2] Their number had also declined by 51.2 percent during 1911-21 [3] The probable cause of this decreasing tendency was the growing popularity of gramophones, radio receiving sets and motion pictures among the people.

Domestic servants—In 1911 there were 5,07,727 persons engaged in domestic service, or, in other words, one in every 50 of the total population.[4] Of these over one-half were actual workers. The domestic servants were employed to perform multifarious duties such as those of water-carriers, coachmen, drivers of private motor cars, gardeners, cooks, watchmen and other indoor servants. Their number was on the decrease on account of higher wages demanded by them and also due to the need for economy felt by the people.[5] Between 1921 and 1931 the number of

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 384.
4. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 519.
5. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 90. "People of scanty means cannot afford to keep half as many servants now as they could 20 years ago, and majority of them have to go without any." (*Census 1911*, XIV, p. 519).

domestic servants decreased from 2,78,905 to 2,68,534, giving a percentage decrease of 3.7.[1]

Beggars and vagrants—"All over the province the beggar is a nuisance".[2] Generally speaking, religious sentiments approved of the profession of begging and religious mendicants formed a recognised part of the Hindu social system. Genuine religious mendicants were few and far between; but under the garb of religion a regular profession had sprung up. The majority of the beggars were able-bodied persons, who took to mendicancy as a means of easy living.[3] They were a "definite economic drain" on the Province and Mr. M. L. Darling rightly remarked that "the village community should be willing to support such sturdy men, badly tends to its prosperity".[4] In 1921 there were 5,85,186 beggars in the Punjab or nearly four times as numerous as all the "public servants, civil employees and their dependents".[5] A change of attitude towards beggars was, however, becoming perceptible especially in canal colonies.[6] The support of a large mendicant community was becoming irksome to the classes whose unstinted generosity could in former years always be fully relied upon by the poor, the needy and the religious.[7] This is amply shown by the census returns for 1931, which indicated a decrease of 16.7 percent over the figures for 1921.[8]

Subsidiary occupations—The subsidiary occupation is a matter of great economic importance, for it often makes, especially among agriculturists, all the difference between poverty and comparative ease. Unfortunately the census returns throw very little light on this subject. Presuming the total population of the Province in 1931 to be 10,000, only 289 of them were earners with some subsidiary occupation.[9]

Occupations of women—The general public opinion was opposed to women doing extra-domestic remunerative work, due

1. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 231.
2. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 289.
3. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Shrimati Lekhwati on October 25, 1934.
4. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 67.
5. *Census 1921* XV, pp. 353.
6. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 202.
7. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, dated February 21, 1936; 1935; *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, dated June 29, 1938.
8. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 343.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

primarily to custom and prejudice, and their employments were practically confined to teaching, cooking, cleaning and scavenging, bringing up children, agricultural labour, spinning, sewing and mending of clothes, etc.[1] According to the 1931 census, the proportion of female workers engaged in important occupations per 1,000 males similarly engaged was the greatest in the grain parchers (1,455), midwives (1,856) and procurers and prostitutes (5,031).[2] In the work of scavenging, too, the females outnumbered males,[3] because they were preferred to male workers on account of strict privacy observed in almost every house, and partly because a male sweeper aspiring to rise in social scale took to other odd jobs, particularly agricultural labour.[4] Happily, the prejudice against employment of women was slowly losing ground and with the rise of cost of living the number of women engaged in various occupations was steadily increasing.

Concluding remarks—The above account shows the overwhelming preponderance of agriculture over other occupations. Since in almost the whole of the Province dependence on agriculture meant dependence on rains, when the rains failed there was necessarily widespread distress involving a great majority of the people. The Famine Commission of 1880 correctly struck a note of warning when they said that "at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed—lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms about the sole occupation of the masses of the population,"[5] and by way of remedy they urged the development of manufacturing industries.[6]

Movement of Population

The Census for 1911 notes the various kinds of migration within the Province as follows :—

1. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.
3. The absolute figure for female workers was 110219 or 826 to every thousand male workers engaged. (*Ibid.*, p. 217.)
4. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
5. *Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1880*, Pt. II, Chapter II, Section I.
6. *Ibid.* Though the Province engaged a substantial number of persons in industrial occupations, they were mostly of the cottage industry type. (See Chapter VIII.)

(i) *Casual*, or minor movements between neighbouring villages. The chief cause of these minor movements was the custom, almost universal among the Hindus and the Sikhs, whereby parents sought wives for their sons in a different village from their own, and the fact that in some parts a young wife returned to her parents for confinement and especially for the first one.

(ii) *Temporary*, due to the migration of coolies to meet the demand for labour on new canals and lines of railway, to journeys on business and in connection with pilgrimages, marriage ceremonies and the like.

(iii) *Periodic*, due to seasonal demand for labour, for example, the periodical movements of labourers for harvesting operations and of the inhabitants of hilly regions to the plains during the winter for purposes of trade or earning their livelihood.

(iv) *Semi-permanent*, where the inhabitants of one place earn their livelihood in another, but maintain their connection with their old homes where they leave their families and to which they ultimately return. For example many labourers in factories in the big cities, clerks in government offices and domestic servants.

(v) *Permanent*. This type of migration was in the nature of colonisation. It usually took place when, owing to irrigation or improved communications, new lands became available for occupation. Illustration of this type of migration was the rush from the congested districts of Punjab to the canal colonies as soon as the irrigation works there were completed[1].

(vi) The census for 1931 added another form of migration and described it as "daily", although it was admitted that the conditions in which the residence of the worker and the place at which he worked were so far apart as to form different census units had hardly yet arisen to any great extent.[2]

General immobility of the population and its causes—The population of the Province was extremely immobile. At every census some 90 percent of the people were enumerated in the

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 71-73. Also see Appendix II "Canal Colonies in the Punjab".
2. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 114.

districts in which they were born and of the rest more than 7 per-cent were born in the adjoining districts. The essentially home-living character of the people was the result of social and economic causes.[1] The social factor chiefly affecting the Hindu was the caste system which made his life away from his social circle very uncomfortable. For example, he was often unable to marry, eat or drink with members belonging to other castes and he feared that prolonged absence would expose him to the suspicion of having broken caste rules and lead to social ostracism on his return. The Sikhs and the Muslims were not circumscribed by caste prejudices, but in practice they too were reluctant to leave the ancestral home.[2]

Among the economic factors, which proved a clog to migration, the most important was to be found in the fact that the majority of the population was mainly dependent on agriculture. The possession of, or interest in, a piece of land made people unwilling to give up a certain (though unsatisfactory) livelihood for the risks of pioneering elsewhere. Again, most villagers were in the clutches of the money-lender, who presented every possible obstacle to his debtors leaving the village.

Emigration to other parts of India—But the Punjabi of the old time was gradually giving way to a more adventurous type, not averse to travel. With improving facilities of transport and communications, emigration within India was losing a part of its terrors for the return home to which every emigrant looked forward. The tendency of temporary or semi-permanent emigration was also stimulated by the growing disregard of the social bindings and the stress of economic distress felt by the disintegration of the joint-family system. Thus the number of emigrants to other provinces of India rose from 5,06,033 during1891-1901 to 5,30,899 during 1911-21 and 7,02,406 during 1921-31.[3] The corresponding figures for immigrants were 6,66,614; 5,91,885 and 6,30,909, respectively.[4]

Emigration beyond India—Complete statistics for emigration of the Punjabis to foreign countries are not available. An attempt

1. Amar Nath, *Hindustan Ki Political Economy* (Urdu), n. d., p. 20.
2. *Census 1901*, I, pt. 1, pp. 81-2,88; Wattal, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 93; *Census 1921*, XV, p. 155; *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 121.
4. *Ibid.*

was made by the 1911 Census to ascertain the number of the Punjabi emigrants. In the countries for which figures were received, 12,822 Punjabis were enumerated, of whom 983 were in Ceylon; 985 in Straits Settlements; 809 in Fiji; 1,197 in Hong Kong; 341 in Uganda and 7,574 in Federated Malaya states.[1] The Punjab Administration Report for the year 1911-12 remarked that this "total Punjabi emigration is of course very imperfectly represented by these results"[2], because the Punjabis had also emigrated to Canada, the United States and U. K. and many other parts of the world, for which statistics are not available.[3] In 1921 the number of the Punjabi emigrants in foreign countries (for which statistics are available) increased to 18,487.[4] Their number declined in 1931 to 5,182.[5] The decrease was partly due to incomplete statistics and partly to stopping of the recruitment and repatriation of labour in Malaya and Ceylon in 1930-31.[6]

Emigration was broadly of two kinds. The first was that of unskilled labourers under indenture, as in the case of Fiji, Mauritius and Natal, or under some special system of recruitment such as was adopted in Ceylon and Malaya. The second was the spontaneous emigration of people belonging to the professional, commercial and artisan classes. The scope of the latter kind of emigration had been wider than that of the former and it penetrated to places that had never come under any system of assisted emigration.[7] This applies, for example, to the self-governing dominions, with the exception of South Africa and certain crown colonies, especially of the East African territories.[8]

Emigration of indentured labour was stopped in March, 1917, and as a result the volume of emigration shrank considerably thereafter.[9] The Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 re-affirmed the principle[10] that each community of the British

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 70.
2. *P. A. R.*,1911-12, p. 169.
3. Abbas, Ahmad, "The world is his home", *The Advance*, July-September, 1958, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 12.
4. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 161.
5. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 124.
6. India Government, *India in 1930-31*, pp. 61-2.
7. India Government, *India in 1931-32*, p. 48.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *P. A. R.*, 1917-18, p. 68.
10. The Reciprocity Resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference in 1918. (India Government, *India in 1921-22*, p. 51.)

Commonwealth should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by restricting emigration from any of the other communities and most of the countries within the Empire exercised their right of regulating immigration so as to discourage, if not altogether exclude, Indian immigrants.[1] The reason might have been political, racial or purely economic, but the unpleasant fact must be faced that emigration as a mean of relieving congestion at home was practically impossible so far as the Indian population was concerned.[2]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, *India in 1930-31*, p. 51.
2. It is not necessary to enter into details in connection with the various phases of the emigration policy of the Government of India. The numbers involved were insignificant and the question could not be regarded as vital from the point of view of having the possibility of easing economic conditions. The Emigration Act of 1922 proclaimed assisted emigration of unskilled labour to be unlawful except for such countries and on such terms and conditions as might be specified by the Governor-General-in-Council. There was also a Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature to advise the Government on all major emigration questions such as the fixation of standard wages of unskilled workmen, terms of colonisation of Indian setters, etc. (Indian Government, *India in 1922-23*, pp. 15-16.)

2

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The most important changes in the social life of the Punjab, which took place during our period of study, were the disappearance of the village and the village community as an isolated, autonomous and self-sufficient unit, the tremendous revolution in the caste—organisation brought about by economic pressure and by the impact of the new ideas and ideals which western thought and modes of living had brought with them and, lastly, the break of the joint-family system. These changes shattered the old static society, transforming it slowly from a community pattern into an individualistic one. The forces released by this process of transformation had a far-reaching effect on the mobile forces of capital, labour and personal enterprise, which, in course of time contributed to a richer and more varied life in the town as well as the village, and opened up new possibilities in trade and manufacture as well as in agriculture.

In order to understand the nature and meaning of this change, it is necessary, first, to describe in some detail the older social system as it had existed before the new forces were let loose and the far-reaching effects which they produced in the long end.

Self-sufficient Village

The first important freature of the old economic order was the division of the Province into villages where the large majority of the people lived and continue to live even to this day. The isolated and self-sufficient village was the unit of old Indian economy and "it is to the village that we must go to study the conditions in which men live and work who are still under the old dispensation".[1]

Owing to the absence of proper road transport and railways, the villager had hardly any contact with the outside world except

1. Morison, Th., *Economic Transition in India*, 1911, p. 34.

for the occasional visits of the grain merchant, who carried the surplus of one village to make good the deficiency of another and the cloth merchant who carried his wares from one village to another. The result of all this was that for the satisfaction of its needs the village maintained an elaborate division of occupations among the cultivating classes, the artisans and the craftsmen. The use of money for remunerating services was not common, because, agriculture being the most important industry of the village, grain was the standard of value and was used by the villagers in all their transaction. In normal times, the village did not suffer owing to lack of communications, because its organisation was aware of this shortcoming and was actually designed to overcome it. In times of scarcity and famine, however, lack of transport facilities prevented the carrying of corn from surplus areas to those of scarcity. Every village had its own surplus of grain in normal years and this ensured the people against scarcity provided it was of very short duration.[1]

Village community—Another important feature of the older socio-economic system was the village community. It is defined by Mr. Douie as a body of proprietors, who, owning a greater part of the village lands as a common possession held themselves responsible jointly for the payment of revenue.[2] The members of the proprietary body were often united by real or fictitious common descent and for this reason strangers were not admitted to the brotherhood. The village customs in the matter of inheritance and pre-emption were accordingly dictated by this feeling.[3] But during the British rule, the feeling of reluctance to admit strangers was subordinated to the need for meeting immediate demand for land revenue claimed by the Government and outsiders were in such circumstances allowed to share "rights" which had become burdens".[4]

The landlords formed among themselves a democracy which ruled its dependent priests, artisans and menials with oligarchic authority. All the business of the community was performed by

1. Maine, H. S., *Village Communities in the East and West*, third, ed., pp. 125-6, Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *The Foundations of Indian Economics*, 1916, pp. 3-5, Baden-Powell, *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, 1908, pp. 9-10.
2. Douie, J. M., *Punjab Settlement Manual*, 1930, p. 62.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 130; Baden-Powell, *The Land System of British India*, I, 1892, p. 169.
4. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, I, p. 14.

the headman assisted by a committee of elders called *Panchayat*. There was a common fund called *malba* which placed in the hands of the headman and to which all the members contributed. In some villages additional taxes were imposed on non-members of the proprietary body.[1] The *malba* was for common expenditure in the interests of the village.[2] The *Panchayat* was only a communal body and used to settle only the social and religious disputes arising in the village.[3] It "has had no legal powers but it has been in its power to inflict on recalcitrant members of the community the punishment of social ex-communication and on the menials and artisans various inconveniences".[4]

Destruction of the self-sufficient character of the village and the break up of the village community—The self-sufficiency of the village and the organisation of the village community and its economic life underwent a tremendous change as a result of new forces called into existence by the administrative centralisation under British rule, the growth of individualism due to the impact of western civilisation and the revolution in transport and communications.

The advent of *Pax-Britannica* effected a slow revolution in the country-side and the village organisation as a self-sufficient unit was the first to disappear under the stress of new economic factors. The old system of payment in kind was gradually replaced by one of payment in cash.[5] The growing frequency of exchange and intercourse with the outside world and the rise in agricultural prices brought money into the villages; to this were added the remittances of those who had gone out of village for employment, especially the soldiers. There was no longer the old fixity of occupation and necessarily there was a certain weakening of the influence of the caste system".[6] The village population became less immobile and more dynamic as a result of the revolution in transport effected by the construction of a network of railways and roads after the middle of the nineteenth century. The break up of the isolation of the village was especially striking in the case of those villages which were within easy reach of the bigger urban centres.

1. Douie, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 96, 129; *D. G. Gurgaon*, 1910, p. 170.
2. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 90.
3. Douie, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
4. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 90.
5. *P. A. R.*, 1192-13, p. 9.
6. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

This transition from the old to the new, apart from marking a stage in the advance towards civilisation, is a very remarkable incident in the social life of the Punjab. As Mr. Sapre puts it : "The old days when each village was a self-sufficient unit replete with the industries, trades and professions necessary for its modest requirements are over".[1] The village folk now learnt to buy in the town many articles that had been made in the village and other luxuries such as cloth, hurricane-lanterns, kerosene oil, gramophones, metal ware, crockery, sugar, tea, matches, scissors, bangles, mirrors, drugs, sewing machines, etc. A village shop was now often set up, stocked with goods brought from cities and even imported from overseas.[2] The self-sufficiency of the village was becoming more and more a thing of the past. The craftsmen began to dwindle in number and the consequent reduction in the number of small industries and handicrafts made rural life more dull and less self-sufficient; its perspective became considerably narrow. The attractions of rural life could no longer compete with those of urban life and vitality of the village slowly declined, as the towns in more ways than one sucked its blood and brains.

The nature of the village community was naturally transformed along with the break up of the self-isolated, self-sufficient villages of the past. The growth of individualism which was the result of modern education and western influences impelled the classes who performed the humble functions in the economy of village life to aspire for higher and more dignified pursuits.[3] This ambition to rise in the social scale became easier to be fulfilled with the improvement of means of communication. A victim of the village community could now defy its undue harassment and shift to the town with bag and baggage. The economic equilibrium of the village community was thus seriously disturbed. The relations between the village proprietors and the artisans also considerably altered. The village artisans and landless labourers found themselves no longer tied to the place of their birth. If they so desired they could now temporarily or permanently migrate to places where they could obtain better wages for their labour.[4]

1. Sapre, B. G., *Economics of Agricultural Progress*, 1926, p. 19.
2. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1918, pp. 10-11; Weld, E., *India's Demand for Transportation*, 1920, p. 81.
3. *Memorandum Prepared for the use of the Indian Statutory Commission by the Punjab Government*, I, Pt. 1, 1928, pp. 4-5.
4. Weld, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *Economic Problems of India*, 1939, p. 265.

Moreover, under the British administration, the sense of individual rights grew in all spheres and it emboldened the individual to face the demands of corporate life. This was probably the strongest force that hastened the disruption of the old fabric of society, based on collective rather than individual rights. It is true that corporate life did not altogether die out, but it was definitely and considerably weakened.[1]

The social structure of the village was further disrupted by the activities of the state. As the Government began to undertake functions which were previously performed by the autonomous village and as separate departments were created for education, land records, excise and forests, the villagers who had once governed themselves gradually came to be governed from without and by others. The status of the village functionaries thus underwent a rapid change. They ceased to be answerable to the village community of which they had once been the representatives as well as servants. Yet another fact which weakened the power of the elders of the community was the evolution of the right to free sale and mortgage of land. Non-agriculturist capitalists bought land; in this way many outsiders found a foothold in the village organisation. The village site expanded along with the number of inhabitants. The non-proprietary classes who had endured, undue exactions and embarrassment in return for the protection they received, now under the British legal system, (in many cases) resisted the payment of dues to the proprietary body and even pushed their claims to sell their houses and sites. This tended to bring in more strangers. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the position of the proprietary body as an authority over individual members and other inhabitants had considerably declined, though it did not altogether succumb to the new powerful forces.[2]

Revival of the Panchayats—As the powers of the village community and its representative council, the *panchayat*, had been increasingly encroached upon and weakened by official administration and judicial authorities, the conviction deepened among the official and non-official circles that status and dignity, besides some definite and precise legal powers, however small, should be

1. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
2. Baden-Powell, *The Land System of British India*, I, 1892, p. 169; *D. G. Hoshiarpur*, 1904, p. 82.

assigned to these indigenous bodies.[1] Without such responsibility, it was felt, this "organic growth, which had called forth the eulogies of philosophers and historians"[2] might gradually disappear. This led to the passing of the Panchayat Act of 1912, which gave civil powers to these *panchayats*, which had so far been only arbitration committees. These powers, however, proved practically ineffective, because they were limited to suits where both parties agreed to take their cases to the *panchayats*.[3]

Another Act called the village Panchayat Act of 1921 was, therefore, passed in order to correct this flow. This Act aimed at "restoring to the *panchayats* its old authority, where it still exists, and to revivify it in village where it had died out but where the corporate feeling of the village community still survives.[4] "The Act provided the establishment of *panchayats* consisting of *panches* elected by the people in a single village or a group of villages, in which the majority of the land revenue payers agreed to their constitution. The *panchayats*, so constituted, were required to make provision for meeting the requirements of their villages in respect of the construction and maintenance of public ways and drains, and the improvement and disinfection of wells, ponds and tanks for the supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing. They also had the responsibility of performing certain duties under the Punjab Village and Small Town Patrol Act, 1918, in connection with *thikri pehra* and were answerable to the Government for regulating *bari bandi*. These were the statutory duties of *panchayats* which could be enforced by the Deputy Commissioner. There were, in addition to these, other functions which were not obligatory on the part of the *panchayats* to perform. Such duties included the planting of trees, the affording of relief to the poor and the sick, the improvement of agriculture and livestocks, the promotion of cottage industries and the maintenance of libraries, the prevention or abatement of public nuisance by the issue of notices and the imposition of fines for non-compliance with the *panchayat's* injunctions, the supervision of village accounts, etc. The *panchayats* were also empowered to exercise the right of 'local

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation*, 1909, pars. 696, 699; *N. P. R.*, 1902, p. 459; 1908, p. 303; Drummond, J. G., *Panchayats in India*, 1937, p.14.
2. *P. A. R.*, 1922-23, p. 31.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
4. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 90-91.

option' in respect of wine shops in their villages. In addition to these administrative and executive duties and functions, the *panchayats* were also invested with powers to try petty criminal and civil cases.[1]

The Act was further amended in 1939. Under the Act (XI of 1939) the *panchayats* had a threefold purpose. First, they were to act as a judicial body for the decision of petty civil and criminal cases; secondly, they were to act as an administrative body for the performance of certain duties with regard to sanitation and thirdly, they were to act as a legislative body and were given the right to impose taxes and to pass general orders, requiring the inhabitants of the area to abide by certain rules for improving the general standard of life within the jurisdiction of the *panchayat*.[2]

Progress of the panchayats—The system as contemplated by the act of 1921 was slow to take root and it was considered necessary to start propaganda in order to make it popular. With this object in view, a conference of officials and non-officials was convened in 1926 in Lahore.[3] As a result of its recommendations Panchayat Officers were appointed in selected districts to educate the people in the benefits of the *panchayats*.[4] Their number, therefore, increased rapidly after 1926. In the beginning of the year 1924 there were 240 *panchayats*.[5] This number rose to 375 in 1927-28;[6] 883 in 1930-31;[7] 1,081 in 1934-35[8] and 1,489 in 1938-39.[9] The progress was no doubt on the whole satisfactory, but even as late as 1939 there was no *panchayat* in Simla and Kangra districts and there was only one in Shahpur district. Their number was also extremely small in Mianwali, Montgomery and Deraghazi Khan districts.[10]

1. Punjab Governments, *Punjab Local and Special Laws* 1951, "Punjab Village Panchayat Act (III of 1972)."
2. *Ibid.*, "Punjab Village Panchayat Act (XI of 1939)."
3. *Report on the working of the Panchayats in the Punjab for the year 1925-26*, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, 1930-31, p. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, p. 1.
9. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "Abstract of Statement".
10. *Ibid.*, p. 1; Speech of Ch. Chhotu Ram on 28.2 1935 in the Punjab Legislative Council, on the General Discussion of the Budget *(Punjab Legislative Council Debates)*.

Working of the Panchayats—Fees pertaining to judicial work[1] and fines and a few voluntary contributions were the only sources of revenue, which were, of course, insufficient to meet any considerable expenditure on village improvement.[2] The Act had provided for the levy of local taxes for meeting the expenditure of the compulsory duties of the *panchayats* and the performance of other functions which they might contemplate from time to time. But these powers were inadequately used by most of the *panchayats*, because to pursuade the villagers to tax themselves was a difficult task.[3] The income and expenditure of the *panchayats* were Rs. 79,245-12-0 and Rs. 38,037-15-0 respectively in 1938-39[4] as against Rs. 13,647-10-8 and Rs. 7,299-0-0 respectively in 1925-26.[5]

Most of the *panchayats* were not fully conscious of their duties and responsibilities. They were hopelessly in default in the performance of their self-imposed tasks.[6] A few only did commendable work in the direction of rural reconstruction[7]. The reason for their general inaction was largely psychological. Village opinion was supine and conservative to the point of being ineffectual, and the *panchayats* could not effectively and usefully enforce any improvement, which the villagers themselves did not desire.[8]

On the judicial side, the *panchayats* did useful work and the majority of them addressed themselves to this activity alone. In 1925-26, 1,176 criminal cases involving 1,879 persons and 5,292 civil suits were tried.[9] As the years passed by, the early decision of disputes without the parties having to incur heavy expenditure in the law-courts came to be appreciated more and more by the village folk and the volume of work of the *panchayats* naturally

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1. A fee of 4 annas was charged for entering a suit. *(Report on the working of the Panchayats*, 1929-30, pp. 1-5).
2. "Proceedings of the Punjab Government", *Report on the working of the Panchayats*, 1937-38.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, Abstract of Statement IV.
5. *Ibid.*, 1925-26, Abstract of Statement IV.
6. "Proceedings of the Punjab Government", *Ibid.*, 1930-31 and 1931-32.
7. The most important works undertaken in this connection were digging the manure pits, constructing public ways and drains.
8. "Proceedings of the Punjab Government", *Ibid.*, 1937-38.
9. *Ibid.*, 1925-26, p. 1. The common criminal offences coming under their jurisdiction were those of assault, theft, mischief, etc. The civil suits usually related to movable property, claims for compensation, claims on contract such as debts, claims of menials for wages and the like.

increased.[1] The number of criminal cases tried in 1938-39 was 4,669.[2] In the case of civil suits, too, there was a marked increase. The number of civil cases decided was 7,442 in 1930-31,[3] and rose to 13,417 in 1938-39.[4] It was no mean achievement. The Punjab Government rightly remarked that "the day is not far off when the ignorance and apathy that now prevail amongst the rural masses will be dispelled by the *panchayat system*, which will bring them knowledge and enlightenment giving them their due place in the life of the country".[5]

Caste System

The Hindu caste system constituted the most noteworthy feature of Indian society. The ancient Indian society is known to have been divided into different classes for the purpose of proper management and smooth working of the social life of the community. Thousands of years have gone by. There has been a radical change in the numerous aspects of the social structure, but what survives in the India of today is nothing but the bare and rigid structure of casteism, devoid of the spirit which once ruled it. We may begin our discussion with a standard definition of caste and inquire how it influenced social and economic life of the Province.

A caste has been defined as "an endogamous group or collection of such groups bearing a common name and having the same traditional occupation, who are so linked together by these and other ties, such as the tradition of a common origin and the possession of the same tutelary deity, and the same social status, ceremonial observations and family priests, that they regard themselves, and are regarded by others as forming a single homogeneous community".[7] In the words of professor Rapson the caste system "now divides the great majority of the inhabitants of Northern and Southern India into hundreds of self-contained groups, i. e. castes and sub-castes. A man is obliged to marry outside his family but within the caste, and usually within the sub-caste, to which his

1. "Proceedings of the Punjab Government", *Ibid.*, 1929-30.
2. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, 1930-31, p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 2.
5. "Proceedings of the Punjab Government", *Ibid.*, 1938-39.
6. The occupational basis of caste was not ubiquitous. (Risley, H., *People of India*, 1915, pp. 269-70.)
7. *Census 1911*, I, Pt. I, p. 367.

family belongs. A family consists of persons reputed to be descended from a common ancestor, and between whom marriage is prohibited. It is the exogamous social unit. A collection of such units constitutes a sub-caste or caste".[1] Every Hindu necessarily belonged to the caste of his parents. No accumulation of wealth and no special gift of talents could alter his caste status.[2]

The caste organisation—Early times, the society was divided in to four classes, namely, (1) The Brahmans—the priestly class, which cultivated learning and spiritual ideas, (2) the Kashtriyas—the fighting or the ruling class, (3) the Vais'yas—trading and the agricultural class and (4) the Sudras—the common folk who served their superiors and constituted the lowest strata of society. So in its original form it was a class system rather than a caste system. With the passage of time, various factors contributed to the inflexibility and segmentation of the original four classes.[3] About two or three thousand castes and sub-castes were recognised in India[4] and they could be arranged more or less in a scale of social precedence, each having its own status, its own rights and its own rules and ceremonials.[5]

In every scheme of grouping, the Brahman headed the list, then came the relatively lower castes whom popular opinion accepted as the modern representatives of the Kashatriya and these were as followed by the mercantile groups supposed to be akin to the Vais'yas. After leaving the higher circles a uniform basis of classification could not be found. The ancient designation of Sudra found no favour in modern times. In the Punjab the grades next to the Vais'yas were artisan and menial castes from whose hands alone some of the higher castes would take water and certain kinds of sweetmeants.[6] The artisan castes included the carpenters, blacksmiths and weavers, while among the menial castes the most important were the tanners, barbers, washermen, potters and oil pressers.[7] At the lowet rung of the social ladder were the scavenger

1. E. J. Rapson, Ed., "Ancient India", *Cambridge History of India*, I, 1922, p. 53.
2. Read, Margaret, *The Land and Life of India*. 1934, p. 115; Mayhew, Arthur, *Education of India*, 1926, pp. 41-2.
3. *Census 1901*, XVII, p. 172; Blunt, E. A. H., *Caste system of Northern India*, 1931, pp. 2-3; Risely, *op-cit.*, pp. 75-95.
4. Fuller, Bampfylde, *The Empire of India*, 1913, p. 130.
5. *Census 1901*,I, pt. I, pp. 540-1, 560-1,639.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 539-40.
7. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 338-4.

castes, namely, the *Chuhra* or *Bhangi* and *Dumna*. The Scavenger castes suffered from many disabilities. They were considered unclean and, for all practical purposes, regarded as untouchables.[1]

Thus, under the caste system Hindu society was divided into an immense number of entirely separate groups, large or small the conduct of whose members was restricted by an elaborate code of caste rules. They were prohibited from intermarrying and, commonly, also from inter dining with members of the other groups, especially, those supposed to be inferior in status.

In the matter of inter-dining among the castes, distinction was made between *pakka* and *kacha* food. The former meant food cooked in *ghee* and the latter meant food in the preparation of which only water was used. "All sweets, *puries*, and other confections of this kind" comprised *pakka* food, which might be eaten by the highest castes from the hands of any but the untouchables. In some places, the Brahmans would not accept even *pakka* food, for instance, Brahmans in the hills and Gaur Brahmans; but the ordinary Punjabi Brahman had no scruples in this regard. Again, the Brahmans and Rajputs of the hills did not eat even *pakka* food with the artisan or menial castes in the same *chauka* or kitchen and the Brahman would usually eat separately from the Rajput or Khatri. *Kacha* food was more liable to pollution. No caste would eat it from the hands of the caste of a lower status. Except in western Punjab, a Brahman did not accept it even at the hands of a Khatri or Rajput; a Gaur or Kashmiri Brahman would not do so anywhere. But among other castes of nearly equal status there was practically no barrier. The Khatris, Rajputs and Aroras had few scruples about eating together, although they shirked eating with artisans and menial castes.[2]

As regards inter-dining among sub-castes there was no restriction and generally speaking, they ate together. But there were numerous exceptions to this rule among the higher castes. For instance, a Gaur Brahman could not eat with a Saraswati Brahman and Kashmiri Brahman would eat with neither. Similarly, a Rajput of Rajputana would abstain from eating with one from Kangra

1. *Ibid.*, p. 334; Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, pp. 106-7, 327-28.
2. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 412.

a vegetarian Khatri; with a non vegetarian khatri the Kanets of Simla district with Jads or Zads division of the Kanets of Bushahr, Lahaul and Spiti and the non-agriculturist Brahmans and Rajputs with their agriculturist brethren.[1]

Caste being endogamous in its origin, the member of a caste married within the limits thereof and in many castes there were smaller endogamous circles outside which a marriage could not take place. Similarly, there were numerous exogamous groups called *Gotras* in every caste. Then there were hypergamous sub-caste. The Khatris, Aroras and Rajputs, for instance, had an elaborate graduated scales of sub-castes. Intermarriage between the various grades of subcastes contrary to the rules of hypergamy or breach of marriage restrictions within the endogamous group lowered the status of the offenders and the children, born of such unions, were looked down upon.[2] But marrying outside the caste entailed social ostracism and, for this reason, the endogamous limitations were seldom transgressed.[3] Strict notice of such breaches was taken by the caste government.

Caste Government—The influence of society in enforcing its unwritten social laws is a familiar phenomenon in every country. In India, the close relationship existing between religion and social distinctions created a complicated set of rules for each caste and necessitated the organisation of a social tribunal to adjudicate on all questions regarding their breach.[4] The nature of caste authority which had power to compel obedience to customary laws varied in different castes. Amongst the socially higher castes, it was as a rule the public opinion which, though indeterminate, was nevertheless effective. In most cases the ruling body was the assembly of the chosen five called the *panchayat*. In a few castes, this *panchayat* was an impermanent body, meeting only when summoned, either by the complainant who wished a case to be investigated or by an offender who had been thrown out of his caste by public opinion and wished either to establish his innocence or to obtain a mitigation of sentence. But in the majority of castes the *panchayat* was a standing body.[5]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 433.
2. *Gazetteer of Suket State*, n. d. pp. 49-50.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 410.
4. Hodson, T. C. *India Census Ethnography, 1901-31*, p. 57.
5. *Ibid.*

The matters of which the caste governments usually took cognizance were (1) all breaches of caste rules relating to matrimony and death, e.g., breach of contract of betrothal, dishonourable conduct in respect of marriage, failure to perform the death rites of a deceased person, etc., (2) breach of social laws of the caste in respect of smoking, eating and drinking with other caste, (3) breach of trust and fraud and failure to discharge a valid debt and (4) case of immorality, elopement and abduction of women.[1] Sometimes the upholders of the caste-authority encroached upon the sphere of superstition.[2]

The commonest form of punishment was a fine, the amount of which varied inversely with the status of the caste. Sometimes the offender was required to feed the *panchayat* or the whole community. Social excommunication, the most dreaded punishment, was not resorted to in normal cases except when the offender proved contumacious and head strong. Sometimes an offender was asked to place the shoes of the elders on his head[3] or was "required to undergo a ceremony of purification and atonement" according to the *Shastras*.[4] The amount of fines realised was generally invested in works of public utility such as the repairs of a temple or a well or the purchase of articles, which could be of use to the community on festive occasions.[5]

The authority of the caste government, however, had begun to weaken owing to the spread of education and development of the ideas of individual rights.

Effects of casteism on social and economic life—All that can be said in favour of the caste system applies only to the time when it had not yet assumed its modern chaotic aspect. The social and economic results of the system according to which each group

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 420-21.
2. "If any woman dies while she is pregnant, the husband is immediately outcasted and has to stay away from home for atleast 3 months". (*Report of the Age of Consent Committee*, 1928-29, I, "Written Statement of M. F. F. Pool., S. D. O., Simla").
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 423.
4. Hodson, *op. cit.*, p, 58.
5. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 423-24.

had a special status within society as a whole, were naturally both fundamental and extensive.[1]

It was a negation of the beneficial principle of equality and injured the higher as well as the lower castes. It bred in the former a false and distorted sense of superiority and, in the latter, a mental attitude fatal to the development of self-respect. An extreme example of this is afforded by the depressed or untouchable classes who were subjected to humiliation and to many disabilities, not only social but also economic. The unfortunate victims of the system were obliged to live in segregated areas and were not allowed to use a public well; their entry into temples was restricted and their children were excluded from the ordinary schools.[2] Furthermore, elementary sanitary precautions were neglected in favour of purely ceremonial purification. A member of a higher caste would not mind his dwelling to be permanently pervaded by the most unhealthy and nauseous smells and effluvia, but he would not take water from the hands of a low-caste person, however, personally clean.

The caste rules not only strictly limited the scope of choice in marriage, but also made it difficult to find suitable brides and bridegrooms.[3] This led to early or infant marriages[4] and was, in some measure, responsible for the social evils of heavy doweries and the practice of female infanticide among the Khatris and the Rajputs in the past.[5]

One of the most serious disadvantages of the caste system was that it produced among the higher castes a disinclination towards certain occupations and forms of labour normally followed by the lower castes and thus, often prevented them from improving their economic position and intensified the evil, resulting from the overcrowding of certain so-called genteel professions. In cotrast

1. Mahatma Gandhi said on February 3, 1925, "I gave support to caste because it stands for restraint. But at present caste does not mean restraint, it means limitations. There is nothing commendable in castes as they exist today". (Quoted by Ambedkar in *What Congress and Gandhi have done for Untouchables*, 1945, p. 277.).
2. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 78; Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p.107.
3. *Census 1911*, I, pt. I, p. 271.
4. I. e. marriage under the age of ten (pre-puberty).
5. *Census 1901*, XVII, pp. 212-16.

to this, in Europe everybody was entirely at liberty, as is now, to follow what occupation he liked in order to advance his material welfare and, on the whole, no form of honest labour was regarded as degrading in itself and there was no such thing as a man losing his caste and incurring social obloquy because of his choice of a profession other than the ancestral. This promoted mobility of labour and capital and made for economic strength.[1] Caste rule also regulated the actual methods of production, thus preventing experimentation and the exercise of initiative. For instance, the effects of caste prejudice on the relative efficiency of the highest Rajput are so described by Darling: "Proud of his faith more accustomed by common consent the worst cultivator in the Punjab. if he is a pure Rajput, he is forbidden to touch the plough". On the other hand, the humble Jat "is the very marrow and soul of the peasantry—ploughing, weeding or reaping, he will bear the burden and the heat of the day, and at night take his turn at the well".[2] Another loss entailed by the caste system came from the rigid caste prejudices against the use of certain methods of improvement in agricultural and industrial production. The objection to the use of bone and night-soil as manure for agricultural lands entertained by many castes was an instance in point.[3]

Further, the caste system prevented the evolution of a strong national consciousness, which has been promoted elsewhere by a process of unrestricted crossing between different races inhabiting a common territory. It was probably the greatest political handicap under which the Indian people laboured and it had often been a source of political weakness in the past.

Influence of western civilization on caste—In the past, the outlook of life of the individual Hindu had never been wider than that of his caste but the influence of western thought and the introduction of the modern machinery of civilisation e.g., railways definitely tended to impair the vitality of caste.[4] With the break-

1. *Wadia and Merchant, op. cit.*, p. 72.
2. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 38.
3. *R. C. A.*, par. 84; India Government, *India in 1930-31*, p. 160.
4. Sarkar J. N., *Economics of British India*, 1917, p. 47; Fuller, *op. cit.* p. 363; Weld, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90; A high caste man may be well aware that his neighbour in a crowded railway carriage is an untouchable, but he is also more than aware that if he gives the situation away by asking inconvenient questions, he will have to pay the difference in fare and change to a higher compartment. Discovering that this silence has no

up of the self-isolated village and the growth of trade and industry people found it economically advantageous to abandon their old traditional occupations and to take up professions, which had absolutely no relation to their previous and ancestral callings.[1] Members of the higher castes under the stress of economic circumstances were choosing careers, which "60 years ago would have been regarded with terror".[2] Many Brahmans were thus setting up as cart drivers, tailors, traders, shopkeepers and even cooks. Similarly, the Khatris were taking to cutting grass and selling fuel and to other menial occupations. Vocation ceased to be an index of caste and "the question what a man is, is even more and more taking precedence of the question what his father was".[3]

The new social and cultural influences which were brought to bear upon the life of the people violently shook the foundations of the old rigid social order, especially amongst the educated. The western education with its levelling tendencies tended to relax certain taboos on food and drink and there were many Hindus who frankly condemned caste as antiquated and wholly unfit to bear the strain of the modern conditions of life.[4]

The process of relaxation of certain caste rules was further helped by the conditions of modern city life. The gathering of men in factories, mines and government offices weakened the caste restrictions and created an environment for a close social relationship, contacts and mutual understanding among them. As the cinema houses, tea-shops, hotels and restaurants catered for all those who had money to spend, irrespective of caste, a high-born Brahman could not help rubbing shoulders with a low-born person. This necessitated a relaxation of the rules that certain castes pollute by touch.[5]

Furthermore, the British judicial system may be included among the important factors, which tended to break down the barriers of caste rigidity. The law administered by the state refused

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outward results, he begins to wonder whether he could not ignore untouchability altogether". (Blunt, Sir E., *An Introduction to some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian people*, 1938, p.61.)

1. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Trevaskis, *Punjab of Today*, II p. 206
2. Wadia and Merchant, *op.cit.*, p.78.
3. Trevaskis, H. K., *The Land of the Five Rivers*, 1928, p. 59
4. Risley, *op. cit.* pp. 279-80.
5. Read, Margaret, *op. cit.*, p. 119

to recognise the self-styled tribunals of the castes.[1] Any one aggrieved by a decision of the caste tribunal could fight his case in a court of law or quietly transfer his residence to some place beyond the pale of the caste authority and there "affiliate himself to the local brotherhood, which knows nothing of his past".[2]

Again, with the growth of nationalism, the larger recognition of the rights of the individual and the development of a spirit of criticism,[3] the lower castes were becoming more self-conscious and alive to the necessity of removing their old disabilities by concerted communal action.[4] The Hindu-Muslim tension and the political rivalry and scramble for power during the period under review made even the conservative Hindu reconsider the question of the denial of the legitimate right of the untouchables to be classed as Hindus. This made the Hindus more amenable to the influence of ideas of social reform and social equality.[5]

Indian social and political leaders were also being increasingly convinced that caste was a social, economic and political handicap and that if India was to be recognised as belonging to the community of civilised nations, the uplift of the depressed classes must immediately take place and that broader principles than those of caste must be evolved and actually followed.[6] In 1917 the Indian National Congress adopted the removal of untouchability as a vital part of its constructive programme.[7] Mahatma Gandhi also championed the cause of the depressed classes and directed all his energies towards the betterment of their social and economic conditions. Many socio-religious organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Jat Pat Torak Mandal and the body of Christian workers

1. Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 57; *Census 1911*,XIV, pp. 420-4.
2. Blunt, *An Introduction to some Social and Economic Problems*, p. 62.
3. *Census 1931*, I, Pt, I, p. 430
4. Ghurye, G.S., *Caste and Race In India*, 1932, pp. 167-81.
5. A sensation was caused by Dr. Ambedkar, leader of the Hindu depressed classes, when in 1936 he announced his intention to leave the Hindu fold along with his followers and embrace another faith promising equality of treatment. (Jathar and Beri, *Indian Economics*, I, 1939, p. 106.)
6. Farquhar, J. N., *Crown of Hinduism*, 1913, p. 175.
7. Uptil 1917 the Indian National Congress had followed a policy of strict neutrality in regard to socio-religious matters. But Mahatma Gandhi integrated social and religious reform with political activity and changed the whole character of the Congress. (Sitaramaya P. *History of Indian National Congress*, I, 1946, p. 52)

known as Salvation Army, started a crusade against casteism.[1] The social reformer was confronted with many serious difficulties. Fatalism, conservatism and extreme poverty reigned supreme among the low castes. They did not desire education for their children, because this would involve (so they argued) the sacrifice of the earnings of the children which might supplement their own. Nevertheless, some progress in this direction was visible.[2]

Vitality of the caste system—It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that the caste system in general had become distasteful to the bulk of the people. Though moribund, it still held away in practically unabated strength. It was still the corner-stone of the social superstructure and the hold of caste prejudices on the minds of the people was so strong that it even affected communities like the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Indian Christians, whose religions in their doctrinal basis, emphasised the principle of complete equality among their followers. Among the Muslims, the tribes of foreign descent claimed higher social status than those of the converts from the Hindus, and social intercourse was being more or less dictated by and based on this presumption.[3] There were Muslim Rajputs, Muslim Jats and Muslim Ahirs, all converts from Hinduism, who retained their identity and were strictly endogamous. Similarly, other menial and artisan classes had crystallised as among Hindus and were all endogamous.[4] The Musallis, the Muslim counterpart of the Hindu Chuhra, were held in disdain and their brethren higher in the social and economic scale would neither dine with them nor give their daughters to them in marriage.[5] Similarly, the Mazhabi Sikhs or converts to Sikhism from the lowest classes of the Hindus were not regarded as equal in rank by the higher castes such as the Jat Sikhs and Arora Sikhs. Among the so-called higher castes (in the sense that they were economically better off) of the Sikhs there were social gradations. For example, the Sikh Jats were held superior to Sikh Sainis and Sikh Aroras and no matrimonial alliances could be formed among

1. *Census 1911*, XIV p. 188.
2. *R.C.A.*, p. 509.
3. Smith, W. C., *Modern Islam in India*, 1943, p. 187.
4. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 175, 435-6.
5. *I. G. O. I.*, 1907, pp. 328-30; *D. G. Mianwali*, 1915, p. 58; *D. G. Muzaffargarh*, 1929, p. 71.

them.[1] A majority of the Indian Christians stuck to their previous castes and, for that reason, practised endogamy, though there was no restriction on inter-dining among them.

Excepting some laxity in the food taboos among the higher castes there was practically "no change—with reference to the basis of caste distinctions".[2] And particularly in regard to marriage the ideas remained as conservative as ever before, and every Hindu, educated or otherwise, would not marry out of his own caste.[3] The gulf between the high and the low classes was almost as wide as ever, though the fulfilment of their social and economic destiny ultimately depended on their closer intimacy and co-operation, deeper sympathy and understanding.[4]

JOINT-FAMILY SYSTEM

In the west a family generally consists of wife, husband and the children not yet married. In India, however, it might consist even of three generations with several collaterals, dwelling together at any given time and constituting a single household.

This institution of the joint-family was the basis of Hindu law in regard to marriage, adoption, maintenance and especially inheritance and succession. The eldest male member conducted all the affairs of the family and his authority and will were held supreme.[5] The individual earnings were pooled into the joint coffers for unchallenged administration by the head.[6] Everyone earned according to his capacity and received according to his needs.[7] In this respect, the joint-family system might be regarded as the nearest approach to the ideal of socialistic community.[8]

Merits and defects—This joint living strengthened the family and social bond; it protected the weak, the sickly, the unemployed

1. Petterson, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Clarke, John. *The Sikhs*, 1946, pp. 237-8; *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Ch. Zafurullah Khan on 19. 10. 1929.
2. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 324.
3. *N.P.R.*, 1902, p. 447; Cumming, John, *Modern India*, 1931, p. 11; *Census 1921*, 1, Pt. 1, p. 232.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Darling, M.L., *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village*, 1934, p. 285; Hauswirth, F., *Purdah*, 1932, p, 101.
6. Hauswirth, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

and the aged; it distributed the burden of any special heayy expenditure as on a marriage or a funeral, and it called forth self-sacrifice for the good of all and sustained the moral sense. On the other hand, it often served to increase dependence, irresponsibility and laziness, it complicated the upbringing of children; it often meant subordination of the individual to corporate ends and it produced an environment that was uncongenial to the proper development of individuality.[1]

The system did not exist among the Muslims of foreign extraction or descent for the simple reason that according to the *Shar'a* the property must be divided among the numerous relations of the deceased.[2] But the system as in vogue among the Kazilbash Nawabs of Lahore, whereby one member of the family was appointed as the manager and trustee of the joint property might be regarded as the nearest approach to the Hindu joint-family system.[3] On the other hand, some Muslim families, especially those descended from Hindu origin, displayed a striking tendency to retain this institution.[4] In point of fact, it was a feature of Hindu society because "the existence of strict exogamous customs in Hindu society permits a wider circle of relatives to live together than would be possible among people where even close relationship is no bar to marriage".[5]

In Delhi Division, the Hindu families were usually joint in a less technical sense. In towns and the cities in other parts of the Province, where the shortage of building space prevented easy separations, Hindu families almost invariable evinced a desire for joint constitution in a far greater degree and, especially among the trading classes, the existence of joint business run by the family was a powerful factor aiding the survival of ancient system. But these old family firms were gradually losing their former cohesion and solidarity and were transforming themselves from a joint-family venture (whose property and earnings were common and subject to the control of the head of the family) into those of mere partnership (where the capital was held in shares and the profits

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73, 80-83; Hauswirth, *op, cit.*, pp. 99-102; Mukerjee, R., *Foundations of Indian Economics*, pp. 24-5.
2. *Census 1911*, XV, p. 93.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 30.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Mukerjee, R., *Economic Problems of Modern India*, I, 1939, p. 56.

were distributable periodically).[1] The members were left "absolute masters of their individual shares, even though the property remains joint".[2] The tendency, however was to partition the property and set up separate homes.[3] Undivided families were not common in the villages, too. If the father's house was a small one, the marriage of a son necessitated the immediate building of another room and although he continued to use the same courtyard and kitchen, it generally so happened that within a short time the dissensions of the womenfolk, who had not apparently lived together from the very beginning, made joint life more than inconvenient, with the result that a separate hearth or more often than not a separate shelter was erected by the newly married young man. This, however, did not necessitate immediate division of the land, which continued to be tilled both by the father and the sons as a joint business concern. Generally, the family lived under the same roof till the father's death, when the land was partitioned and separate homes set up, if possible.[4] In contrast to the agricultural and trading classes, the artisan families lived together and maintained much of the vigour of the system in the villages as well as in the towns.[5]

Modern disintegrating influences—Apart from kinship, the cohesion and solidarity of the joint family were based on religion, the social traditions and the economic conditions of life and labour.[6] The most important factor, which made the system defy the corrosive influence of time was the absence of easy means of communication and transport which compelled all the members of the family occupation in agriculture, industry or trade. In such a state of affairs, the individual member naturally found it extremely difficult to separate from the family fold even if he wished to do so and carve oút for himself a different and independent means of livelihood somewhere else. Nor was there much scope for the employment of different abilities, which became the essential characteristic of the present century's complex economic organisation.[7]

1. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 94.
2. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 29.
3. *Ibid.*; Hauswirth, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
4. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 29.
5. Mukerjee, *Economic Problems*, I, p. 56.
6. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
7. Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

In the first place, the development of communications and transport opened out new possibilities to individual initiative and ambition and the more enterprising members of the family were allured to seek more remunerative and independent careers. Further, educated young men, in the case of non-availability of employment in the place of their residence were naturally driven far a field in search of suitable employment.[1] In the second place the subtle influence of western individualism made serious and often successful inroads into the solidarity of the joint family.[2] Moreover, owing to the intrusion of the Western ideas and ways of life which were discordant with the old Indian customs, the joint family became a house divided against itself. The elderly clung to the old rituals and customs, while the younger generation discarded them. The individualistic bias of the British civil law and procedure further paved the way for the dissolution of the system.[3] The increasing struggle for existence combined with the growth of the individualistic ideals was gradually making the joint family more or less an anachronism.[4] The familiar picture of domestic contentment was becoming a thing of the past. The old spirit of give and take, which was the corner-stone of the institution, was shaken by a greater sense of realism, besides considerations of personal, material gain. The result was that a strong disruptive tendency, owing generally to the petty quarrels of the womenfolk, was called into play.[5]

The joint family was, thus, fast disintegrating under the impact of various forces which the modern conditions brought to bear upon it. Consequently, during the period under review, the constitution of a few families in the Province was still based on some kind of joint living while others, especially in the towns, had developed a definitely modern slant in their outlook on life.[6]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-64.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
4. Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Hauswirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48. "Due to economic exigencies, persons were forced to live separately. Further, due to the influence of the democratic and individualistic concepts the educated classes began to disfavour life in the joint family". (Desai, Neera, *Women in Modern India*, 1957, p. 246.)
5. *Census 1911*, I, Pt. pp. 45-47, Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 344. "The system is proving more and more difficult to maintain, for in this individual age many wives wish to run their own household, and the mother of one child is apt to look askance at what has to be given from the common store to the mother of two". (Darling, *Rusticus* 1933, pp. 12-13).
6. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 29.

CUSTOMS AND USAGES

In the preceding pages we have discussed how the people's conduct was determined by the dominant tendencies prevailing in the society in which each lived and how the society had begun to work out its own destiny under conditions of life very different from those that had existed hitherto. Now a brief account must be given of the domestic life of the people. From the cradle to the grave, the life of both the Hindus and the Muslims was governed by the customs and rituals. Strange semi-religious ceremonies were associated with the crisis of life--birth, marriage and death-all governed by established customs and irrevocable traditions handed down from the hoary past. The details of the ceremonies which vary a great deal from place to place may be found in the pages of the gazetteer and the customary law of each district and state. Owing to lack of space it is not possible to deal with them in detail, though they are extremely interesting and even tempting to the student of sociology. We shall, however, confine our study to the general trends, leaving out the details of ritual. An account of superstitions connected with them is given in the next chapter.

Birth-customs—Female children were not much desired. The birth of a daughter was a matter of grave misfortune, for sooner or later she was to be married and it was on the bride's father that the heavy burden of expenditure in connection with wedding and the subsequent ceremonies usually fell. On the other hand, the birth of a boy was an occasion for great rejoicing.[1] To the Hindu the birth of a son was a religious necessity, because son's presence was held necessary for the performance of certain ceremonies whereby his parents' salvation was to be secured according to religion.[2]

Marriage customs—Marriage constituted the most engrossing event of family life and it formed a subject of endless discussion and of prolonged preparation. The sum of money spent on a

1. An illustration of the way of preference for the male child is found in the saying: "Feed son and bullock well: both are bread winners". (Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, p. 282.)
2. A verse of the *Atharvaveda* rightly echoes the general desire of the birth of a son and not a daughter. "Elsewhere may He effect the birth of maids, but here prepare a boy". (*Atharvaveda. VI*, Hymn XI.)

marriage was usually extravagant and often involved the bride's father into debt. The expenses incurred by the bridegroom's family were also heavy enough. Very often the celebration of a marriage caused the utter ruin of both the families.[1] Dancing girls, fireworks and drinking constituted the important items of entertainment. It was incumbent on the bride's family to entertain the marriage party in a right royal manner. The claims of the brotherhood were also to be respected on such occasions of feasting, and the poor, the beggars and even the lepers were sumptuously fed.[2]

Betrothal was the first step in the preparation for marriage. It was a contract between the guardians and once made it was considered irrevocable by the Hindus and the Sikhs, except under very extraordinary circumstances.[3] The choice of partners for marriage had absolutely nothing to do with love in the sense of pre-marital courtship[4] (though runaway marriages occurred now and then and were recognised).[5] As a matter of fact, it could not be so, because often the bride and the bridegroom were too young to have a balanced view of what marriage might or should mean. Thus to every man and woman marriage and love were not necessarily identical things in life. Love might, indeed, grow out of marriage, as doubtless it did, owing to temperamental affinity.[6] If it did not, the husband asserted his rights by the fist or the rod.[7]

There were four forms of betrothal contracts prevalent in the Punjab, namely, (i) *Dharam* or *Pun*, (ii) *Tekke*, (iii) *Watta Satta* and (iv) *Ghar Jowatri*.

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1. Reed, Sir Stanley, *India: The New Phase*, 1928, pp. 97-8.
2. Dubois, J.A., *Hindu Manners and Customs*, 1906, p. 230; Yusaf Ali, *Life and Labour of the the people of India*, 1907, pp. 268-9; *D.G. Lahore*, 1893-94, p. 69.
3. *Census 1901*, XVII, p. 217; Anderson, J.D., *Customary Law of Muzaffargarh District*, 1925, p. 6.
4. Abhedanand, Swami, *India and Her People*, 1906, pp. 273-4. "According to strict custom, they may not see each other until the day of their wedding—but young men are beginning to question it and one hears of stolen glimpses or even furitive meetings". (Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, p. 297.)
5. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 292-3.
6. Brailsford, H.N., *Aina-i-Hindustan* (*Urdu*), n.d., p. 56: Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, pp. 304-5.
7. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 342; Speech of Mrs. Duni Chand in the *Punjab Legislative Council Debtes*, dated 29.6.1938, on the Hindu, Sikh and Jain Marriage (Amendment) Bill.

In the case of *Dharam or Pun* the parents gave their daughter marriage without accepting anything for her. This form was confined to prosperous classes and higher castes only.[1]

Tekke was marriage by purchase. The custom of accepting money for females was mostly prevalent in the hills where the women were sold from hand to hand and system of temporary marriage prevailed.[2] The practice was also very common in the plains owing to paucity of women, especially in the central Punjab and canal colonies, and generally among lower castes and classes. The price of the bride varied with the merits of the girl and the necessity and social status of the purchaser.[3] "An old man, or a cripple or one-eyed boy is sure to have to pay heavily for his bride".[4] In the middle of the nineteenth century, a bride could be had for Rs. 59/- only.[5] The values had steadily risen since then. In the twenties of the present century, wives were generally purchased for between Rs. 500/- and Rs. 2,000/-, though in some individual cases exorbitant prices were demanded and paid.[6] The marriage by purchase took the form of dowry amongst the well-to do classes.[7] The amount of dowry was generally regulated by the "social and economic status of the bridegroom's father, the social prestige of the bridegroom.[8] The practice of taking bride-price and the curse of dowry did not show any signs of decadence during the period under survey and as a rule the well-to-do classes continued to pay ordinarily for the bridegroom and the lower classes for the bride.[9]

In *Watta Satta* or exchange, a girl was promised in return for a girl promised to be married into the family. Exchange was of three kinds, (i) *Ahmo Samhana*, where each party betrothed a girl to a boy in the other party's family (ii) *Trebhang*, where three betrothals were made in connection with one another, and (iii) *Chobhang*, where four betrothals were made in connection with

1. *Census 1901*, XVII, p. 217; *Census 1911*, XIV, 272.
2. *I.G.O.I., Provincial Series*, I, 1908, p. 45.
3. *Punjab Ethnography Monograph*, III, 1900, p. 45.
4. *D.G. Rohtak*, 1910, p. 91.
5. *Settlement Report of Lahore District*, 1858, p. 11.
6. A money-lender of Dasuya, Hoshiarpur district, was reported to have paid Rs. 16,000 to procure a wife. (Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1928, p. 54.)
7. Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
8. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
9. Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Mukerjee, *Economic Problems*, I, pp. 77-8.

one another.[1] The marriage by exchange was resorted to by the lower classes with a view to avoiding payment of the bride-price. It was not approved by the upper classes of society. The practice was gradually disappearing.[2]

Ghar Jowatri—Marriage by service (the primitive form of marriage) obtained in some sequestered hill tracts.[3] The would-be bridegroom worked for the family of the bride for a fixed period mutually settled beforehand.[4] The duration of service rendered was sometimes as long as 10 years.[5] On the completion of his probation, as it might be called, he was given the hand of the girl.[6] This way of procuring wife was resorted to by those who were too poor to pay the bride-price.[7]

(i) The practice of early marriage—The custom of early or infant marriage arose out of the restrictions imposed by the elaborate caste rules on marriage, which made the parents anxious to marry their children especially daughters at the earliest opportunity when a súitable match was available. Marriage was the only proper provision that could be made for a girl as the Hindu woman was valued primarily as a child-bearing machine and the prospective mother of male offspring and not as an individual. If marriage was deferred until after puberty the danger of loss of virginity was apprehended and great difficulty was experienced in obtaining a bridegroom. Therefore, it was considered extremely desirable that a girl should be married before she attained puberty.[8] Hence parents would go to almost any expense and trouble to prevent such a calamity. "So much so that parents, who fail to give their children in marriage at an early age often find great difficulty in doing so afterwards. Many regard infant marriage as a badge of respectability and encourage it on that account".[9]

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1. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, pp. 227-8; *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 272; *Gazetteer of Mandi State* 1920, p. 97; *D.C. Kangra*, 1917, p. 55.
2. Such an arrangement was generally looked down upon. There was a proverb illustrating this way of thought. "*Butte di Kurmai : Gan ji gai talaken ai*". ("Exchange betrothals are the substitution of a divorced woman for a bald one".) (*Gazetteer of Phulkian State*, 1904 p. 59.)
3. *Census 1911*, I, Pt. I, p 257; *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, p. 97.
4. *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, p. 97.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Dubois, op. cit.*, p. 213.
8. Buck, C.H., *Faiths Fairs and Festivals of India*, 1917, p. 52.
9. *Census 1911*, I, Pt., I, p. 271.

A very large number of Hindu girls were married between the ages of 10 and 15 years and this proportion was 392 per 1,000 married females in 1911.[1] The Sikhs and the Muslims were less given to the practice of early marriage and had only 289 and 216 married females under 15 years per 1,000 respectively in 1911.[2] Marriages of children under ten years of age were solemnized by all grades of society, though the highest and the lowest classes followed this custom almost with a vengeance. The practice of infant marriages was rampant mostly among the Hindus. Thus in 1911 the number of married infants between the ages of 5 and 10 years and 1 and 5 years was 63 and 2 per 1,000 among them respectively as against 32 and 1 among the Sikhs and 28 and 1 among the Muslims.[3]

(ii) **Muklawa**—Fortunately, although the marriage was contracted at very early age, the consummation, in many cases, did not take place till the girl reached puberty. During this intervening period, she lived with her parents as a virgin. The arrival of puberty was regarded as nature's signal and marriage was not deferred beyond it. There was a ceremony called *Muklawa* or *Gaona* performed by the Hindus and the Sikhs, taking place after an interval of 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 or 11 years, after the wedding and implied the final consummation of marriage.[4] The Muslims, however, did not follow this custom, though there was no consummation of marriage before puberty.[5] Thus, although the vice of child marriage was expiated to some extent by deferring the consummation of marriage, yet the majority of the girls were still immature and not fully fit for child-bearing. Nevertheless, many girls, especially in the hills, entered wifehood even before attaining puberty and when their husbands happened to be adults, horrible consequences followed "in which child wives between the age of ten and twelve have been done to death, or crippled or paralysed by their husbands".[6]

In order to save the minor girls from molestation the first step was taken in 1860 when the Indian Penal Code defined rape and laid down that punishment, extending to transportation for

1. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 263.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 280; Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
5. *Report of the Age of Consent Committee*, 928-29, Evidence, I, p.36.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 2; Seshadari, p., *Haribilas Sarda*, 1957, pp. 193-201.

life, should be inflicted on the husband who consummated marriage with his girl-wife, aged below 10.[1] In 1891 the age of consent was raised to 12 years. But due to insufficient publicity and propaganda, the existence of the law remained a dead letter and the evil consequently persisted.[2] An act was passed for the first time in 1925, which made distinction between marital and extra-marital sexual consummation. It also raised the age of consent to 13 in the case of the former and 14 in the case of the latter.[3] In 1928 the Age of Consent Committee under the presidentship of Mr. N.M. Joshi was appointed by the Government of India. The Committee recommended 15 years as the age of consent in the case of marital relations. It did not however, result in any further positive legislation except the enactment in September, 1929, of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, better known as the Sarda Act, which provided penalties for the solemnization of marriages of male children under 18 and of female children under 14 years of age from April 1, 1930.[4]

Generally speaking, the Act was supported by the educated classes interested in social reform. But opposition came from the unexpected quarter of a section of the Muslim community.[5] They voiced their displeasure at public meetings and took out procession in some cities.[6] A great rush of child marriages took place during the period which elapsed between the passing and coming into force of the Act.[7]

Infant marriages did not stop when the Act came into operation. The law was obeyed more in breach than in observance and was not acted upon in villages, mainly owing to insufficient publicity as well as the absence of adequate governmental machinery to enforce it.[8] The law required that a complaint against the offending party should be first lodged in the law-court before

1. Ranchhoddas, Rattanlal, *The Law of Crimes*, 1945, p. 909.
2. *Ibid.*, "*The Indian Criminal Amendment Act* (X of 1891)"
3. Ibid., "*The Indian Penal Code* (*Amendment*) *Act* (XIX of 1925)".
4. Punjab Government, *Local and Special Laws*, "The Child Marriage *Restraint Act* (XIX of 1929)".
5. According to them the Act was an encroachment upon their religion and the authority of the *Shriat* because the *Quran* itself, at any rate by implication, provided for child marriages in certain cases. (See *Census 1931*, I, Pt. I, p. 230; *P.A.R.*, 1930-31, "General Summary," p. 7).
6. *Census 1931*, I, Pt. I, pp. 229-32.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
8. Ingram, Isley, *Study Village India*, 1942, p. 6; Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

it should be penalized. Except the social workers, no one was interested in lodging such complaints and hence child marriage, though legally banned, continued to be practised.[1]

Nevertheless, the social and political leaders did not own defeat in the face of such difficulties. They continued their endeavours as before to educate the public regarding the dangers of early marriage. Lala Lajpat Rai once emphatically remarked that "I may safely say that all intelligent people are of the opinion that the Hindu community will be a dying race if they do not stop child-marriages and early consummation of marriages".[2] Various religious organisations such as the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Dev Samaj and the Sanatan Dharam Samaj were also actively engaged in such educative propaganda.[3] Reform societies were also set up by most of the important castes of the Hindus. The Rajput Sabha, the Khatri Sabha, the Arora Bans, the Mohyal Sabha and the Brahman Sabha were some of the institutions advocating abolition of early marriage.[4] Unfortunately their activities were confined to the educated classes only and did not reach down to the masses.[5]

(iii) **Widow remarriage**—Enforced widowhood was a prominent social evil of the society. Its most deplorable feature was that the widow was supposed to have been the cause of her husband's death. For this reason, her jewels and pretty clothes were snatched from her and she was often made the drudge of the household.[6] This was considered "to be the widow's just punishment for some unknown sin committed possibly in an earlier incarnation".[7] Many of them were not more than 20 years old, while a good many had not reached even the age of puberty.[8]

Compulsory widowhood was a custom peculiar to the Hindus and the Sikhs. Among them, the relation between husband and wife was a sacrament indissoluble save by death and even surviving death (as far as the wife was concerned). No wonder, then, that

1. Brailsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.
2. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, dated February 9, 1928.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 232.
4. *Report of the Age of Consent Committee*, 1928-29, p. 27.
5. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 233.
6. Wilkins. W. J., *Daily Life and Work in India*, 1888, p. 265.
7. Anstey, Vera, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
8. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 185

they prescribed for the widow a life of ascetic, self-denial, devotion to her husband's memory and self-sacrifice with which she was to dedicate herself to the service of the remaining members of her husband's family. They argued that this ideal should be enforced even if it involved, as it did in many cases, suffering and almost unbearable nervous and psychological strain upon the widows. The feeling against widow remarriage was further strengthened by the belief that marriage being a religious rite could not be solemnized more than once in a woman's lifetime.[1] It is natural, then, that the widow remarriage came to be looked down upon as a sort of concubinage.[2]

Nevertheless, widow marriage did not exist as an absolute prohibition. The custom was very common among the Jats and other agricultural castes, artisans and the menial classes.[3] As a matter of fact, widow remarriage was not a question of caste but of the social and economic status within it.[4] It is a paradox that the educated classes, instead of favouring it, condemned it outright. Where it was allowed, the general rule was that the widow must marry the husband's elder or younger brother, preferably the younger, or a near relation. She could marry outside the family, too, but in that case she had to forego the right to her husband's property. The rules of endogamy were generally set aside on such occasions and inter-caste marriages were allowed without any risk of further social stigma.[5]

Among the Muslims and the Christians there was no religious tenet prohibiting widow-marriage. But they had been influenced by their long association with the Hindus, and those enjoying a high social status considered it derogatory for their widows to seek remarriage.[6]

The marriage of a widow was known as *Nikah Sani* among the Muslims, who also observed the usual *Nikah* formalities. Among the Hindus and the Sikhs a simple ceremony called *Karao*,

1. *Census 1901*, XVII, p. 218.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 282; "The People of the Punjab", *The Advance*, January-March. 1957, Vol. IV, No. I, pp. 23-26.
4. *D.G. Rohtak*, 1910, p. 90.
5. *Census 1901*, XVII, p. 219.
6. *D. G. Jhelum*, 1904, p. 85.

Karewa or *Chadar Andazi*[1] unaccompanied by rejoicings of any kind was performed and all the formalities and rituals associated with ordinary marriage were dispensed with.[2] Sometimes, particularly when a price for the widow was paid, the ceremony was not performed at all.[3]

In the beginning of the present century a reaction had definitely set in against the prohibition of widow remarriage. The social reformers began to champion the cause of young childless widows, who were driven perforce to a life of endless drudgery or sometimes immorality. The social and religious reform societies came into the field to espouse the child widows' cause. The most prominent body which made arrangements for the remarriage of widows was the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha of Lahore, under the able leadership of Sir Ganga Ram, a well-known philanthropist. The society aimed at encouraging and arranging widow remarriages and educating the public opinion to accept this branch of social reform without demur.[4] During the first year after its foundation in 1914, it arranged 12 such marriages, of course in defiance of orthodox religious custom and the possible consequences of social ostracism.[5] The walls of public opposition were slowly battered and the number of marriages arranged by the society began to increase. The number was 453 for 1922[6] and 5,464 for 1931.[7] The total number of widows remarried between 1914 and 1931 was 44,967.[8] The number of marriages indicated "an increase from year to year, but even so the number of remarriages up-to-date is negligible in view of the enormous number of widows of marriageable ages".[9]

No doubt till the thirties of the present century, conservatism in regard to this social problem was still too deep, but in an increasing number of places the remarriage of a widow had ceased to

1. The usual ceremony was as follows. "The man puts a white sheet *(Chadar)* over the woman's head in the presence of the brotherhood and distributes *gur;* the corner of this sheet is coloured red or yellow". *D.G. Ferozepur,* 1915, p. 68; also see *Census 1911,* XIV, p. 282).
2. This being in accordance with the Hindu theory that marriage rite can be solemnised only once in the lifetime of a woman.
3. *D.G. Ferozepur,* 1915, p. 68.
4. *Census 1921,* XV, p. 246.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Census 1931,* XVII, p. 188.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*

cause nearly that amount of public commotion which it did at the turn of the nineteenth century.[1]

(iv) Polygamy—The Hindus and the Sikhs were as a rule monogamous, but a second wife was sometimes taken if the first was barren or gave birth only to female children.[2] Though not held as an absolute necessity, it was always thought proper to obtain the consent of the first wife.[3] Sometimes a sonless wife of his own accord insisted that her husband should marry a second wife.[4] Generally speaking, the high caste Hindus were always averse to giving a daughter in marraige to a man who was already married and every effort was made to avoid the risk of her becoming a co-wife because it was a well-established fact that a plurality of wives led to unhappy squabbles in the household.[5]

Among the agricultural classes and menials polygamy was not uncommon as a result of the custom of widow remarriage prevalent among them, according to which sometimes a man though already married had perforce to marry the widow of his brother. Polygamy also existed among the agricultural classes in the hills, where a woman was considered an economic asset in the sense of a worker in the fields.[6] Thus in Simla district "a man may marry as many wives as he likes, the number generally being regulated by the amount of work he can profitably assign to them".[7]

The Muslims were allowed by their religion to have only four wives in contrast to the Hindus for whom no limit was prescribed. But they, too, like the Hindus and the Sikhs, were in practice, generally, monogamous. Only the very rich indulged in the luxury of keeping more than one wife. But there was a stronger tendency to polygamy among the Muslims than in the case of the Hindus and sometimes a plurality of wives was found among the poorer classes, too.[8] The full limit of four was scarcely reached and that again only by very few. The economic conditions, the social habits

1. *Ibid.*, "Subsidiary Table I", p. 189.
2. Rees, J.D., *The Real India*, 1908, p. 271.
3. *Census 1901*, I, Pt. I, p. 447; *D.G. Gurgaon*, 1910, p. 58.
4. *Gazetteer of Sirmur State*, 1934, p. 59.
5. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 290; *D.G. Multan*, 1923-24, p. 83.
6. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, "Kulu and Saraj", p. 50; *D.G. Simla*, 1904, p. 27; *Gazetteer of Suket State*, n.d., p. 58.
7. *D.G. Simla*, 1904, p. 27.
8. *D.G. Multan*, 1923-24, p. 83.

and the practical difficulties involved in bringing up a large family were the principal factors against polygamy.

In contrast to the practice among the members of the general public, Hindu, Sikh or Muslim, polygamy was widely practised by the rulers of the Indian states.[1] "Some of them do not know how many wives they have".[2]

(v) **Polyandry**—Polyandry was widely practised in the upper Himalayas i.e. Lahaul, Spiti, and Saraj; Rampur, Chini (including Kanwar) and the upper minor states in Bushahar state and in the trans-Giri parts of Nahan state.[3] Generally speaking, it was practised "more or less openly by the lower castes throughout the Himalayan area,[4] and, as a matter of fact (though the custom is not admitted) by the Jats of the plains".[5]

There were two forms of polyandry, (i) the lower or the 'Nair' form, and the (ii) higher or the 'Tibetan' form.[6] Polyandry as practised in the Punjab was mainly of the latter type in which all the brothers in a family usually had one joint wife, though sometimes stepbrothers and cousins were allowed to share the common wife.[7] In some hilly tracts, polyandry of the 'Nair' form also existed in which persons belonging to different families merged their separate properties into a joint holding and maintained a joint wife.[8]

Generally speaking one joint wife could be shared at the most by six persons and if the sharers exceeded this number, they had another wife. But sometimes hatred against the proposal of having a second wife ran very high and, out of mere jealousy created by

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 289.
2. *N.P.R.*, 1902, p. 266.
3. *I.G.O.I., Indian Empire*, I, 1907, p. 483; *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 287-89; *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 163; *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, pp. 15, 17; *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1904, p. 25; *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, "Kulu and Saraj"., p. 51; "Lahaul", p. 194; *Gazetteer of Sirmur State*, 1934, p. 61.
4. "In many places, where polyandry is not openly recognised, it is common for a wife to co-hibit freely with her husband's brothers". *(Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 17).
5. *Census 1901*, XVII, p. 221. Regarding polyandry in the plains see, *I.G.O.I.*, I, p. 483; *I.G.O.I*, XX, p. 285; *Census 1911*, I, Pt. I, p. 239; Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 209; Darling; *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 55; *D.G. Hissar and Loharu State*, 1915, p. 54; *D.G. Hoshiarpur*, 1904, p. 35; *D.G. Ferozepur*, 1915, p. 69.
6. See India Government, *Polyandry-Extracts From Various Works*, 1898.
7. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 287.
8. *Ibid; Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 15.

such arrangement, the wife evinced a desire to accommodate even more husbands.[1] Nevertheless, the brothers were at liberty to marry if their means allowed them to do so and in that case it depended upon the newcomer either to remain the exclusive wife of the marrying person or become the joint wife of the family allowing her husband's brothers to share her bed. There were many families which had three or as many as four joint wives.[2]

With regards to the allotment of paternity to the children of a polyandric union, custom differed in different parts of the province. Generally the children of the wife, by whichsoever husband begotten were considered those of the eldest brother, but they addressed all the husbands of their mother as their fathers.[3] Indeed the larger the number of fathers, the prouder were the children.[4] As regards inheritance and successions, if the brothers and their joint-family after them remained in community, the question of succession did not produce any difficulty; but in case any of the brothers or sons wished to separate, difficult problems were raised. The custom in Lahaul, Spiti and Saraj was to leave it to the woman to allot the children to her husbands, and her declaration was accepted as valid.[5] In other places, the eldest brother was considered to be the father of the first-born, the second husband, the father of the second-born (though the child might have been conceived in his absence). And so on.[6]

Thus, the system gave to a polyandrous woman a social liberty which women elsewhere would be apt to look upon with alarm and distrust. But where it was actually practised the people did not evince any sense of shame and the compiler of the gazetteer of Kangra district remarked in 1917 that "it is doubtful whether it will ever disappear.[7] Nevertheless, this observation is only half-true because by the twenties of the present century the custom had practically ceased to exist in the plains[8] and was being given up in the hills,[9] owing to the facilities of communication and the

1. *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, p. 100.
2. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 287.
3. *Gazetteer of Suket State*, n.d., p. 58.
4. *Gazetteer of Sirmur State*, 1934, p. 61.
5. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, "Kulu and Saraj", p. 51.
6. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 287.
7. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, "Kulu and Saraj", p. 51.
8. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 209.
9. *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, pp. 100-1.

steady rise in the standard of living.[1] The Deputy Commissioner of Simla also made tireless efforts to convince the ignorant and conservative hill people of the evils of the shameful practice.[2] His activities, however touched only a fringe of the problem and to attack it effectively a much deeper penetration by a whole band of selfless social workers was necessary, because the isolated hills were the strongholds of social orthodoxy.

(vi) Divorce— Among the Hindus and the Sikhs marriage was, in theory at least, indissoluble.[3] Although divorce did not exist as recognised institution among them, a person was at liberty to sever all connection with his wife if she did not give birth to a male child, was suffering from a dangerous disease or was unchaste or on some other plea held socially valid. This was tantamount to divorce, but usually infidelity was the only sufficient ground for such action.[4] This was the practice in the plains. In the hills, however, the marriage ties were rather loose and the right of divorce both by husband and wife was recognised by custom, more or less, as an established institution.[5] Thus, in Simla district divorce could be obtained "at any time".[6] Similar facility obtained in other places especially in Kangra district and in the Simla Hill States.[7] The most peculiar but at the same time essential part of the divorce in the hills was the payment of the cost of marriage to the husband, if the divorce was sought by the wife.[8] The divorced woman did not find herself in difficulty like her sister in the plains. As an economic asset, she toiled in the fields like men, and soon found new suitors.[9]

In Islam, marriage was nothing more than a civil contract made by mutual consent between man woman and hence it allowed

1. *Census 1911*, I, Pt. I. p. 239.
2. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 289.
3. On 29. 6. 1938, Mrs. Duni Chand sought leave to move a bill in the Legislative Assembly legalising the dissolution of marriage on certain grounds among the Hindus, Sikhs and Jains, but the House did not grant it. The House divided : Ayes 13, Noes 76. *(Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates,* dated 29. 6. 1938).
4. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 291, 292; *Census 1931*, I, pt. I, p. 234.
5. *Gazetteer of Suket State*, n. d. p. 59,
6. *D. G. Simla*, 1904, p. 28.
7. *I. G. O. I.*, XX, p. 285.
8. *D. G. Simla*, 1904, p. 28; *Gazetteer of Sirmur State*, 1934, p. 60.
9. *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, p. 100; *D. G. Kangra*, 1917, "Kulu and Saraj" p. 50.

divorce to both parties, though on different conditions. The husband could divorce his wife for infidelity, disobedience, blasphemy or without assigning reason and even without resorting to law. The annulment was effected by the husband's saying to his wife, in the presence of two witnesses, "I divorce thee". If this was uttered once or twice, the divorcing pair could remarry. But if it was repeated thrice, the divorce became absolute and irrevocable and the womon had to marry someone else and then divorced by him if she desired to return to her former husband.[1] The wife could dissolve her marriage by obtaining a judicial decree or with the consent of her husband. In the former alternative the circumstances necessary for a separation were precisely codified in the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (VIII of 1939). According to it, ill-usage' withholding of due and proper means of maintenance, impotency, insanity, leprosy and also marriage of the girl before her attainment of the age of 15 were some of the reasons for which a Muslim woman could demand a separation.[2]

Nevertheless divorce, even where recognised, was not commonly resorted to. It was not approved by the educated classes of society, except in very extraordinary and unavoidable conditions and circumstances.[3]

Death customs—The Muslims burried their dead, while the Hindus and the Sikhs with some exceptions burnt[4] them. In Simla district and Bushahar state, the corpse was often kept in the house for two or three days and music was played instantly.[5] Then it was "taken to the burning-ground, accompanied by all the men and women in the neighbourhood, dressed in the best, and by a band of musicians".[6] In spiti the dead bodies were sometimes exposed to be eaten by vultures or wild beasts, or "cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds, according to the custom of Tibet".[7] Another peculiar custom prevalent among all communities and classes was that in the case of the death of an old person, merriment took the place of solemnity and sorrow.

1. Levy, Reuben, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 1957, pp. 121-22.
2. *The Civil Court Manual (Imperial Acts)*, II, 1942, pp. 246-8.
3. *I. G. O. I.*, 1907, 484; Bellington, *Women in India*, 1895, p. 133.
4. The Bishnois of Hissar and Bhagat Panthis (a sikhs sect), always burried their dead. *(D. G. Hissar and Loharu State*, 1915, pp. 61, 135; *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 299; *Census 1931*, I, pt. I, p. 410).
5. *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 43.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *D. G, Kangra*, 1917, "Spiti", p. 278.

"*Pice, daru, akhrot*, grain, etc. are thrown over the bier and the poor people pick them up".[1]

There were various and often elaborate funeral ceremonies but the greatest social evil connected with these was the giving of a funeral feast. Sometimes more money was spent upon a funeral than upon a wedding. All the members of the brotherhood had to be fed.[2] The consequences of such an extravagant practice are evident. The situation is best described by Rabindranath Tagore in *Gora* thus: "The obsequies that have to be performed at the funeral of a parent are the cause of more serious misfortune than the death itself of a father or mother. No one will accept the excuse of poverty or any other form of inability no matter how it is accomplished, society's heartless claim has to be satisfied to the very last farthing".[3]

1. *Gazetteer of Suket State*. n. d., p. 50. Also see *D. G. Ferozepur*, 1915, p. 128; *D. G. Muzaffargarh*, 1908, p. 84.
2. *D. G. Jhelum*, 1904, pp. 141-42; *D.G. Ferozepur*, 1915, p. 128; *D.G. Gurgaon*, 1910, pp. 76, 79.
3. Tagore, Robindranath, *Gora*, 1948; p. 368.

3

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

General Characteristics

Religion always held a dominant position in every sphere of the life of the people and deeply influenced the social activities of the various classes in diverse ways. The only exception was perhaps the numerically very small proportion of those who had received a good grounding in western education. "The more you talk with the people about the place of religion in life, the more tenaciously they cling to the idea of its being the principal factor: to them anything apart from religion is not non-religious but irreligious".[1]

For the majority of the people religion was only a matter of ceremonial performance which to a large extent, maintained the uniformity of their social system.[2] For instance, it regulated nuptial rites, funeral observances and various kinds of ceremonials attending betrothals, the first hair-cutting of children, and circumcision among the Muslims. But it was hardly a guide to everyday conduct and practices which were regulated by social convention and custom. In fact popular faith as it obtained among the masses, had little to do with ethics of morality.[3] Thus it was that a man might visit and bow before a shrine everyday and yet would have no scruple to give false evidence in a court of law, commit an underhand trick or fraud or even perpetrate a heinous crime.[4] And yet even if the true spirit of religion had no bearing on the people's

1. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1933, p. 385.
2. Dubois, J. A., *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonials*, 1924, pp. 30-1.
3. *Census 1901*, XVII, p. 160.
4. Arnold, *The Punjab and North-West Frontier of India*, 1878, p. 93.

ethical conduct, we cannot deny that they had strong religious faiths and beliefs. This is no doubt a paradox but is nevertheless true.

The ordinary villagers were entirely innocent of the underlying philosophical principles of the creeds which they professed.[1] To them religious performances and ceremonial observances were for the most part formal asset of form to be followed as a means of escape from the supposed wrath of the gods.[2] The peasants in the country-side knew some of the great *avatars*, preceptors, and religious leaders and were well aware of the incidents and anecdotes of their lives.[3] They had seldom, if ever seen the Holy Book of their religion and if they had, they of course could not have read the same for themselves. And yet religious beliefs and the language of religion suffused their lives. The townsfolk were somewhat better acquainted with the tenets and doctrines of their professed religion; but, viewed from a moral or an ethical standpoint, their general approach was much the same as that of the rural folk.[4]

The religious beliefs of the people can be studied under the following heads:—

Animal and tree worship—Both the Hindus and the Sikhs believed in the sanctity of animal life and even in the fertility of certain plants and trees. Of all the animals, the cow was the most sacred.[5] Offerings of flour and fodder were made to these.[6] Serpents were sacrosanct and monkeys were divine. Plant life was held sacred because it was thought to be pervaded by divinity.[7] The trees commonly worshipped were the *tulsi* plant, the *pipal* and the *neem*.[8]

Saintworship—Among almost all the communities and classes saints were honoured. It was quite often that the Muslims

1. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 34.
2. Calvert, *Wisdom and Waste*, p. 59; *Gazetteer of Hissar District and Loharu State*, 1915, p. 56.
3. *Gazetteer of Hissar District and Loharu State*, 1915, p. 56.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
5. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1933, pp. 371-3; Calvert, *Wisdom and Waste*, pp. 74-5; Mayo, K., *Mother India*, 1927, p. 203.
6. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1933, p. 133.
7. Monier, Williams, *Hinduism*, 1882, p. 169; Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 21.
8. Monier, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 130.

paid respect to saints of Hindu origin and vice versa.[1] They were looked upon with veneration and credited with supernatural powers. Their esoteric teachings were communicated only to the charmed circle of their disciples. They were symbols and patterns of morality to whom special powers were supposed to have been delegated by God. The educated looked on them as men to whom mysteries, hidden from others, had been revealed.[2] When a saint who by austerity or the performance of a miracle had elicited admiration died, his reputation usually descended to his shrine or to his progeny.[3] People made offerings at these holy places for obtaining spiritual and, more often than not, temporal blessings.[4] Solemn vows were taken for future offerings at these shrines in view of the birth of a male child, success in a criminal case, the happy ending of a quarrel in the family, smooth celebration of a marriage or successful negotiation of a love-affair and the like. Sometimes, after the fulfilment of a desire, the first-born child was handed over to the saint or the attendants at the tomb.[5]

Old, long-cherished beliefs were, however, slowly dissolving with the advancing tide of western civilisation which engendered the spirit of criticism. The sanctity which the imagination of the ignorant used to attach to the saints supposed to possess super-human potency was ceasing to command the reverence it had done in the past.

Animal sacrifice—The Muslim had the sanction of their religion in the matter of sacrificing animals on certain festivals. The Hindus and most of the Sikhs were averse to the taking of animal life, especially that of the sacred cow. But the Hinduism of the hills was not orthodox and sheep and goats were sacrificed

1. Buck, C. H., *Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India*, 1917, p. 214; *Census 1911* XIV, p. 130
2. Buck. *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.
3. *D. G. Rawalpindi*, 1907, p. 83.
4. Hastings, James, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, X, 1930, p. 41; *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 172; Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 217; Jones, John, P., *India, Its Life and Thought*, 1908, p. 313.
5. At the tomb of Pir Shah Daula(Gujrat District) the heads of the children, so offered, were compressed by means of a press so that the head became very small in size. Such children could not speak and lost all their intellectual faculties. They were made to beg in the streets, exploiting the people's feeling of pity. (*N.P.R.*, 1882, pp. 424-5.)

on the occasion of a marriage, funeral, purification, thanks giving, propitiation, etc.[1]

Hinduism of the hills—The religious beliefs of the Hindus in the hills differed considerably from that of the plains. "It would seem that in all mountainous countries, the grandeur of their natural features and the magnitude of the physical forces displayed lead the inhabitants to defiy the natural objects by which they are surrounded, or rather to assign to each its presiding genius, and to attribute to those demons a more or less malevolent character.[2] Though there were temples dedicated to the greater Hindu gods such as Vishnu and Siva and the malignant and terrible Kali Devi was worshipped throughout the Kangra Valley, the everyday worship of the common man was confined to the *Lhas* or genii of the trees; rocks and caves of Lahaul; the local spirits or demons of Kulu, variously known as *Deotas* or godlings; *Devis* who were apparently the corresponding female divinities; *Siddhs* or genii of the hill-tops and high places; *Jognies* or wood-fairies; *Nag deotas* or snake-gods and the like.[3] Almost every group of small villages had its separate god and every village god had its own temple. These temples were situated beside the village green, somewhat secluded from human habitation, in a cedar grove on a hill-top or near a spring or any solitary place.[4] The temples were picturesquely built in stone or timber Idols were almost unknown or, wherever found, were made of uneven stone;[5] but almost everywhere the deity had a metal mask which was at stated periods tied to the top of a pole dressed up to represent the human form, placed in a sedan-chair, and taken round in order to celebrate his visits to the neighbouring divinities many of whom were supposed to be his relatives or to be feted at a private house in fulfilment of a vow.[6]

1. Grove, F. St. J., *Lights and Shades of Hill life*, 1895, p. 11; *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, p. 122; *Punjab Ethnography Monograph* III, 1900, p. 7.
2. Punjab, Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p.344.
3. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, "Kulu and Saraj", p. 61; Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 344-45; Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Grove, F. St. J., *op. cit.* pp. 11-12.
4. Rajendra, "A Valley of the thousand Charms", *The Advance*, Vol. V, No. 2, April-June, 1958, p. 31; *D.G. Kangra*, 1926, p .202.
5. *Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies*, New Series, No. X, 1874, pp. 59-68; *Census 1911*, XIV, p, 113.
6. Rose, H.A., "Legends and Godlings of the Simla Hills", *The Indian Antiquary*, June, 1925. Vol. LIV, part DCLXXXI; Khanna, Mangat Ram, "Dussehra in Kulu, *The Advance*, October, 1954, Vol. I, No, 6. Many of the godlings had great legends behind them. Some were supposed to be

Superstitions

Superstition could, indeed, be used as a more appropriate term for the ordinary religious beliefs of the people. Throughout the Province it prevailed in every form of grossness. It would be tiresome to give a complete account of all the superstitons, or perhaps any such attempt would be futile.[1] Only the more prominent ones may be mentioned below.

Birth superstitions—A pregnant woman was believed to possess magical powers.[2] Her shadow upon the crops was considered injurious and a snake would become blind if her shadow fell on it.[3] A special set of precautions was prescribed for the pregnant women during an eclipse.[4] No work must be done e. g., locking or unlocking a door (lest the child should be deformed) and sewing or cutting (lest it should have holes in its body). After delivery, a women was considered unclean for a certain period, usually 40 days, and numerous taboos were imposed on her and on her husband.[5]

According to Hindu belief, a male offspring was necessary for the performance of religious ceremonies that would secure the salvation of the parents. Therefore, special ceremonies were observed to ensure that the expected child should be a boy. Indeed, a sterile woman would run any risk in order to be blessed with a male child. All sorts of herbs and drugs were procured from *pirs* and *faqirs*, who were woefully ignorant of the medical science and were taken with absolute faith. It was, therefore, not unnatural that these medicines often proved injurious to health.[6]

A strange custom, known as *Sanjhi Pawan* (Sharing with others) prevalent in the central Punjab to ensure the birth of a male child, was that large gangs of women went out early in the morning to the river-side or some other bathing-place and on the

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the captives or slaves of superior gods. The godlings were either benevolent or malignant. (Rajendra, *op. cit.*, p. 31).

1. "The superstitions of the people are very numerous and complex; and any complete account of them would take months to write, and the necessary information years to collect". (*D.G. Rawalpindi*, 1907, p. 83).
2. Hastings, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
3. *Ibid*; *Punjab Notes and Queries*, November, 1883.
4. Hastings, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
5. *Ibid.*, p, 243.
6. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 235.

way threw a volley of abuses upon the sons of their companions. "This leads to great tussels between the women and garments are often torn to pieces".[1] The underlying idea was that by cursing the sons of others, the females drew the male souls towards them. The custom was entirely confined to women and their men folk did not interfere at all.[2]

Unlucky children— A child born in the month of *Kartik* or at noon was considered inauspicious. In the former case, sometimes the mother was turned out of the house or was given to a Brahman and then redeemed from him.[3] A child born on the 14th of a lunar month was unluky for the father.[4] Again, the eighth child was considered calamitous for the family. But the most dreaded one was the *trikhal*, a child born after the birth of two children of the opposite sex. The evils associated with the child could, however, be averted by any one of the following devices. (i) Immediately after the birth of a *trikhal*, great commotion was raised outside the house saying *'Trikhal Di Duhai'* (save us O *trikhal*); (ii) the centre of a bronze plate was broken and all but the rim removed and the child was then passed through this rim; (iii) an opening was made in the roof of the room where the birth had taken place and the baby was pulled out of it; (iv) oil was poured on one of the roof gutters; (v) a *musal* was thrown on the roof; (vi) the child was passed under the door-sill and (vii) water was poured on the head of the child through a sieve.[5]

There were several other superstitions of a similar nature. Little marks or signs on the body of the child were interpreted as ominous. For instance, a child with a *nagan* (a mark or a circle of hair shaped like a snake) on the forehead or back was dangerous to the mother-in-law and so was a child with dimpled cheeks. In some parts of the Province the birth of twins was supposed to portend evil for the family, while in other parts, especially in the districts of Karnal, Kangra and Simla, it was a general belief that the birth of twins was very auspicious and the mother was sure to go straight to heaven after death. The belief of the people about

1. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *D.G. Gurdaspur*, 1914, p. 61.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *D.G. Gujranwala*, 1935, p. 195; *D.G. Attock*, 1930, p. 129; *D.G. Jhelum*, 1904, p. 132; *D. G. Gurdaspur*, 1914, p. 61; *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 302-3.

unlucky children was so deep that the parents were sometimes willing to give it away to a *faqir* or to pretend to give it away and then buy it for a nominal price.[1] The underlying idea was that such a step broke the continuity of bad luck. It is possible that in some cases the child might have been put to death or wilfully neglected. But the faith of the masses in the potency of prayer, worship and other rites and ceremonies in averting the evil effects of such ill omens was also so deep-rooted that an antidote was always readily available.

Mock marriage— Going through a form of marriage with an animal, tree or other inanimate object constituted what was called "mock-marriage". This custom prevailed among the Hindus only and was based on the fear of ill-luck connected with certain kinds of marital unions. Mock marriages were invariably resorted to (i) when a widower was to remarry, (ii) when a bachelor wished to marry a widow and (iii) when the horoscope of the girl showed that the influence of certain stars was likely to lead to early widowhood.[2] In the case of the first two, the mock-marriage of males was celebrated in the western Punjab with a sheep, in the central Punjab with the *Ber* tree or sometimes with the *Pipal*, in the eastern Punjab with the *Ak* bush and in Kangra district with the *Dhrek* or *Bakain*.[3] In the case of the third (the mock marriage of girls), a pitcher full of water was dressed like a boy and the girl was taken through the ceremonies of marriage with this pseudo-bridegroom. The ceremonies were then repeated with the real bridegroom by way of an informal marriage and it was supposed that the effect of the evil stars would befall the pitcher and not the bridegroom, thus averting the disaster of early widowhood. This type of mock-marriage was called *Kumbh vivah* and was most prevalent among the Banias of the eastern Punjab.[4] In

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, pp. 283-4; *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 196.
2. *Ibid., D.G. Gujranwala*, 1935, pp. 70-2; *Punjab Notes and Queries*, December 1884, p. 42.
3. "The bridegroom is sometimes taken out to tree of the above mentioned variety, which is bedecked with clothes and jewellery, and he is made to go around it, with the usual incarnations, but in most cases, a twig (or in the western Punjab), a sheep is taken to the bride's house, where it is anointed and bedecked with clothes and ornaments to represent a wife, and at every stage of the ceremony, the bridegroom goes through the forms, first with this mock wife and then with the real bride. It is interesting to watch the bedecked sheep siting on the *Kharas* (reversed basket) with a bridegroom " (*Census 1911*, XIV, p. 284.
4. *Ibid.*

the central Punjab on the occasion of a second marriage of the widower, the bride was dressed as a *gujri* or a *malan* and given a servile nickname. The object was apparently to convince the spirit of the deceased wife that the female being married was not a real *patni* but a *dasi*. Sometimes, a miniature picture of the first wife either cased in silver or gold or engraved on a silver or gold plate was hung round the neck of the bride at the wedding ceremony. If this was not practicable, the name of the deceased wife was substituted for the picture. The underlying idea was of course to humour the spirit of the first wife by establishing the faithfulness and love of the husband who pretended to marry the picture or the name and not the woman who was carrying such a device on her person. Thus the second wife was identified with the first. It was believed that the first wife might not take vengeance on the new wife.[1]

Evil spirits and ghosts—When a person died, it was thought that though his body was buried or burnt, his spirit rose into the spiritland. But it was a universal belief that unless the funeral rites were properly performed, the soul must wander in misery, unable to enter heaven. Care was, therefore, taken in this connection so that the deceased might join the company of the blessed.[2] A woman dying during or after child-birth (but before the termination of the period of impurity) took the form of a *Charel*. The following measures were adopted to prevent her return to the house. Iron nails were driven into the ground at all places where she breathed her last, where her dead body was bathed and where it was cremated. In some districts powdered chillies were stuffed into the eyes of the corpse to make the ghost blind so that it might not return home.[3] Another way of checking the return of the ghost was to remove the corpse from the house through a special way or door, not generally used by the family and to shut it immediately so that the spirit might not find its way back.[4]

There was a general belief that the spirit of a person who died a painful or a violent death assumed the shape of a *Bhut* (in

1. This custom was peculiar to the Arora caste of the Hindus in the Western Punjab, (*Ibid.*)
2. See *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States* (*Bashahr State*), 1910, p. 33; *Punjab Ethnography Monograph, III*, 1900, p. 34.
3. *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 196.
4. Crooke, W., *Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, 1926, p. 236; *D.G. Bahawalpur*, 1904, p. 189.

the case of a male) and *Charel* (in the case of a female). A bachelor or a man without a male issue must become a *Bhut*.[1] Again, untouchable sweepers, if buried mouth upwards were sure to become *Bhuts*.[2] The ghosts of such persons were supposed to haunt the houses where they had died and would appear with fearful countenances".[3] A thousand one stories were connected with the wicked doings of these beings. Thus sneezing was thought the result of a *Bhut* entering or leaving the nose. "the latter being the view most generally accepted".[4] Similarly, yawning was considered dangerous because "a *Bhut* might go down into the throat or the soul".[5] Twitching of the right eye was held lucky and that of the left eye unlucky. Both were the work of spirits, and careful rules were prescribed for interpreting the twitching of the evelids.[6] Sometimes the mischievious *Bhuts* would turn the beds upside down.[7] The small whirlwinds which arose like pillars of dust in the hot weather were supposed to be the work of *Bhuts* going to bathe in the river Ganges.[8] It was a widely current fear, especially, among mothers that the evil spirits and ghosts have a peculiar fascination for pretty children. Tactful mothers cheated these mischievious beings by marking a black dot on the child's face.[9] They were also not left alone in the house and no scents were used by them.[10] Graveyards were singularly dreaded and haunted places and nobody dared go there during night.[11]

The superstition most prevalent in this connection was that persons, especially women, were liable to become possessed by evil spirits generally called *Jins*. The disease now diagnosed as hysteria no doubt had led originally to the idea of a woman becoming possessed by a *Jin*, but later on every woman who suffered from hysteria, epilepsy, sterility, and similar other derangements, including even neuralgia, reheumatism and paralysis, began to be regarded as possessed by a *Jin*, and the treatment in such cases took

1. Manucha, K. M., *Hindu Home Life*, 1890, p. 1; *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 68; *Gazetteer of Suket State*, n.d., p. 60.
2. *D.G. Karnal*, 1918, p. 77.
3. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 34; Hodson, T.C., *op. cit.*, p. 190.
4. Crooke, *Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, p. 223.
5. *Ibid.*, p, 224; *Punjab Notes and Queries*, II, p. 94; *D.G. Karnal*, 1918, p. 77; *D.G. Simla*, 1904, p. 43.
6. *Punjab Notes and Queries*, III, p. 26.
7. *D.G. Attock*, 1930, p. 128; *D.G. Jhelum*, 1904, p. 132.
8. *D.G. Karnal*, 1918, pp. 77.
9. *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, pp. 194-5.
10. *D.G. Attock*, 1930, p, 128.
11. *Ibid; D.G. Jhelum*, 1904, p. 132.

the form of casting the *Jin* out by incantations.[1] The exorcists were generally saints and *pirs* who treated the patient at their own shrines. Certain shrines were noted only on this account, and on a certain day big fair was held which at once became a congregating-point of such patients. Sometimes women simply feigned such an ailment in order to elope with the exorcist if he happened to be young or have a prepossessing appearance. Many developed *Jins* "simply in order to get taken to the annual fair held at most of the shrines".[2]

Charms—The usual device to counteract the evil influences was the use of charms and amulets procured from the saints and wizards. Members of all sections of society had great faith in the efficacy of magic which was thought effective against every social ill. There were spells for fevers, dropsy, barrenness, baldness, snake-bite and cattle diseases. Charms were also sought for winning love or for severing it, for prosperity in trade, for vengeance, for success in litigation and for the expiration of "offences, failures, stains and transgressions."[3]

Black magic or witchcraft—Closely akin to the ghosts and charms was the art of witchcraft popularly called black magic, because it was employed for evil purposes such as the destruction of any enemy, the bringing about of quarrels and the like. The witch who practised it was supposed to effect her purpose by gaining control over some evil spirit whose obedience she could enforce. Indeed, very few openly avowed disbelief in the miraculous powers possessed by certain persons. The habits of centuries were not easily or quickly to be shed even under the influence of western culture and education. Even well-educated persons were not unfre-

1. The process was as follows. The patient's head was first washed and the hair anointed with scented oil. The person was then seated on a specific place. Incense was burnt and music played, the drums being beaten in a manner peculiar to the occasion. The patient then began to shake his or her head and violently swung it round and round, keeping time with the drum, until the patient dropped exhausted. The process was repeated several times and the treatment was not thought to be complete until and unless the *jin* revealed his identity, the purpose of visit and the means of appeasement. All this came out of the mouth of the patient and was thought to be the voice of the spirit. (*Census 1931*, I, Pt. I, p. 415; *D.G. Simla*, 1904, p. 42).
2. Darling; *Rusticus*, 1929, pp. 273-4.
3. Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 321. Also see Darling, *Rusticus*, 1933, pp. 20, 84, 107, 232.

quently victimised by rogues, who professed to change the base metals into gold by alchemy or to double currency notes and gold ornaments.[1]

Any one familiar with the history of the maddening witchcraft in any form inspired in Europe during the Middle Ages and the widespread, horrible and even barbarous persecutions which resulted from it[2] cannot help noticing that witchcraft in the Punjab stood upon an entirely different footing. The cause of this basic difference is not far to seek. In Christian Europe, magicians, necromancers and witches were regarded as the enemies of God and as monsters in league with Satan and were condemned to eternal damnation. They were accordingly tortured and burnt alive at the instigation of the clergy, invoking the Holy Scriptures. To rid the earth of witches was a religious duty which the priests and miniters (Protestant and Roman Catholic alike) carried out with great zeal. In the Punjab, on the other hand, especially amongst the Hindus, magic and witchcraft were not without a certain respectability. The Brahmans themselves were the possessors of spells which even the gods would not resist. The Muslim tradition, preserved in literature, places on record numerous performances of magic. The practitioners of black magic might have been objects of awe to the people, but they did not inspire them with feelings of religious horror and, therefore, they were not persecuted without pity (as they were done in Europe).[3]

In the Punjab the states of Mandi and Suket were the strongholds of witchcraft.[4] The sorceresses charmed a person by means of things belonging to that person or things that were a portion of his body such as the nails or the hair cut from his body or the dust over which he had trodden. Yet another way was to make an image of a person, which was either wounded with a nail in his name or burnt. Again, sometimes the flesh of a corpse or pepper

1. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, pp. 171-2; *D.G. Rawalpindi*, 1907, pp. 84-7
2. Trevelyan, G.M., *English Social History*, 1944, pp. 140, 232, 258-9, 318, 453-4, 459.
3. It is true that in the *Vishnu Purana* it is said, "he who practises magic rites falls into Krimisa hell (that of insects)". (A prose English translation of *Vishnupuranam* based on Professor Wilson's translation, published for the Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature, Calcutta 1912, Second ed., p. 131.) But this threat is neither generally known nor respected.
4. *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, p. 107; *Gazetteer of Suket State*, n.d. p. 63.

or mustard was put in the name of the victim in a sacrificial fire. Some wizards were supposed to cause the death of a woman and then "bring her to life again, and thus secure her for their own enjoyment".[1] Care was accordingly taken to destroy the nails or hair when cut.[2]

Witches called *dains* were often called in for extracting the livers of young children. "When a witch succeeds in taking out a man's liver, she will not eat it for two and a half days and if after eating it she is put under the influence of an exorcist, she can be forced to take the liver of some animal and with it replace that extracted from her victim".[3] Occasionally, the popular vengeance was wreaked on some wretched man or woman, otherwise the trial by ordeal had become a thing of the past.[4] No doubt popular superstition on this subject was almost as gross as ever, but the upper strata of the society were now disposed to be more critical and sceptical.

Evil-eye—Belief in dangers resulting from the evil-eye prevailed widely among all grades of society. The common term by which it was known was *Nazar* used in the sense of the baneful influence of the glance of a person. The popular explanation of the origin of this belief was that it was based on envy or covetousness. The objects mostly liable to be so affected were beautiful children, a strongly built man, the breast-milk of a mother nursing her baby, a milch cow or buffalo and a dish of delicacies.[5] Even newly built houses came within its ambit.[6] Thus there were innumerable charms and devices meant to ward off the evil-eye or to mitigate its effect.

Miscellaneous popular beliefs—To complete this account, a word may be said in regard to the miscellaneous popular beliefs.

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1. *D.G. Gurgaon*, 1910, p. 69.
2. Crooke, *Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, p. 419; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I, p. 14; V, p. 197.
3. *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, pp. 108-9.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 109; *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 193; Oman, J.C., *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*, 1908, p. 306.
5. *D.G. Jhelum*, 1904, p. 132; Manucha, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 95.
6. An earthen vessel painted black or having an ugly picture on it was slung as an antidote to the evil eye. (*Punjab Notes and Queries*, May and August, 1884; *D.G. Gurdaspur*, 1914, p. 61).

Certain days in the calendar were considered lucky and certain others unlucky. It was thought inauspicious to mention the names of certain places and animals. Even there were unlucky faces which were avoided and people with certain physical deformities, particularly with defect in the eyes, were considered vicious. There were a thousand and one different charms and ways to bring good luck or ward off bad luck, connected with every important event in life—birth, marriage, death, the cutting of teeth by children, the undertaking of a journey, the sowing of a field, the invoking of rain, the construction of a house and the like.

Modern trends—With the spread of education and under the influence of western culture and civilization, the old superstitions and prejudices were losing their force as well as appeal. The change was most pronounced in the central Punjab and the canal colonies where economic progress was considerable.[1] Although elsewhere too the fetters of custom were strong, signs were visible that they would ultimately succumb to enlightment and the higher standard of living.[2] There was no cause for regret if the age-long inertia was overcome gradually, because according to Mr. Lyall these superstitions were "the shadows and phantasmagoria of human passions and of inexplicable calamities from the earliest times". The same writer shows remarkable perception when he adds, "We are changing the whole atmosphere in which fantastic superstitions grow and flourish", and "we may expect that these old forms of supernaturalism will suddenly thaw and subside without any outward stroke upon them and without long premonitory symptoms of internal dissolution".[3]

Social and Religious Movements

The subject of religious and social reform is always somewhat vague and ill-defined. In advocating reforms, particularly, in the Hindu family life, the initial difficulty to combat was the dominant idea that it was based upon the first principles of religion. It is this consideration that had prevented the British from interfering for purposes of reform with the sacred family life, except in such bad practices as the *Sati* and female infanticide. But

1. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 371.
2. *D.G. Ambala*, 1923-24, p. 45; *Gazetteer of Sirmur State*, 1934, p. 48.
3. Quoted by Darling in *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 371.

the influence of the spirit of scientific rationalism, which, with the diffusion of western education and ideals of life, was making itself felt in the Indian society, rendered religious reconstruction or reform inevitable.

The Hindus were the first to respond to this spirit and the nineteenth century witnessed two great religious movements of reform namely the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. Both these movements did not originate in the Province. The former was imported from Bengal, the latter from Bombay. Nevertheless, they exercised a profound influence on the Hindu social and religious life in the Punjab and especially the Arya Samaj continued to do so during the historical period under review. Movements with identical objects also originated among the Muslims and the Sikhs. Unfortunately this general awakening led to religious controversies and as a result produced in certain quarters the worst type of communalism in the Province. The Hindus and the Sikhs on the one and the Muslims on the other, increasingly conscious of their social, economic and political rights, ranged themselves in two opposing camps, and were ready to take up arms at the slightest provocation or sometimes under the most flimsy pretext.

(i) **Brahmo Samaj**—Brahmo Samaj or the Society of God was founded in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal, from where it was introduced into the Punjab in 1863.[1] The doctrines of the Samaj were opposed to the infallibility of the *Vedas* and, indeed, to all scriptures, which could be interpreted to support polytheism. It sought to replace popular polytheism and idolatry by theism, founded on the *Upanishads*.

(a) **Social reform and Brahmo Samaj**—Originally the Brahmo Samaj was a religious movement, divorced from social reform or reconstruction of social life. But in their opposition to the popular forms of Hindu faith and advocacy of theism, the Brahmo Samajists soon found themselves confronted with an elaborate machinery of social ordinances, a very small quantum of which only could be approved and adopted consistently with their own convictions. In fact, they met with a good many which appeared

1. *The Brahmo Year Book for 1876*, p. 35.

to them positively abnoxious in every way. Gradually, then, the Brahmos awoke to the necessity of creating around them a social atmosphere, morally invigorating, religiously healthful, and intellectually enlightening such as would properly sustain the ideals for which they stood in the period of transition and progress. Thus the position of the Samaj became not merely that of an institution for religious enlightenment but also that of the social reform and moral evolution of the people.[1]

The Brahmo Samaj uprooted the custom of infant weddings. The opinions of the most eminent medical men in the country were invited in regard to the proper marriageable age and the consensus on this point was strictly adhered to.[2] The enforced celibacy of widows was condemned and set aside. Inter-caste marriages were encouraged and solemnised.[3] Education also came within the ambit of their social activities and members of the Brahmo Samaj distinguished themselves as philanthropists. They rose to the occasion at the earthquake in Kangra in 1905, the plague epidemic of Lahore, the famines of U. P. and Bikaner and similar happenings of public distress by giving liberal pecuniary assistance and lending a helping hand in the relief work.[4]

(b) **Progress of Brahmo Samaj in the Province**—The progress of Brahmo Samaj movement in the Province, as in other parts of India, was anything but encouraging. The theistic church was first established in Lahore in 1863. In 1891 the Brahmo numbered 115 but rose to 700 in 1911.[5] In 1931 their total number was 162 as compared with 298 in 1921.[6]

(c) **Causes of its slow spread**—"The Brahmo Samaj has never been a popular religion".[7] The weakest link in the movement was its tendency to schism which did not appeal to the

1. Mozoomdar, P.C., *The Faith and Progress of the Brahmo Samaj*, 1882, p. 38.
2. *The Brahmo Year Book for 1876*, p. 45.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 138; Mozoomdar, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
4. *Census 1911*, XIV; p. 138.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 301.
7. Thomas, P., *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan*, 1954, p. 220.

people. There was very little in the movement which made for peace and unity. The least pique or difference of view not only created dissensions, but also engendered new sects. Secondly it failed to crystalize into a distinctive creed. According to Mr. H.J.S. Cotton, "it was altogether an esoteric doctrine, not materially distinguishable from the Theism or unitarianism of Europe. It appeals to the individual and requires not only a minute process of self-examination, but also a concurrence among individuals in their interpretations of self-consciousness".[1] Thus its metaphysical dogmas might to some extent have made its propagation facile, but they caught the fancy only of a certain class of minds. And that class was a limited one, because men in general are mentally so constituted that they do not take much interest in fine points of metaphysics or theology. Again, they needed inspired teachers who could speak with authority as the direct apostles of some higher power or as the privileged interpreters of divine knowledge dawning as upon a religious founder. So far as the individuals believing in a unitary body of interpretations of the *Upanishads* were concerned, Brahmoism had some basis of organisation to offer. But is evident that such unanimity of conviction was confined to a comparatively narrow circle of believers. This was the main reason why the movement drew its members almost exclusively from the upper class and why the majority of the Brahmos were men of education as well as of position in society.[2] It was this exclusive, aristocratic character of the movement which largely militated against its popularity. Its appeal had been mainly to men women who had received English training. It failed to identify itself with the multitude nor did it adequately realise, for its own survival, the importance of a united endeavour to reach down to the man in the street and regenerate him.[3]

(ii) **Arya Samaj**—The Brahmo movement was regarded by the majority of pious Hindus as unduly rationalistic in its outlook and it led to a number of other attempts at purifying orthodox Hinduism. One such movement was the Arya Samaj, which can easily be called "the greatest religious movement in India".[4] It

1. Cotton, H.J.S., *New India*, 1904, p. 233.
2. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 138.
3. *Report on Native Papers, Punjab*, "Arya Messenger (Lahore) of January 16, 1902"; Hauswirth, F., *Purdah*, 1932, p. 131; *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, p. 144.
4. *Census 1911*, XV, p. 129.

was somewhat akin to the Brahmo Samaj in so far as it was a definite protest against the corrupt forms of popular Hinduism. The main point of difference between the two was that while the Christian slant of the Brahmo movement was unmistakable, the Arya Samaj, on the contrary, did not countenance the proselytising activities of the Christian missions as well as of Islam.

The Arya Samaj was founded by Mul Shanker, better known as Swami Daya Nand Saraswati, in Bombay in 1875, but the headquarters of the Samaj were shifted to Lahore in 1877. The Samaj believed in God and in the doctrine of Karma and the doctrine of transmigration of the soul. It disapproved ancestor-worship and accepted the *Vedas* as the infallible Books of true knowledge. The founder died on October 30, 1883. The Arya Samaj was meant to be essentially a Hindu organisation. Yet it was open to every one, regardless of caste, colour or nationality who subscribed to its principles and desired to be enrolled as a member. Once a member, he was supposed to enjoy all rights and privileges of a member, whether a Hindu or a non-Hindu.[1]

(a) **Work done by the Arya Samaj**—The Arya Samaj repudiated caste by birth and condemned the numerous sub-divisions into which Hindu society was split up by reason of castes and sub-castes. It held that it was unnatural to divide society, as it were, into water tight compartments or to exclude the possibility of people belonging to one caste, having social relations with those of another. The Samaj was strongly opposed to child marriage and fixed the minimum marriageable age at 16 for girls and at 25 for boys. It encouraged widow remarriage and paid special attention to the removal of other disabilities from which women had suffered for centuries.[2]

The Arya Samaj took a keen interest in the advancement of education and maintained a large number of schools and colleges.[3] The Samaj was also actively engaged in philanthropic work of great magnitude. "Outside Christian circles it was the first purely Indian Association to organise orphanages and widow homes".[4]

1. Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
2. Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, 1915, pp. 66-73, 137-43; Bahadur Mal, *Swami Dayanand and His Teachings*, 1956, p. 123; Farquhar, J.N., *Modern Religious Movements in India*, 1915, pp, 121-2, 127.
3. See Chapter V.
4. Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, p. 211.

It rendered yeoman's service during the famines of 1897-98, 1890-1900 and 1908 and took active part in the relief work at the Kangra Valley earthquake in 1905,[1]

(b) **Attitude of the Arya Samaj towards other religions and its *Shudhi* work** –According to Swami Dayanand the Vedic Theism was in many respects superior even to the Theism of Islam and very much superior to dogmatic Christianity.[2] He regarded the *Vedas* as "self-evident truth, admitting of no doubt and depending on the authority of no other book; being represented in nature, the Kingdom of God".[3] The *Granth* of Sikhs was to him "a book of secondary importance, and the Sikh gurus men of little learning; Nanak, he denounced as a *dambhi* (hypocrite). Dayanand was contemptuous of Sikh theologians because of their ignorance of Sanskrit: his favourite phrase for any one who did not measure up to him was *maha murakh* (great fool). Dayanand set the tone; his zealous admirers followed suit".[4]

Whatever may be the pretensions of the Arya Samaj regarding its hostility towards other religions in respect of doctrinal basis, in the sphere of proselytising it undoubtedly came into direct conflict with them. Islam and Christianity were both proselytising religions and Swami Dayanand and his followers thought that to assign the same character to Hinduism and create in it a conscious and active proselytising spirit was an imperative necessity.[5] This was achieved by the Arya Samaj by means of *Shudhi* movement.

Literally, *Shudhi* means purification, but when used by the Arya Samajists it included also reclamation and conversion. Reconversions of the recent converts from Hinduism to Islam or Christianity were less numerous and instances of persons born to other religions were very rare. But the greatest success was achieved in raising the social status of the depressed classes among the Hindus and Sikhs and preventing them from joining other religious

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 135; Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 125; Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, p. 219.
2. Lajpat Rai *Arya Samaj*, pp. 251-2.
3. Dayanand, *Handbook of the Arya Samaj*, p. 35 quoted in Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, 1966, p. 139 f.n.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Bahadur Mal, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21; Thomas *op. cit.*, p. 221; Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 101.

denominations.[1] The total number of persons so purified or socially raised during the period 1901-10 was about 60 or 70 thousand.[2] The number of persons 'purified' after the year 1911 is not available. In 1933 the All-India Dayanand Salvation Mission was founded for converting non-Hindus to Hinduism. Thus between 1933 and 1954 the Mission brought 1,13,654 non-Hindus into the fold of Hinduism.[3] It is not unnatural, then, that the Arya Samaj had to contend with the bitterest opposition from the Sikhs, the Muslims, and the Christian missions.[4]

(c) The Arya Samaj and politics—This has been a much debated topic. The official opinion dubbed the Arya Samaj as a dangerous political body on more than one occasion, while the Samaj always proclaimed its aim and ideal as essentially and exclusively social and religious reform. Facts may be adduced to support the claims of both the Arya Samaj and its critics

To begin with, it must be borne in mind that Swami Dayanand's followers agreed that he was not merely a religious reformer but also a great patriot. His personal views on politics as expressed in his autobiography are as follows: "Foreign Government, perfectly free from religious prejudices, impartial towards all the native and the foreigners—kind, beneficent and just though it may be — can never render the people perfectly happy", and he adds that, in the case of India, foreign rule "is due to mutual feud, differences in religion, want of purity of life, lack of education, child marriage—and the malpractice".[5] But the most significant remarks which Swami Dayanand ever made and which dispel all doubts regarding his political aims are, "If the English were to leave the country today the heads of our preachers will be chopped down in no time".[6]

1. Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, pp. 220-33.
2. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 149.
3. *The All-India Dayanand Salvation Mission, Hoshiarpur*, Twenty-sixth annual report for 1959.
4. Risley, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-5; Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, pp. 262-5; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-4; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, pp. 146-7.
5. Dayanand, Swami, *Satyarath Prakash* translated into English by Chiranjiva, 1927, p. 303.
6. Munshi Ram, *The Arya Samaj and its Detractors*, "Pt. II", 1910, p. 116. In contrast to this Mr. Valentine Chirol held that the Swami was a deep-dyed politician, who aimed at the subversion of British rule. The whole of the Swami's teaching, he said, was far less to reform Hinduism than to rouse it into active resistance to alien influence. (*Ibid.*, p. 278.)

It is true that Swami Dayanand dreamed of a regenerated India that should be as great in every way as she had been in her glorious past and he wanted his followers to strive for the realisation of that ideal with face and confidence. But he urged them to achieve all this in a spirit of devotion to truth for the sake of truth, altruism and humility. He offered no material gain as bait for the achievement of this ideal.

Thus no one can deny that the Arya Samaj became one of most potent nationalising forces in the country. The Arya Samaj aimed at a redical change in the people's axis of life and thought. It aimed at the formation of a new type of national character, based ultimately on Vedic thought and life. "When, therefore, the Arya Samaj sings the glory of ancient India—forces of nationalism receive an impetus, and the aspirations of the young nationalists who had persistently dinned into his ear the mournful formula that Indian History recorded the lamentable tale of continuous and uninterrupted humiliation, dengeneration, foreign subjection, external exploitation, etc., feels that his dormant national pride is aroused and his aspirations stimulated."[1] But the patriotism, which was a corollary of Vedicism, was lofty and inspiring. "Instead of teaching Indians to hate their foreign rulers, it tends to unite the rulers and they ruled in a fraternal embrace because it inculcates the valuable historical truth that classical culture directly and modern European culture indirectly were derived from Indian sources and therefore Europeans being the descendants of the disciples of our forbearers, are our brothers in spirit—their traditions and arts having a common origin with ours".[2]

Notwithstanding the various manifestos and public pronouncements made by the leaders of the Arya Samaj on the Subject of its aims being absolutely non-political,[3] the British Government had never been "quite happy about the Arya Samaj".[4] Many Aryas in Government service were victimized

1. Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, p. 172.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Munshi Ram, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-7, 26, 29-30; 270, 283-4, "Pt. II", pp. 92, 116; Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 178; *N.P.R.*, 1908, pp. 766-7.
4. Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, p. 165.

because they were members of the Samaj. They were forced to resign the membership of the Samaj under threat of dismissal. In some districts, secret lists were prepared of prominent Aryas and they were closely watched by the police as if they were bad characters. "A vast system of espionage was introduced to discover the real sentiments of the community".[1] Some times their houses were searched, though in vain, for objectionable and seditious material.[2]

The root cause of such suspicion was the political activity of some of the leaders of the Samaj like Lala Lajpat Rai and others. In defence of this it may be said that no religious body can be called to account for the political activities of its individual members. That the Arya Samaj had no political programme becomes evident from the fact that it kept itself aloof from the elections to the provincial legislatures and did not support the candidature of any member of a political party.

The accusation that many of the Aryas were also the members of the Indian National Congress, fighting for the country's deliverance from the foreign yoke, does not hold good, because the Congress claimed membership and passive or active support from all communities, almost all the religious societies and sects and all sections of society. The Samaj, like other religious sects, required its members to subscribe to social and religious rules and principles. It had nothing to do with the political activities of its members.[3]

Nevertheless, lately a reaction had definitely set in, especially with the conciliatory policy inaugurated by Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, and Sir James Meston, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, both of whom had fully satisfied themselves that there was no substantial reason to suspect the Samaj of any evil design against the British Government. Sir James Meston on the occasion of his visit to the Gurukul institution maintained by the Arya Samaj near Hardwar in the United Provinces remarked on the 6th March, 1913, that one of the reasons for his visit

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-8.
3. Some writers do not agree with this view. See Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 122; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

was that "he wanted to meet a community which had been described in official papers as source of infinite, terrible and unknown danger". The right answer to this, he added, "was to come myself".[1] He found it not only harmless but also "the most wonderful, interesting, and stimulating institution".[2] This establishes beyond doubt the contention that the Arya Samaj was not political party.

(d) Progress of the Arya Samaj—The number of Aryas increased rapidly till the death of its founder, Swami Dayanand, in 1883. Thereafter the movement received some set-back. In the census of 1891, the number of persons who registered themselves as Aryas was 14,030.[3] In the census for 1901 the statistics for Aryas were not given separately, but the adult male Aryas (i.e., over 15 years of age) in 1901 were less than in 1891.[4] They numbered 1,00,846 in 1911;[5] 2,10,872 in 1921[6] and 4,69,864 in 1931.[7] The figures show that although the movement was not making a very remarkable progress numerically, there was no doubt that it fared much better than Brahmo Samaj.

(e) Why did it spread more rapidly than the Brahmo Samaj ?— The Arya Samaj movement was the direct outcome of the conservative reactionary Hindu aspiration for the Golden Age, and aimed at removing the defect of contemporary corrupt Hinduism. It was based, like the Brahmo Samaj, on pure monothiesm, but appealed more strongly to the intellectual Hindu by its adherence to the philosophy which was familiar to him, while it attracted the masses by its insistence on the revelational character of their ancient scriptures, namely, the *Vedas*, "Back to the *Vedas*". was the watchword of the Swami Dayanand and the belief in revealed Scripture was a living inspiration to those who could not find adequate moral or religious substance in the electric principles of the Brahmo Samaj. The strength of the Arya Samaj movement lay in its indigenous source, with the roots deep down in the past, adherence to the

1. Lajpat Rai, *Arya Samaj*, p. 209.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 134.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 301.
7. *Ibid.*

ancient ritual and a modified caste system and the retention of a not unfamilar attitude in respect of pantheism and idolatrous worship.

(iii) Dev Samaj—It was another religious movement started by Pandit Satyanand Agnihotri, who declared that his life's mission was to bring the reign of truth and goodness into this world by effecting a radical change in the minds and hearts of mankind. He founded a religious organisation called by the Dev Samaj in 1887.[1] At first Pandit Satyanand had deep faith in the existence of God and he held this view for 12 years after which he found this belief to be entirely groundless and formally renounced it in 1894. Thereafter the Dev Samaj declined to admit the existence of any creator.[2]

The Samaj rejected all caste distinctions and ordained that its members should lead a simple and pure life. It opposed *purdah* system, child marriage and encouraged widow remarriage The Samaj also opened educational institutions for the general spread of literacy.[3] As such, the Samaj was committed more to social reform than to religious reconstruction. Ferozepur, Moga and Lahore were its strongholds. The Samaj did not make much headway. Its members numbered only 1,403 in 1931.[4]

(iv) Radha Swami Sect—The sect was founded by Seth Shiv Dayal Singh (1818-78) at Agra (U.P.) in 1861. It rejected all revealed books and ordained that its members should abstain from the use of "animal diet, eggs, fish and intoxicants".[5] After the death of the founder, an independant branch was started by Jaimal Singh at Beas in Amritsar district. This centre, like the Agra centre, had also a succession of gurus.[6] The number of followers of the sect was 4,293 in 1911,[7] and 5,386 in 1931.[8]

(v) Movements of reformation among the Sikhs—Three important movements of reformation took place among the

1. *Census 1921*, XV., p. 182.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.
4. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 301.
5. Ahluwalia, R.D., *Radha Swami Colony Beas and its Teachings*, n.d., pp. 1-9.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 141.
8. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 301.

Sikhs during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The underlying ideal of these movements was to restore to Sikhism the purity of the faith of the Sikh Gurus. They also intended to check the tendency among the Sikhs to merge back into Hindu fold. Two of these reform movements, namely, the Nirankari[1] and the Namdhari or Kuka[2] ended in the foundation of separate sects, while the third, the Singh Sabha[3] which was originally a movement of religious and social reform slowly changed into a political party.[4]

Sikh agitation over shrines— But a more vigorous movement for religious reform took place in this century. This agitation is known as the Akali Movement or the Gurudwara Reform Movement.

At the time when Guru Gobind Singh admitted people of all castes to his organisation and emphasised its military purpose,

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1. The founder of the Nirankari sect was Dyal Das (1783-1858) of Peshawar. He preached against idol worship and the practice of Hindu ceremonials by the Sikhs. "The positive aspect of his teaching was that God was formless –*nirankar* –consequently he described himself as a *nirankari*". (Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 123). The Nirankaris set up a centre of their own at Dyal Sar, recognised Dyal Das and his successors as gurus and began to revere the Book of Ordinances of the founder along with *Granth*, the holy book of the Sikhs.
2. The Namdhari sect was founded by Balak Singh (1799-1861) in 1847. He exhorted his followers "to live simply and practise no religious ritual other than repeating God's name or *nam* (hence *namdhari*)". (Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 128.) But it was under Ram Singh (1815-85) of Bhaini (Ludhiana district) that the movement took root. The disciples of Ram Singh "chanted hymns and, like dancing dervishes, worked themselves into a state of frenzy and emitted loud shrieks (*kuks*) : they came therefore to be named kukas". (Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, pp. 128-9.) The main principles of his teachings were monotheistic. Idol worship was condemned. Guru Gobind Singh was to be the only true guru and the *Granth*, the only holy book. Brahmins, besides Sodhis, Bedis and Mahants were not to be employed for any religious purpose as they were all imposters. The caste system was totally rejected. Inter-caste marriages and widow re-marriages were greatly encouraged. Use of meat, tobacco, snuff and alcohol was forbidden and cow was considered a sacred animal.
3. The Singh Sabha at Amritsar and Lahore were founded in the 1870's, and they aimed at a renaissance of Sikh religion through education and literature. With the rise of political consciousness, the multifarious activities of the Singh Sabha led to the formation in 1902 of the Chief Khalsa Diwan "pledged to safeguard Sikh rights *vis-a-vis* the other communities, and to fight for adequate representation of Sikhs in services, particularly the Army". (Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 145).
4. As regards the chief lines of social reform which these three movements pressed for were the same as those advocated by the Hindu social reformers.

quite a number of the higher classes left his leadership and reverted to the teachings of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. As Sikhism as conceived by the last Guru (Gobind Singh) was nothing but a modified doctrine of Hinduism, the tendency had been for the Sikhs and Hindus to drift together and it was not uncommon for some members of a family to be Sikhs and other Hindus, or for Sikhs and Hindus to worship together in the same Gurudwara.[1] It may be added that it was not earlier than 1905 that idols were removed from the Golden Temple at Amritsar, one of the holiest places of worship of the Sikhs. These idols had been kept there for so long a time against the teachings of the last Guru who like his predecessors had condemned idolatry.[2]

This state of things in the gurudwaras which the Sikh reformers now attempted to alter had been mainly due to the fact that by convention the priestly duties in most of the well-known gurudwaras were performed by Mahants some of whom belonged to the Udasi order,[3] which had not fully accepted the faith of Guru Gobind Singh. They were inclined to introduce the worship of Hindu idols alongside of reverence to the *Granth*. Gradually, the office of a Mahant became hereditary and, from being performers of religious ceremonies they became religious heads, owning temples and assets belonging thereto.[4] Some of these were men of loose morals.[5] A correspondent of the *Mukhbir* (Amritsar) of March 24, 1903, alleged that one Sant Ram, the Mahant in charge of a temple in Tarn Tarn tehsil (Amritsar district) "is a debauchee of the worst type and squanders on women and wine the income from the *Jagir* attached to [the temple".[6] Similar reports came from many other shrines.[7]

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, 1923, pp. 344-50.
2. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements*, p. 341; Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*, V. 1904, pp. 67-79.
3. The sect was founded by Siri Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. The Udasis were inclined towards celibacy and asceticism, whereas Sikhism was essentially a religion of householders. (Banerjee, Indubhushan, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, I, 1936, Chapter V.)
4. Pai, D.A., *Monograph on the Religious Sects in India Among the Hindus*, 1928, p. 89; India Government, *India in 1921-22*, p. 60.
5. Permanand, Bhai, *Twarikh-i-Punjab* (Urdu) n.d., p. 579; Sahni, Ruchi, Ram, *Gurudwara Reform Movement and Sikh Awakening*, 1922, pp. 35.6.
6. *N.P.R.*, 1903, p. 79.
7. *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 83, 232-3, 268-9.

It was only natural that the Sikhs should endeavour to preserve their shrines for the purely Sikhs form of worship and have control over the management of the estates attached to the shrines, and the public offerings to which they contributed. "The Golden Temple, the temples at Nankana and Panja Sahib had sizable *jagirs* attached to them. With the introduction of canal-irrigation, the income derived from land of the gurudwaras assumed princely proportions".[1] In the new settlement records made after the annexation of the Punjab, the lands and properties attached to the gurudwaras were in many cases entered against the names of the Mahants. Legal processes to oust the Mahants, therefore, proved dilatory and futile.[2] As a result, the Sikhs under the leadership of the Akalis,[3] sought to oust the Mahants and obtain the possession of the Sikh shrines, placing them under the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.) set up on November 15, 1920.[4] At first both the Mahants and the Government realised the justice of the case and a few gurudwaras peacefully came under the management of S.G.P.C., which reappointed some of the Mahants bearing good moral character to carry on their priestly functions according to its wishes on fixed remuneration.[5]

The Government, however, soon became suspicious of the rapid development of the movement and incited the Mahants to oppose the transference of the shrines to the control of the S.G.P.C. This led to a fierce struggle between the Sikhs and the Government. The year 1921 witnessed a series of horrible tragedies. A conflict at the gurudwara in Tarn Tarn (Amritsar district) resulted in a few casualties in January,[6] and a month later a band of 130 Akalis who had come to take possession of the shrine of Nankana Sahib (birth place of Guru Nanak) were subjected to wholesale slaughter organised by the Udasi Mahant named Narain Das.[7] The outcome was the growth of a general feeling

1. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 194.
2. India Government, *India in 1922-23*, p. 274.
3. The Akalis were a fanatical order of the Sikh ascetic, instituted by Guru Gobind Singh. They wore dark blue dress, peaked turban often surmounted with steel quoits. (Pai, *op. cit.*, p. 89.)
4. *P.A.R.*, 1920-21, "Pt. I", p. 4; Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, pp. 250-51.
5. India Government, *India in 1922-23*, p. 274.
6. India Government, *India in 1921-22*, p. 60.
7. *P.A.R.*, 1920-21, "Pt. I", p. 4; *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, *pp.* 2-3. It was alleged that the Mahant was "an evil-liver and kept a Mohammadan mistress". (O'Dwyer, Sir Michael, *India as I Knew It*, 1925, p. 33.)

against the whole class of Mahants in consequence of which the movement was launched in full force. The Government added fuel to the fire by making a series of untactful moves and withdrawing under the pressure of agitation. For no obvious reason, the keys of the Golden Temple at Amritsar were held back for some time. They were returned after several thousand volunteers had been beaten and arrested.[1] This affair was followed by an order banning the carrying of *Kirpans* which the most orthodox Sikhs did carry in conformity with their religious practice. Many thousands had been arrested for contravening the order before the order was withdrawn.[2]

Fresh trouble broke out in Amritsar district over the ownership of land attached to the shrine of Guru-Ka-Bagh. The shrine had been seized by the Akalis in February, 1922, but the lands attached to the shrine remained under the Mahants who forbade the Sikhs to take timber from the land attached to the gurudwara.[3] In August, 1922, the Sikhs decided to secure this plot of land too and launched a passive resistence movement. Batches of hundreds marched in peaceful processions to Guru-Ka-Bagh. They were beaten mercilessly by the police and about 5,000 had been arrested, when the matter was finally closed by the lease of the land in dispute to Sir Ganga Ram (a well-known philanthropist) who gave the land to the Sikhs.[4]

The Punjab Government tried to appease the Sikhs by introducing a bill to set up a Board of Commissioners which would take over the management of the Sikh shrines. However, the bill was opposed by "the Sikh legislators, who objected to having non-Sikhs on a board whose sole function was to manage Sikh places of worship. Nor could the members agree on what constituted a gurudwara; a large number of Udasis declared their shrines to be Hindu temples—the bill passed into law as the Gurudwara and Shrines Act VI of 1922. The Sikhs ignored the legislation".[5]

1. India Government, *India in 1923-24*, p. 283.
2. Khushwant Singh, *The Sikhs of Today*, 1959, p. 60.
3. *P.A.R.*, 1922-23, p. 2; *Report of the Guru-Ka-Bagh Congress Inquiry Committee January 1924*, pp. 1-45.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 102.

Meanwhile yet another campaign started at Nabha. The Maharaja of Nabha abdicated in favour of his minor son as a result of an enquiry into a dispute with Maharaja of Patiala. Rumours began to circulate that the Maharaja of Nabha was deposed and sent out of the Punjab because he had openly sympathised with the Akali Agitation. The S.G.P.C. decided to observe the 9th of September, 1923, as "Nabha Day". The Sikhs of Nabha organised a non-stop recitation of the *Granth* in their gurudwaras. "One such ceremonial held at the temple at Gansar in village Jaito was interrupted by the police. A new morcha (agitation) was thus launched; batches of passive resisters began arriving everyday at Jaito".[1] A similar agitation was started at Bhai Pheru in Lahore, where the Mahant had declined to honour an earlier agreement with the Akalis for the use of land attached to the shrine.[2] "The únending stream of passive resisters that continued to arrive at Jaito and Bhai Pheru exasperated the government and it made a desperate bid to smash the movement".[3] One such band of 500 Akalis was fired on by the police "resulting in considerable loss of life".[4] However, the use of violence could not kill the agitation. Groups of Akalis "continued marching triumphantly across the Punjab to Amritsar and onwards to Jaito or Bhai Pheru".[5] About 10,000 persons were arrested. Among those arrested at Jaito was also Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.[6] At last, the Government had to yield and non-stop recitation of the *Granth* was allowed at Jaito without outside interference.[7]

Sikh Gurudwara Act—In the five years of intense agitation over the possession of Sikh shrines at Tarn Tarn, Nankana Sahib, Guru-Ka-Bagh, Bhai Pheru and Jaito, about 30,000 men and women were arrested, nearly 400 had been killed and 2,000 wounded.[8] The police atrocities had aroused sympathy throughout India. Pressure of public opinion forced the Government to adopt concilitary measures. A draft of a new gurudwara bill was, therefore

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11,
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-211.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
8. *P.A.R.* 1925-26, p, 3; Khushwant Singh, *The Sikhs of Today*, p. 61; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 213.

"presented to the Akali leaders imprisoned in Lahore fort. The bill met all the Akali demands and was passed into law in 1925. The Act provided for the elected bodies to replace the Mahants. The central body of the S.G.P.C., was to consist of 151 members, of whom 120 were to be elected and others nominated and co-opted. Local gurudwaras were to have their own elected bodies of management with one nominee of the S.G.P.C. on its committee. A Tribunal of three judges was set up to determine whether or not an institution was a gurudwara and the compensation, if any, to be paid to any one deprived of possession. The Act also indicated in what way incomes of gurudwaras were to be utilised.[1] Consequently, the Sikh community settled down peacefully and nothing untoward happened thereafter.

(vi) **Muslims and the Ahmadiyat**—While this great social and religious activity was going on among the Hindus and the Sikhs, the Muslim reaction thereto was not unimportant. The Muslim began to cherish a nostalgic feeling for the past glories of India and the Muslim world. They had, at the same time, a passion for social reform, an urge for rational inquiry and a quest for new values. Organisations like Anjumani-i-Islamia, Anjumani-i-Himayat-i-Islam and the like were established during and after the sixties of the nineteenth century to champion the cause of the Muslim community.[2]

The Ahmadiya movement which was the most important among the Muslim religious movements arose in the 1880's in Qadian (Gurdaspur district). The history of the movement is one of the most important and interesting chapters of the modern Muslim thought. In doctrinal matters, it did not pretend to differ from the general Muslim community, but its strength lay in its social organisation and its propaganda.[3]

Its founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, after whom the movement came to be called Ahmadiya, was born at Qadian in 1835. In 1880 he published the first part of his most celebrated work called the *Barahin-i-Ahmadiya* in which he claimed to be a divinely inspired reformer. In another part of the same work published two years later, he gave an account of some revelations in which

1. Punjab Government, *The Punjab Code*, II. 1953, pp. 542-646.
2. Permanand, *Twarikh-i-Punjab* (Urdu), p. 567.
3. Yusaf Ali, A., *A Cultural History of India*, 1940, 254.

he was addressed as Christ and of a vision in which it dawned upon him that he and Jesus Christ had one and the same essence. Towards the end of the year 1888 he published a manifesto stating that he was commanded by God to accept *Bai 'at* from the people and convert them to his faith. Finally, he issued a proclamation in 1891 announcing that he was the promised Mahdi and Messiah, whose coming was foretold in the *Quran* and the *Bible* and sought to make clear his position in three books, namely, *Fath-e-Islam*, *Taudih-i-Maram* and *Izala-i-Auham*.[1] From that time onwards, he was involved in bitter controversies with the orthodox Muslim, the Arya Samajists and the Christians.[2] He was denounced by the *Mullahas* as a heretic and a *fatwa* was issued, excommunicating his followers.[3] On his part, the Mirza became more active and was even vocal in his denunciations of his enemies. Notwithstanding the opposition of "every religion in India and the unsympathetic attitude of the Government towards him in the beginning",[4] the movement made rapid strides and at the time of his death in May 1908, it had spread even to foreign countries.[5]

According to the last will of the founder, the management of the affairs of the community was entrusted to a committee called Sadar Anjuman-i-Ahmadiya which was to be, though not clearly indicated in the will, under the direction of the elected head of the movement, known as *Khalifat-ul-Messiah*. Accordingly, Hakim Nur-ud-din, a favourite disciple of the founder, became the first *Khalifa*. Under his guidance, the community continued to progress despite the heavy loss of the moving spirit and the personality of the founder.

In 1913, however, there occurred a schism in the ranks of the community. The question of split arose when the community came to be divided into two groups over the riots following the Government's action in attempting to remove an abutting portion of a mosque in Kanpur in order to make a road. One group, sympathising with the general feeling of Muslims, denounced this act of the Government, while the other acting on the tenet of

1. Waltz, H.A., *The Ahmadiya Movement*; 1918, p. 16.
2. Yusaf Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
3. *N.P.R.*. 1903, p. 7; Mirza, Bashir Ahmad, *Silsla-i-Ahmadiya*, Urdu, 1939, pp. 32, 34-36.
4. Mahmud, Ahmad, *Ahmdiyyat or The True Islam*, n.d., p. 5.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad that "his followers should avoid all political controvercies and concentrate theirenergies on distinctly religious efforts"[1]was opposed to taking part in such an agitation. Though the affair was amicably settled in favour of the Muslim community, a wide gulf between the two groups was permanently created. The split finally crystallised when Mirza Bashir-ud-din Mahmud Ahmad (son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the movement) became the second *Khalifa* after the death of the first in March, 1914. Since he had opposed taking any part in the controversy over the Kanpur case, his opponents declined to recognise him as *Khalifa* on the plea that the founder had not provided for any such office in his will. They instead formed a new *Anjuman*, with headquarters at Lahore, called Anjuman-i-Ishayat-i-Islam (society for the propagation of Islam).[2] Later, many more points of difference arose between the two groups, and the Lahore group claimed for the founder of the movement only the position of a millennial teacher or reformer, thus reverting nearer to the main body of Islam.[3] The Qadian group, however, continued to subscribe to the original teachings and claims of the founder as one of the prophets (*Nabi*), in spite of the fact that orthodox Islam believed that Muhammad, the founder of Islam, was the "last of the prophets and the real of the prophets".[4]

(a) Ahmadiyat and the orthodox Islam—In the words of the second *Khalifa* of the movement, "Ahmadiyat and Islam are one and the same thing and by Ahmadiyat is meant that real Islam which God has manifested to the world through the Promised One of the present age".[5] Although the Ahmadiya community believed firmly in the *Quran* and was based on the Law of Islam, it claimed that it alone presented to the world, the real Islam that was revealed thirteen hundred years ago and that its special mission was to enrich mankind with unlimited spiritual treasures contained in the *Quran*.[6] Mirza Ghulam Ahmad

1. Waltz., *op. cit.*, p. 113.
2. Gibb, H.A.R., *Mahammedanism*, n.d.. p. 187; Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, *Life Work and of Hazrat Mirza Bashir-Ud-Din Mahmud Ahmed*, Ist ed., p. 15.
3. *Ibid.*
4. See Waltz., *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4, 113-6; Yusaf Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
5. Mahmud, Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36.

asserted that if the decadence of Islam had been due to its falling away from the teaching and example of Muhammad of the seventh century, its rejuvenation could only be brought about through the teachings of a living 'magnetizer' to use a favourite Ahmadiya parlance. The Promised Messiah could counteract the modren evil tendencies in the world by his irrefragable and conclusive arguments, his manifestation of heavenly wisdom and powers, his mediation and intercession and by bringing home to the Muslims spiritual certainty regarding divine truth, that perfect knowledge of God in which, as he held, redemption from sin lay.[1] "In short, he (Mirza Ghulam Ahmad) openly advocated those teachings of Islam about which the people could not raise their voice because they where afraid of opposing the current of modern thought with respect to these matters.[2]

There were a few points on which the Ahmadiyas and orthodox Muslims differed widely. These were the character of the promised Mahdi and *Jahad*. According to orthodox Muslims, the Mahdi would be a warrior, who would convert the heaven at the point of the sword, whereas the Ahmadiyas denied the advent of any such Mahdi or Messiah. They regarded Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as the true Mahdi and Messiah and held that he had come to establish the supermacy of Islam by peaceful means.[3] They believed that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was a specially favoured recipient of revelations from God.[4]

(b) **Ahmadiyat and the Arya Samaj**—Proselytisation was an important part of the activities of the Arya Samaj, and it gained Many Muslim adherents also. It was, therefore, inevitable that a new religious sect such as the Arya Samaj which had also proselytising slant should fiercely resist the *Shudhi* crusade launched by the Arya Samaj. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad denounced the *Vedas* as having given birth to the lowest forms of fetishism and idolatry. He contrasted their polytheistic tendencies with the strict monotheism of the *Quran* and remarked, "I would like to be told

1. *Ibid*; *Review of Religions, I*, 1902; p. 62, II. p. 444; XIV, 1915, p. 453.
2. Mahmud, Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
3. Waltz, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, n.d., pp. 243-48; *N.P.R.*, 1902, pp. 69, 102.
4. Ghulam Ahmed, *The Teachings of Islam*, 1910, pp. 37-45; Smith, W.C., *Modern Islam In India*, 1943. p, 326; *Review of Religions*, IV, 1905, p. 145; *N.P.R.* 1902, pp. 113-4.

in which part of the world the four *Vedas* have blown the trumpet of monotheism.....the entire Hindu population prostrate themselves before idols of every description".[1] The doctrine of transmigration of the soul was also condemned, because "It divests the Divine Being of all his glorious attributes and of his power and control over the universe, sweeps away all distinctions between legality and illegality" and vitiates the purity of family life, for it is possible under this fantastic law that a person's own mother, daughter or sister may be reborn to be is wife".[1]

However, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad soon realised that his object was to bring more followers into his fold than to enter into any religious controversy and, therefore, he endeavoured to convince people to the truth of his own faith and the hollowness of others. A vigorous exponent of religious doctrines as he was, the Mizra declared himself to be an incarnation of Lord Krishna which had been foretold by Hindu scriptures. But the Hindu community did not admit his claim.[2]

(c) Attitude towards the Brahmo Samaj and Sikhism— Mirza Ghulam Ahmad paid little attention to the quiescent Brahmo Samaj. Instead of opposing it, he referred to it as a hindrance rather then help to the spread of Christianity, because, although it admitted the greatness of Christ, those who had any Christian proclivities found a refuge in the vagueness of Brahmoism.

On the other hand, he paid more attention to the Sikhs. There was no love lost between Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and the modren Sikhism, and the sufferings of his family at the hands of the Sikhs in the days of their ascendancy in the Punjab were still fresh in his memory. But he evinced great love and respect for Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, and declared that Guru Nanak was a genuine and acknowledged Muslim and was sent (he so thought) to teach Hindus the truth of Islam.[3] Obviously, his aim was to win over the Sikh masses. They, however, did not respond to his call. The Mirza could not claim himself to be an *avatar* or a promised prophet of the Sikhs, because they do not believe in the advent of any re-incarnation of their Gurus.

1. *Review of Religions*, XV, 1916, p. 204.
2. *Ibid.*, I, 1902, pp. 409-10.
3. Waltz., op. cit., pp. 104-5; Yusaf Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
4. Mahmud, Ahmed, *op, cit.*, pp. 4-5; Waltz, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
5. Mirza, Bashir Ahmad, *op. cit,,* pp. 63-5.

(d) Ahmadiyat and Christianity—The proselytising activities of Christian missionaries disturbed Mirza Ghulam Ahmad much more than the *Shudhi* crusade of Arya Samaj. He remarked "Immense is the loss that Islam has suffered at their hands...There were days when apostasy was unknown to Islam but now thousands of Musalmans have gone over to Christianity".[1]

The Ahmadiya conception of Christian doctrines was vague and distorted. The Mirza made many ironicial references in regard to the Persons of the Trinity.[2] The Trinity, he said, was denied by nature, human nature, the Jewish prophets, the *Quran* and by Christ himself. He argued, "Everything, in its simplest form has been created by God in a spherical or round shape, a fact which testifies to and is consistent with the Unity of God... Had the doctrine of Trinity been true, all these things should have been created in a triangular shape".[3]

Furthermore, the Mirza declared that the Christian doctrine of the death and ascension of Christ was false. Equally false so he declared, was the Muslim belief that, when Jesus Christ was crucified, God sent down an angel who assumed his appearance, while the real Christ was translated to heaven. Jesus, he further declared, did not die on the Cross but recovered from the swoon and did not ascend to heaven but came to India via Afghanistan and died at the age of 120 in Kashmir.[4]

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad issued a proclamation in 1891 announcing that he was the Promised Messiah whose coming is foretold by the *Bible*. He told his followers that modren Christianity was dying out, and assured that the day of Islam's revived glory and power had been ushered in by the Promised Mahdi and Messiah that he himself was.[5]

(e) Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his prophecies—An interesting feature of the career of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was the astuteness with which he employed modern methods to spread his doctrines and turned to account the affairs of the day. He announced in

1. *Review of Religious*, IV, 1905, pp. 434-5.
2. *Ibid.*, I, 1902, pp. 180, 451.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
4. Mirza, Bashir Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
5. Waltz, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

1897 that he had a vision in which he saw plants of a dark colour being planted by angels which, as the angels told him, would bring on plague. On the strength of this vision, he prophesied the outbreak of a widespread epidemic of plague in the Punjab. His prophecy was ultimately fulfilled. To overawe his opponents he made numerous prophecies of death and disgrace to be visited upon them. In some cases, his prophecies came so true literally that it caused strong suspicion that steps had been taken by his followers, with or without his connivance, to see that the prophecy should not fail.[1]

(f) Progress of the Ahmadyias—In 1911 there were 18,695 Ahmadiyas as compared with 1,113 aged over fifteen in 1901.[2] Their number rose to 28,816 in 1921 and to 55,908 in 1931.[3] This shows that the faith was gradually being accepted by the Muslim community. "The community is certainly active", remarked Mr. C.W. Smith, "and it flourishes as the green bay tree. It has an exceedingly strong and closely knit organisation".[4]

(vii) Hindu[5] Muslim relations—A very regrettable phase of the religious situation was the antagonism, antipathy and jealousy which existed between the Hindus and the Muslims.[6] The cause of this friction was threefold social, economic and political.

There were differences in the religious systems of the two communities. The following are the main points of difference in this sphere. To the Hindus and the Sikhs the cow was a sacred animal, while the Muslim usually practised cow-slaughter on the festival of *Bakar-Id*.[7] The Hindus insisted on music at festivals and in their marriage processions, while music was an abomina-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-62; Griswold, H.D., *Mirza Ghulam Ahmad*, 1902, p. 21; *N.P.R.*, 1901, pp. 123, 225, *1902*, pp. 18, 409, 563; *1903*, p. 17.
2. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 169.
3. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 313.
4. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
5. The term also includes the Sikhs. Though the Hindus and the Sikhs had some differences among them, for all practical purposes they offered a united front when in controversy with the Muslims.
6. Sir Chhoto Ram once remarked "the poison of communalism is, I think to be found in a greater measure here than in any other province of India." (Speech of Sir Chhoto Ram in the *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, dated 31-12-1931.)
7. Coupland, R., *The Indian Problem*, I, 1943, p. 30.

tion near a Muslim place of worship.[1] Therefore, if music happened to be played near a mosque, Muslim feeling was apt to be inflamed quickly. Again, the Hindu image-worship and idolatrous practices were a pet aversion of the Muslim monotheists. Sometimes religious festivals were observed about the same time and, especially, if one was a joyous occasion and the other a time of mourning there was likely to be some conflict leading to bloodshed and murder.[2] Thus the two communities were two separate entities. There was practically no eating together, little intimate social fellowship and no intermarriage. Special arrangements for drinking water and food were necessary at public places and railway platforms.[3] "Thousands of Hindus" remarked Mahatma Gandhi "would rather die of thirst than drink water from a Muhammadan household".[4]

Apart from the antagonism due to conflicts between the two major religions, there were other forces at work, providing causes of perpetual jealousy between the two communities. The Muslims never forgot that they had once ruled over India, and similarly the Hindus always remembered that they were ruled with a rod of iron.[5] There were also strong economic causes to keep up this feud, for the Hindus enjoyed most of the education and the wealth and the Muslims shared most of the country's ignorance and abject poverty.[6] Usury is forbidden by the *Quran* whereas money-lending was a popular occupation among the Hindus. The Muslim peasantry alone owed at least 50-60 crores of the Punjab's debt calculated at Rs. 100 crores of rúpees, to Hindu money-lenders.[7] The situation was further aggravated by the scramble for government posts.[8] In short, the Muslim antipathy to the Hindu was also largely due to economic causes and the Hindu

1. Manshardt, C., *Hindu-Muslim Problem in India*, 1936, p. 30.
2. Craddock, Reginald, *The Dilemma in India*, 1929, p, 10; Coupland, *op. cit.* p. 29,
3. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 70; Mehta, *Failure of Provinical Autonomy in India*, 1944, p. 51; Alston, *Education and Citizenship of India*, 1910, p. 141.
4. Gandhi, M.K., *Life and Writings*, 1917, p. 123.
5. Manshardt, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Coupland, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
6. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-224; Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
7. Abdul Majid, *Imdad-i-Bahmi (Urdu)*, n.d., pp. 125-6; Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, pp, 19-20.
8. Gandhi, M.K.. *Hindu-Muslim Tension*, 1927, p. 7; Manshrdt, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60-64.

antipathy to the Muslim was mostly due to historic reasons.[1] The spirit of communal antagonism had been largely nurtured by the socio-religious movements of the nineteenth century and the communal organisations continued their work of deepening the separatist tendencies, emphasising communal wrongs or grievances, raising cries of religion in danger and thús widening the inter-communal gulf. The communal press, the denominational educational institutions, and proselytising in a spirit of cut-throat competition, all played their part in intensifying inter-communal hatred and rivalry.[2]

The gulf created between the two communities by social and economic factors was further widened by the political policy of *divide et impera* of the British Government. In fact, the political strategy of the Government would not have been so suecessful, had economic and social circumstances not supplied the basis. The first big step in this direction was taken by creating separate electorates under the Minto Morley Reforms. This change in politics gave a new meaning to the rivalries and antagonisms between them and consolidated all the disintegrating tendencies and the separatist elements into powerful, mutually opposed communal forces.[3] It was from this date onwards that the Hindus and the Muslims developed the habit of regarding themselves as separate political entities with separate historical destinies to fulfil.[4] As the separate electrorates became more fully established, the sense of disintegration grew more and more intense and the broad ideal of social and economic justice had to give way to the narrow ideal of special privileges and consequent weightage.[5] The situation grew from bad to worse until the years under Diarchy rolled by. The climax was reached by the still wider enfranchisement enacted in 1935 under Provincial Autonomy.[6]

If, therefore, communal tension increased to the point of a trial of strength there was constant danger of its explosion into

1. *P.A.R.*, 1923-24, p. 5.
2. *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, III, 1928, p. 397; *N.P.R.*, 1903, p. 282; Manshardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.
3. Prasad, Beni, *Hindu-Muslim Question*, 1941, p. 45; *Indian National* Congress, *A History of the Hindu Muslim Problem in India*, 1933, pp. 156-62.
4. *Memorandum Prepared for the Use of the Indian Statutory Commission by the Government of Punjab*, I, Pt. I, 1928, p. 4.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1923-24. p. 5; *N.P.R.* 1926, pp. 41, 48.
6. Coupland, *op. cit.*, "Pt. V", p. 75.

riots. Seldom did a year pass by without a conflict, and often chronic rioting involving attacks on old men, women and children, the looting of shops and incendiarism took place. During eight years (1931-38) as many as 60 communal riots flared up in the Province.[1] Whatever the pretext, any dispute between the Hindus and the Muslims was sure to assume a communal complexion, and the men who had been hitherto working side by side in perfect amity and fellowship would be stabbing one another to death.[2] The communal virus was rampant mostly in the urban areas, but it was gradually working its way into the rustic minds and modes of life.[3] On the question of communal antagonism Rabindranath Tagore remarked that "Communal separatism and dissensions are taking menacing shape, polluting the very source of our well-being. The solution of these problems may not be easy, but if not found, we shall descend lower and lower into the abyss".[4] Unfortunately his warning was not heeded and the mass-killing of 1947 at the time of India's partition will go down in the history of the world as a rare occasion when men forgot themselves and descended to the condition of beasts.

1. *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates,* dated 13-3-1939, Answer of the Parliamentary Secretary to Captain Sodhi Harnam Singh's question No. 4024.
2. A Hindu-Muslim clash when not emotional and instantaneous had invariably three phases : "First, the leaders start fighting with their tongues. Next, the press takes up the fight with the pen. Finally, the mob fights with the usual weapons-sticks, stones and knives". (Brij Narain, *Economic Structure of Free India,* 1946, p. 144; also see, *N.P.R.*, 1906, p. 158).
3. *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission,* III, p. 398.
4. Yusaf Ali *op. cit.*, p. 318.

4

MANNERS AND SOCIETY

The most important factor in the social economy of the Punjab was the excessively uneven distribution between the towns and the country-side. According to the Census in 1941, there were 52,047 villages, where more than 85 percent of the total population lived.[1] The number of towns was 283, out of which only seven towns had over 1,00,000 inhabitants each.[2]

The Typical Punjabi Village— The typical Punjabi village was an aggregate of cultivated holdings with or without some waste area attached to it and usually it had a central site, where the dwelling houses were congregated together, with the land of the cultivators spreading round about the central site in a series of concentric circles. In some cases, especially in the hills, small home-steads and farm buildings were found separately located on the land holdings.

The whole atmosphere in the villages was very simple and the mode of life in them had a character and vitality all its own. The villages were economically self-supporting. In the words of the Census Report of 1901, "A peculiar feature of Indian rural life is the way in which each village is provided with a complete equipment of artizans and menials so that, until the recent introduction of western commodities, such as machine-made cloth, kerosine oil umbrellas, and the like, it was almost self-supporting and indepen-

1. *Census 1941*, VI, pp. 2-3.
2. *Ibid.*

dent".[1] This picture of the village continued to be the same substantially during the period of our study

The daily life of an ordinary man and woman in the village was decidedly monotonous, a wedding or a fair only providing an occasional diversion. The social life mainly centered round the temple or mosque; the public well, which served as a meeting place of the womenfolk during day-time and the *Chaupal*, a local guest house, where the villagers gathered in the evening to while away time in smoking and gossip. The subject of the talk was invariably confined to personal matters, the administration of government officials and local politics.[2]

Dwellings

Town and country planning was woefully neglected in the Province. The houses were thrown together as accident might dictate, no attempt being ever made at regularity and symmetry.

Houses in the village—The average village was more a congeries of flat-roofed mud hovels separated by narrow alleys, while only here and there stood the spacious brick-houses of wealthy landlords, army pensioners, and money-lenders.

The houses of the poorer classes had a small courtyard and one room or two. "Very often there was only one room serving as a living room, bedroom, sick-room, kitchen and dinning room".[3] The most common plan of the houses of the well-to-do classes was that the courtyard was surrounded by a wall. The entrace to this was through a *deohri* or porch, which was generally ornamented in some way. This served as a temporary cattle-stall and implement-shed and the men of the family frequented it to smoke and gossip. But, usually there was a detached sitting room, variously called *diwankhana* or *baithak*. The cattle-shed usually adjoined the house. Cooking was done in a partly roofed shelter in a corner of the courtyard around which rooms were situated. The rooms were dark, damp and badly ventilated. Chimneys in the walls were conspicuously absent and the smoke escaped as best as it could through the doorway or by a hole in the roof.

1. *Census 1901*, I, Pt. 1, p. 197.
2. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, p. 155; *D.G. Delhi*, 1912, p. 50.
3. Government of India, *Better Housing*, 1955, p. 3.
4. Bingley, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

The surroundings of an average village were dreadfully insanitary. Drainage was faulty and the level of the floor of the houses was sometimes lower than the adjacent ground.[1] The water from the kitchen and baths collected in the neighbourhood and hea s of rotting garbage and pools of sewage lay only at a little distance from the main site of the village. However, it would be a complete fallacy to suppose that most of the villagers lived in filth and squalor. Although the village lanes and surroundings were often dirty enough, in the large part of the Province the inside of the houses was kept scrupulously clean.[2]

Houses in the towns—In contrast to the villages, where the houses were generally of mud, in the cities and towns the houses were of baked bricks and built close together eaves touching eaves in order to make the maximum use of the available space.[3] On account of urban land being valuable narrow winding lanes provided the only approach to the houses in place of streets and roads. Common houses were usually single-storeyed but the houses of the well to-do classes had often two or three storeys.[4] Only a few houses had courtyard on one side, the usual plan being to leave a little open space in the middle of the house around which rooms were erected. No suitable provision was made for letting light and air into the rooms. The roofs were used for the purpose of sleeping in summer and generally there was a small shed to shelter the family from the rain at night.[5]

The streets were ill-paved and ill-swept and had no sidewalks. Unchecked by the municipal authorities, the householders discharged the collected filth of the last twenty-four hours into the streets from doors and windows, without the least regard to sanitation.[6]

There was very little in the way of an artistic touch about these houses, but they were not uncomfortable.[7] In Delhi, a housewife decorated her house with "fantastic representations of pea-

1. *D.G. Gujrat, 1921*, p. 62.
2. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, p. 144.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 26.
4. *Ibid. D.G Lahore*, 1916, p. 80.
5. Brailsford, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
6. Hauswirth. *op. cit*,, p. 94.
7. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p. 293.

cocks, parrots or other birds, done in chalk or with red earth".[1] Occasionally, cheap, brightly coloured religious pictures were painted on the plastered walls of the houses. Designs were sometimes drawn on the floors or on a portion of the courtyard. The facade of the house was sometimes adorned with life-size frescoes and pictures of gods and godesses and even of men and women, explaining a certain text in the religious books.[2]

Houses in the hills—The architecture of the houses in the hills was more varied than in the plains. Thus the dwellings arose in every variety of style and material, some of stone, some of timber, some of burnt bricks and some even of mud or unbaked bricks. Slanting roofs was the rule, but flat roofs were also found in certain regions like Pangi, Kanwar and Lahaul.[3] The houses were usually multistoreyed, because level ground was not to be found commonly and every effort was made to make full use of that which was available. Chimneys and windows were rare except in the houses of the well-to-do classes.[4]

New trends—Mr.M.L. Darling recorded in his itinerary of atouray the Punjab in 1929 that "people are beginning to realise that a good house means a longer life".[5] In the towns the tendency to live in detached houses of the European bungalow type was on the increase as evidenced by the development of civil lines in some of the big cities like Lahore and Amritsar. Considerations of sanitation were slowly filtering down to the masses. The windows occupied a much larger area of the wall than in former times and let floods of light into the rooms. Similarly, chimneys in the walls were more and more replacing the small hole in the roof, whence the smoke had escaped. A wonderful improvement was also being made in the general architecture of the houses. In Kangra, where a wholesale reconstruction of houses became necessary after the destructive earthquake in 1905, the new houses were better planned and better-built.[6] In the villages, too, a definite improvement in

1. *D.G. Delhi.*, 1912, p. 94.
2. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 197; *At Freedom's Door*, p. 107; *D.G. Rohtak*, 1910, p. 392,
3. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917. pp. 210, 278; *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 119; *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 43.
4. *D.G, Kangra*, 1917, pp. 46, 210.
5. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929; p. 99.
6. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 26.

housing conditions was perceptible. The old, unfurnished, low-roofed hovel, with dark dungeon like cells, was slowly yielding to the well timbered house with windowed rooms.[1] In the canal colonies a distinct endeavour was made to lay out the town and village sites along lines calculated to facilitate ventilation and cleanliness.[2] "Everywhere in the colonies brick houses abound and luxuries, unknown not many years back, are fast coming in"[3] and a government official 'was astonished at the high standard of cleanliness' maintained in the interior of these houses.[4]

Demands of fashion and luxury in the matter of furniture kept pace with the change in the style of the houses. In the houses of the educated and well-to-do classes, the old carpet spread on the ground was being replaced by chairs, sofas and tables in conformity with the European fashion and a corresponding change was taking place in the use of toilet, table-clothes, crockery, and other household effects. In the villages, too, remarkable changes were discernible in this respect. Almost every housewife had a larger stock of metal utensils than before and many could boast of the luxury of a chair and table, some crockery, occasionally a sewing machine, gramophone or a clock.[5] Steel trunks were coming into use more and more and many household requisites and articles of toilet both imported an indigenous could be seen on the shelves.[6]

Food and drink

There was a marked sameness about the diet of the people, and bulk was stressed more than variety and balance. In the plains bread was generally of wheat[7] but in the hills maize and rice were the staple articles of food.[8] Gram was also eaten to some extent

1. *Ibid.*
2. *P.A.R.*, 1902-3, p. 20; Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, pp. 62, 145; *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, pp. 157-8, 165.
3. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 161.
4. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1964, p. 144.
5. Darling *Punjab Peasant*, 1925 pp. 158, 166; *At Freedom's Door*, pp. 61, 347.
6. Board of Economic Inquiry, *An Economic Survey of Durrana Langana (a village in Multan district)*, 1938, p. 266.
7. In the plains, maize was also eaten in winter and with *sag* it was a hot favourite of the people in all parts of the Punjab. In the south-eastern parts, *bajra* and gram were the stable articles of diet. (Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, pp. 143, 163-4).
8. *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 41; *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904 p. 224; *Gazetteer of Suket State*, 1927, p. 76.

either parched or in the form of dal [1] In summer, barley was consumed in the form of flour mixed with water and *gur*.[2] Fruits were eaten in season, but on the whole fruit did not form an integral part of the diet.[3] The Muslims and the Sikhs took meat when they could afford it, but to the majority of Hindus animal food was tabooed. Milk and milk products were consumed in large quantities, and the staple drink of all in the rural areas was invariably butter-milk.[4] Aerated water and *sharbat* were the favourite cold drinks of the people in summer. The use of ice was also gradually increasing. Tea was also relished especially in the towns but after the First World War the habit was introduced into the villages also by the soldiers returning from the war.[5]

The village-folk were very fond of wines and spirits and their growing prosperity was unhappily displayed in the increase in expenditure on liquor.[6] According to Darling, drunkenness constituted one of the major evils of village life, one of the chief causes of crime and the ruin of the families.[7] Amongst the townsmen, especially the upper and the working classes, a taste for alcohol was also growing.[8] In the hills this vice was widespread even among women and children.[9]

Smoking was very common among the Hindus and Muslims. The Sikhs were forbidden by their religion to indulge in it. *Hukka* was the most common mode of smoking especially in the villages.[10] As it was not handy to be taken from place to place and as fire was not easily available, *bidi* was the poor man's luxury. Cigars and cigarettes were confined to the official classes. Smoking among women was very rare and confined to the working

1. *Gazetteer of Jullundur District and Kupurthala State*, 1908, p. 6.
2. *Gazetteer of Phulkian States*, 1904, p. 85; *D.G. Gujranwala*, 1935, p. 96.
3. Board of Economic Inquiry, *An Economic Survey of Sunet, (a village in Ferozepur District)*, 1936, p. 171.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p; 164; *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, p. 144; *Rusticus*, 1933, pp, 56, 179, 297.
6. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 124.
7. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, p. 161; *At Freedom's Door*, pp. 89-90.
8. *N.P.R.*, 1901, p. 750; *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, Speech of Mrs. Duni Chand on March 4, 1938.
9. *Gazetteer of Suket State*, 1927, p. 117.
10. *D.G. Amritsar*, 1947, pp. 66; *D.G. Multan*, 1923-24, p. 130.

class only.[1] The use of opium, cocaine, *bhang* and *charas* was confined to a very limited section of the population.[2]

Dress

Men's Dress—The wardrobe of men in the rural areas comprised the pyjamas or the loin-cloth, *dhoti*, *tahmat* or *majhla* as the the lower garment and the shirt as the upper. The *dhoti*, a piece of cotton cloth generally five yards in length, was worn by the Hindus in the southern parts of the Punjab. The *tahmat* or *majhla* usually worn by the Muslims, was a sheet of cotton cloth three yards long and one yard and half wide and was wrapped round the loins, reaching the ankles. In many cases, especially among those who had any connection with official life, this gave place to the pyjamas, which were fairly loose upto the knees, but fitted rather tightly below up to the ankles where they rested in large number of horizontal folds.[3] In the north-west of the Province the Muslims as well as the Hindus used loose baggy trousers called the *shalwar*. It differed from the pyjamas in not being tight near the ankles.[4] The upper part of the body was clothed in a *kurta*, a loose and wide shirt, reaching upto the knees. In the cold weather, waist coat or a loose coat wadded with cotton was worn. Sometimes the only change made in the cold weather was to use a sheet of double-woven cotton or a woollen blanket. Some used a light quilt called *dulai* or *razai*. Sometimes the trousers were also padded with cotton.[5]

In the lower hills the ordinary clothing of a man belonging to poorer classes comprised a cap, a frock reaching up to the waist or a similar but longer garment called *cholu* reaching upto the knees, and short breeches.[6] In Pangi, men wore a long woollen coat tightened round the waist by means of string made of wool. The lower garment consisted of pyjamas of *pattu*, loose above and

1. *Gazetteer of Phulkian States*, 1904, p. 86.
2. *Ibid; N.P.R.*, 1906. pp. 142, 147, 153,
3. *D.G. Delhi*, 1912, p. 91; *D.G. Ambala*, 1923-24, p. 39; *D.G. Gujranwala*, 1935, p. 102.
4. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 54.
5. *D.G, Rohtak*, 1910, p. 39; *D.G, Ambala*, 1923-24 p. 39; *D,G. Sialkot*, 1920, p. 64; *D.G. Gujranwala*, 1935, p. 102; *D.G. Mianwali*, 1915, p. 85.
6. *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 205; *Gazetteer of Mandi State*, 1920, p. 92; *D.G. Kangra*, 1904, p. 104.

tight below. The use of gaiters was also very common.[1] In Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti, the men's dress resembled that of Pangi men with the exception that many of them wore long woollen gowns belted round the waist with a coarse scarf and their pyjamas were also loose.[2] The dress of men of the Gaddi tribe was different from that of the other hill people. They were picturesquely dressed and their loose home-spun shirts were well-made and sufficiently large to conceal a few lambs and kids.[3] They secured their upper garment with a woollen cord at the waist.[4]

The head-dress of men in the plains was usually a turban, and in the hills, a cap. The Gaddis were "fond of high peaked caps with flaps reaching down to the ears and flowers and a plume adorning the front".[5] The English hat and felt were popular with the educated classes only.[6] A small section of the population, influenced by the Indian National Movement, was gradually adopting Gandhi cap as its head-gear.[7]

Women's Dress—The attire of a Hindu woman comprised a *ghagara* or *lehnga* (skirt) of cotton and a *kurti* or shirt. In the south-east of the Province, married women usually wore a bodice called *angiya* or *choli* which supported the breasts and left the lower portion of the trunk naked.[8] The favourite apparel of the Muslim ladies was *shalwar* and a loose shirt. This dress was also common among the Hindu and Sikh women. In the districts of Gujrat, Shahpur, Gujranwala and Muzaffargarh women of all communities preferred to wear *tahmat* like men.[9]

In the hills, the women's costume did not differ much from their sisters' in the plains but in winter they usually wore a gown called *doru* which covered their whole body, fitting close round the neck. In Kulu they used a blanket fastening it skilfully on

1. *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 206,
2. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, "Pt IV", pp. 80-81.
3. Bruce, C.G., *Twenty Years in the Himalayas*, 1910, p. 71; Randhawa, M.S., *Kangra* (Punjabi), n.d., p. 78.
4. "The People of the Punjab", *Advance*, January-March, 1957; Vol. IV, No. 1.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Akshaya Kumari Devi, *The Fundamentals of Hindu Society*, pp. 20-21.
7. Ghurye, G.S., *Indian Costume*, 1951, p. 244.
8. *D.G. Rohtak*, 1910, p. 74; *D.G. Delhi*, 1912, p. 91; *D.G. Ambala*, 1923-24, p. 39.
9. *D.G. Gujrat*, 1921, p. 59; *D.G. Shahpur*, 1917, p. 136; D.G. Gujranwala 1935. D.G. Muzaffargarh, 1929, p. 94.
10. *D.G. Kangra*, 1904, pp. 206-7

each shoulder with a large silver or brass pin. They also wore long trousers greater in length than the leg and gathered it in folds round the leg. The lower garment in Chamba state was generally a blanket fixed round the loins with a waist-band, and hanging in folds to the ankles.[1] In Lahaul and Spiti the women's attire comprised a long woollen robe or coat with sleeves, trousers and thick gaiters.[2] "The robe is secured at the waist with a sash or girdle, from the back of which descend two strings of brass bells attached to the ends of them".[3] The dress of a Gaddi woman comprised a long frock reaching the ankles and secured with a woollen cord at the waist.[4]

A scarf variously named as *chuni*, *chuneriya*, *dopatta* or *orhni* was only head-gear of the women, though in the hills they covered their heads with handkerchiefs and in certain tracts they were caps.[5] The head-dress of the Gaddi women was "a *chader* thrown loosely over the body and sometimes fastened in the shape of a turban".[6]

Jewellery—Women were very fond of ornaments. The Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-39, estimated that the people spent more than Rs. 3 crores on jewellery annually.[7] There were ornaments for the arms, wrists, fingers, feet, ankles, nose, ears, neck and head. Mr. Baden-Powell gave a list of 99 names for ornaments in 1872, and his list by no means pretented to be exhaustive.[8] Jewellery was invariably made of gold, but silver was not uncommon in the hills and in the southern and north-westren parts of the Province In point of fact the kind of jewellery worn depended on the length of the purse of the wearer and the material varied from the cheapest trinkets made of lac, glass or brass to the most valuable gold necklaces studded with pearls and diamonds.

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1. *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 206.
2. *D G. Kangra*, 1899, "Pts. II to IV", p. 12.
3. *Ibid.*
4. "The People of the Punjab", *Advance*, January-March, 1957, Vol. IV, No. 1.
5. Forbes, *op.cit.*, pp. 149-50; Grove, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
6. "The People of the Punjab", *Advance*, January-March, 1957, Vol. IV, No. 1.
7. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, p. 28.
8. Punjab Government, *Monograph on Gold and Silver*, 1890, pp. 30-31.

Men did not show any liking for jewellery and were content with a ring, a pair of earings in the case of Hindus, or a gold bracelet.[1] But it was a comman practice to bedeck the infants with silver and gold ornaments, which often led to child-lifting and other ghastly crimes.[2]

Footwear—The shoes were always made of leather, but in the hilly areas grass sandals also were in use. The shoes were of various shapes. The commonest shape was the *Pothowari* which had a sharp pointed toe. The shoes worn by the richer classes had some kind of embroidery work done on them. The proper classes contented themselves with plain shoes. In Hindu homes, wooden sandals known as *kharawan* were used by men and women alike.[3] In the towns, the educated classes preferred to wear English shoes and boots. The demand for these was on the increase in the villages also. This is evidenced by the increase in the number of makers of boots, shoes and sandals in the Province. They numbered 1,93,552 in 1911 as compared to 2,44,161 in 1931.[4]

In Bushahr state, the usual kind of shoes had the uppers made of clothes and the shoes of leather.[5] On the Tibetan border, only long cloth-boots were worn.[6] In Kulu, Saraj, Lahaul and Pangi soles made of hemp and nettle fibre were commonly used.[7] However, as the means of communications improved, leather shoes were finding their way into the remotest parts of the hills in ever-increasing numbers.[8]

Changes in Dress— The dress of the village folk remained substantially the same throughout the period under review. But in the towns the taste for the cloth manufactured in Europe and for clothes in the English style, which had been discernible in the closing years of the nineteenth century, spread considerably

1. *D.G. Rohtak*, 1910, p. 95; *D.G. Ambala*, 1923-24, p. 39; *D.G. Ferozepur*, 1915, p. 122; *D.G. Jhang*, 1920, p. 72; *D,G. Gujranwala*, 1935, p. 103; *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, pp. 80, 277.
2. Punjab Government, *Rural Reconstruction*, n.d., pp. 6-7.
3. *D.G. Mianwali*, 1915, p. 85; *Gazetteer of Bahawalpur State*, 1904, p. 195.
4. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Tanning Industry in the Punjab*, 1939, p. 18.
5. *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 42.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *D.G. Kangra*, 1917, "Kulu and Saraj", p. 81.
8. *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 241; *Gazetteer of Simla Hill States*, 1910, p. 42.

in the present century.[1] The European style was most popular among the students and Government officials, and consisted of a shirt and collar generally without a necktie, waist-coat and coat, trousers and shoes of English style. The English hat and felt were gradually replacing the turban and the cap.[2]

In th women's dress, the *choli* was getting replaced by the longer, well-cut *kurta* and the voluminous *ghagra* by the lighter pyjamas or the *shalwar*.[3] The latter was becoming more popular both in the towns and the villages. The Hindu ladies of the well-to-do classes tended to adopt the *sari* in place of the *shalwar*.[4] High-healed shoes were becoming more and more familiar with the fair-sex and the words "fashion" and "suits" were passing into the feminine vocabulary and the more fashionable liked shirt, trousers and scarf (*dopatta*) to be all of the same colour.[5]

In the matter of jewellery tremendous changes were coming. The practice of wearing ornaments by men and children, especially by the latter, was on the decline. The women too having realised that it hampered their house-hold work, wore their jewellery on festive occasions only.[6]

Position of Women in Society

In the matter of women's status in society, there was wide divergence of attitude between the east and west. Women in India have not usually been treated as equals in medieval and modern times. They are expected to be subject to men all their lives, first to fathers and brothers, then to their husbands, and lastly to their sons.[7] As the parents of a girl had to give a large dowry to the bridegroom's family, girl babies were not so welcome as boys and were not so well looked after. Etiquette demanded of women that she should first serve the meals to her husband and other elderly members of the household and then eat herself. She

1. *D.G. Delhi*, 1912, p. 92; *D.G. Lahore*, 1916, pp. 79-80; *D.G. Multan*, 1923-24, p. 132; *D.G. Rawalpindi*, 1907, p. 97; *D.G. Amritsar*, 1947, p. 67.
2. Akshaya Kumari Devi, *op. cit.* pp. 20-21.
3. *D.G. Gurgaon*, 1935, p. 74.
4. Churye, G.S. *Indian Costume*, 1951, p, 244.
5. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, p. 289; *At Freedom's Door*, p. 61.
6. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1932, p. 59; *Rusticus*, 1933, p. 59.
7. Kulukbhat, *Manusmitri*, 1913 p. 346.

had to follow her husband at a respectable distance while walking.[1] Thus ideologically woman was considered to be a completely inferior species, inferior to the male, having no personality. Socially she was kept in a state of subjection, denied her rights and suppressed and oppressed.[3] In regard to her moral nature, woman was regarded as a temptress, a being whose sole aim was to divert man from the virtuous path. Women's main objective was considered "to minister to men's physical pleasures and wants".[3]

The Purdah System— The *purdah* system was unknown in ancient India. Its general adoption seems to be subsequent to the advent of Muslim rule in India. Since *purdah* was strictly observed in their native lands, the Muslims laid great stress on it in a foreign country like India. The Hindu adopted it as a protective measure in order to save the honour of their womenfolk and to maintain the purity of their social order. The tendency to imitate the ruling classes was another factor which operated in favour of its introduction among Hindu families.[4]

The Muslim ladies of the Higher families thought it improper to stin out without a *burqa* or veil. The middle class muslim ladies were also not less particular about it and would not move out of doors without a veil. The Hindu ladies of high caste did not use *burqa* but instead they covered their head and face with a *dopatta*. This was the etiquette out-of-doors. Indoors, both Hindu and Muslim ladies were subject to very strict seclusion. They had their own private apartments to which no male except children and very near relatives were ever admitted. Women thus shut away from the sun and fresh air, fell easy victims to diseases like consumption. "The *Zenanas* were veritable hothouses of infections. Early birth, weakness, disease, early death: within this vicious circle women were confined."[5] This also abolished all possibility of their participating in social life of the

1. *D.G. Gujrat*, 1921, p. 60; *D.G. Shahpur*, 1917, *p.* 137.
2. Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 231; Karkaria, *India ; Forty Years of Progress and Reform*, p. 118. "Some women will wash the great toe of the right foot of husbands, and, mixing the water with other water, will use no other for drinking purpose." *(Punjab Notes and Queries*, 1885, p. 59).
3. Dubois; *op, cit.*, p. 339.
4. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
5. Hauswirth *op. cit.*, p. 84.

community. Visits, feasts, discussions, musical concerts, all these took place in men's quarters into which women could only peep secretly.[1]

The *purdah* system also impeded the progress of education among women. Co-education could have been an economical way of making education possible for a large number of them, but the custom of seclusion of women required separate educational institutions for them. The scarcity of women teachers was also due to the prevalence of this custom. Some social institutions and customs such as the joint-family system, early marriage and enforced widowhood, which have been discussd in the preceding chapters, also checked the free growth of women's personality.

Absence of purdah among lower classes— No coercive seclusion of women was observed among the lower classes of society. Women of the peasant and working classes were entirely free from its bondage. They were expected to lend a helping hand to their husbands in outdoor pursuits and internal economy.[2] They would visit shrines and religious festivals, travelling on foot without any restriction worth the name. It was a common sight to see rustic women bringing home pitchers of water from village wells without any *purdah*. Women of the well-to-do families, of course, did not move about freely even in the villages.[3]

Prostitution—The discussion of the status of women in society would be incomplete withont some reference to the problem of prostitution.

Prostitution in various forms dates back to the dawn of human history. It is, therefore, deeply bound up with the traditions of the mankind and involves many very complex problems-social, economic, psychological, pathological and others.[4]

The Indian term *randee* as applied to all classes of women of ill-fame is a term of contempt. The calling itself was falling

1. *Ibid.*, p. 96
2. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 74.
3. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 36; Darling, *Rusticus*, 1929, pp. 13, 182; Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, pp. 65-110; Hauswirth, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Trevaskis, *op. cit.* II, pp. 73-4.
4. Schwarz, Oswald, *The Psychology of Sex*, 1953, p. 70.

into disrepute on account of an enlightened public attitude towards the institution and the incalculable havoc it tended to do.[1] "Only the lowest classes and those forced to adopt this profession as a last recourse are now to be found among these unfortunates".[2]

Prostitutes were generally found in big cities like Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar and Ambala and they were always segregated in separate localities. According to the Census of 1911 there were 5,557 of them in the whole of the Punjab.[3] The figure for procurers and prostitutes was 1,142 as reported by the Ceacus of 1931 which clearly shows that the profession was declining.[4]

Amusements

The importance of recreational activities in life was not fully comprehended. The social life of the people was very dull, a wedding in the family or a fair only providing an occasional diversion. There were a host of very interesting indigenous games played by children and adults. but hockey, foot-ball and volley-ball were becoming popular in schools and colleges. Badminton, tennis and cricket were also becoming popular in towns and cities. Women found very little time to assembly for some recreation except when they went to fetch water from the village well or a pond and when spinning together. In the urban areas conditions were not much different except that the town folk had more opportunities for recreation. In the following paragraphs a brief sketch of the various amusements practised both in the rural and the urban areas is given.

Fairs— Periodical fairs were held at numerous seats of Hindu pilgrimage to which Hindu men, women and chidren thronged in large numbers. There were also numerous local fairs in every district, hallowed by the memory of some great personality, Hindu or Muslim and associated with some events in the lives of the *avatars*. At the fairs, refreshment stalls were set up and booths were erected to which housewives, thrifty and gay, came from far to furnish their houses or replenish their cupboards. But they

1. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Ch. Riasat Ali on 22-2-1935.
2. Somerville, Augustus, *Crime and Religious Beliefs in India*, 1929, p. 5.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 520.
4. *Census 1931*, XVII, pp. 217, 240.

concentrated more on merriment and eating than on buying goods. Then there were always the rope dancers and acrobats called *nats* who entertained the audience with their wonderful feasts; jugglers; snake charmers and men with performing bears and monkeys to wheedle a few pice out of the pocket of the spectators.

Festivals— Most of the Hindu festivals were based on mythological, historical and astronomical considerations, while some like Vasant Panchami and Holi were observed owing to the alteration of the seasons. The most important of the Hindu festivals were Dussehra, Diwali, Janamashtami and Ram Naumi. The observance of the festivals was uniform over the greater part of the province, but slight local variations in the ritual were not uncommon.

The Sikhs did not show much interest in the observance of Hindu festivals especially after the Akali movement, which tended to separate the two communities.[1] Instead, they observed every year the martyrdom day of Guru Arjan Dev, Guru Teg Bahadur and the sons of Guru Gobind Singh. The celebration of the birthday of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was the greatest of their festivals. Formerly, the Hindus participated in the religious festivals of Sikhs, but latterly they were tending to keep themselves aloof.

The Muslim festivals were few in number, but were celebrated with full circumstances and enthusiasm. Most of them were connected with the anniversaries of some of the important events in the early history of Islam. Id-ul-Zuha or Bakar Id was considered the most important of the festivals of the Muslims. Annual fairs called U'rs were also held in memory of the Muslim saints and attracted vast crowds to their shrines. Every district and every locality had its own saint and people thronged in large number to witness the fairs. The followers of the *Pir* or the saint sang *qawalis* and many of them worked themselves into a state of rapturous ecstasy called *hal.* The *U'rs* of Imama Nasir at Jullundur, of Data Ganj Baksh at Lahore and of Shaikh Farid at Pakpattan in Montgomery district were great events and although they were primarily religious and sectraid in character, provided a lot of fun and sectarian of the ordinary people.

1. *Supra*, pp. 86-90.

Poetic Symposia—*Mushairas* or poetic symposia in Urdu were frequently arranged by public or by schools and colleges. Poets of renown from far and wide were invited to participate in them. They provided education and recreation for the guests as well as the audience

Theatre—There was not a single professional theatre in the Punjab.[1] As there was also no academy or training centre in India for actors and producers the amateur theatre had a very low standard.[2] The theatrical activity was confined to the annual show of a college dramatic society. Occasionally, a touring dramatic company would pay a visit to a big town to stage a religious or a historical drama Between the acts there was dancing and singing. No women actresses were employed and their roles were played by well-trained boys.[3] There were no footlights and no back-cloth and the front of the stage was open. The performances were usually given during the night time. The serious sections of the townsfolk did not take the theatre seriously and failed to regard it as a civilising influence and a criticism of life apart from its utility as a good pastime.[4]

If the stage did not appeal to the townspeople, it was a hot favourite of the rustic audience. In the villages rude plays called *swangs* were performed by professional castes like Bhands and Nats. These strolling actors were always moving round the country-side and gave performances free of admission fee. Sometimes the party included a woman actress also, so that men came to see the actress as much as the play. The play occasionally assumed a religious character when it was called *Ras*. In the garb of religious episodes it was an occasion for love-songs, and loose talk. These dramatic parties if they can ever by termed so were either supported by the village community or by a wealthy person who wanted to celebrate a wedding, the birth of a child or some other auspicious event in his family. The party's equipment was very simple. There were no drop curtains and no painted scenery whatsoever. "These plays do not need a stage, but are performed

1. *The Tribune*, Ambala Cantt., dated May 31, 1959.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Wilkins, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
4. Anand, Mulk Raj, *The Indian Theatre*, 1950, p. 24.

on the ground; there is no scenery—the actors when not engaged keep their seats, and rise when their turn comes to speak".[1]

Dancing Girls—The art of the dancing girls was more valued and better paid during the Sikh rule in the Punjab and was a major item in the merriment of the court as well as the courtiers. After the annexation of the Province to British India in 1849, it gradually lost patronage as a consequence of the disruption of aristocracy.[2] But their utility as a means of entertainment of guests at joyous occasions had no rival. It was usual to call for dancing girls on festive occasions and in many districts the dancing girls, many of whom were also prostitutes, led the marriage procession and their doing so was considered auspicious.[3] But their employment was losing ground due to the spread of education and the increasing popularity of motion pictures among the people.[4]

The dancing girls also used to sing and their performances were often of a tedious character and generally went on all through the night. The dances were so adjudged that they were quite appropriate to the songs. The motions were slow and dignified, but dreamy and sensuous. The arms and fingers, the twisting of the wrists and ankles, the languorous manipulation of the head and the supple turnings of the waist and body, all contributed to the general effect. The accompanying music was in a minor key, a low, sad, dreamy monotone played by a man with a *Sarangi* [5]

The Cinema —The theatre formed the chief means of mass entertainment for the village folk, while in the cities whatever place it had occupied was being usurped progressively by the silent motion pictures, and latterly by the talkies introduced in the Punjab in the early thirties of this century.[6] Though touring talkies sometimes gave shows in the larger villages, such occasions

1. Wilkins, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
2. Dutt, R.R., "Kathak-Court Dance of India", *The Tribune*, October 5, 1958.
3. Somerville, *op. cit.*, p. 4; *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq on 28-10-1935.
4. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 162.
5. Ram Gopal, *Indian Dancing*, 1951. pp. 21, 59, 73, 76-79.
6. Shah, Panna, *The Indian Film*, 1950; pp. 19-101.

were few and far between.[1] "On the whole, Indian pictures were crude in comparison with Western films in all respects. They were defective both from an artistic as well as from a technical point of view. Plots and scenaries were indifferent and lacked originality. The action was wooden and unexpressive. Composition and photography were poor; and generally films were too long and boring,"[2] It may be pointed out that the use of films as a vehicle for social reform and their role as the most popular medium of mass entertainment is quite recent. Until the end of the period under survey, it was considered a cheap sort of entertainment for cheap people.[3]

The Circus—Occasionally, touring circus companies from south India visited the cities and towns and gave shows in huge tents. Acrobatic and physical feats performed by men and women constituted an important part of the show. Clowns often added jocularity and hilarity to the occasion. The circus was an expensive affair and left less margin of profit than the motion pictures. As such it was being progressively superseded by the talks during the period of our study. Its popularity with the people, however, remained the same and whenever a circus company came to a town, men, women and children thronged to it in large numbers.

The Radio—Another means of entertainment was the radio. It was first introduced in the towns and cities in the twenties of the present century. Gradually it began to make its appearance in the villages, but only in the houses of the well-to-do classes. Few could afford the price and the servicing of the battery was a further handicap to its rapid spread.[4]

Other means of recreation were playing-cards, chess, *chauser* and numerous chance games. The relating of short stories of fairies: heroes and witches to children by mothers at bedtime and the solving of riddles were very common.

1. *Report of the Indian Cinematograph Committee*, 1927-28, p. 21.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 35; Shah, Panna, *op. cit.*, p. 44. There was no film studio in the Province and the films were imported from Bombay, the only centre of Hindistani film production in India.
3. Darling. *At Freedom's Door*, p. 347; *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Dr. Mrs. C. Shave on 29-7-1929.
4. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, pp. 316-17.

Folk-Culture

Folk-Songs—The Punjab has a rich store of folk-songs. Most of these songs are loose-knit and variants of the same songs could be heard in the districts scores of miles apart. There is always scope for addition of fresh verses and more attractive thoughts and the people continue to compose couplets which might faithfully reflect the spirit of the changing times.[1]

Songs of the Spinning Wheel—Songs of the spinning wheel were very popular among the womenfolk. The spinning wheel was the constant companion of the fair-sex. It was regarded by them as their guardian, a wise counsellor in distress and a lifelong friend.[2] Many of the most delicate songs are addressed to the spinning wheel. Far away from her parents, and labouring perhaps under the discipline of her overbearing mother-in-law, the newly wedded girl would open her heart to the spinning wheel thus.

"Ghoom, ghoom, O'spinning wheel, ghoom, ghoom
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not ?
Spin, girl, spin, O' spin, girl, spin.
Should I tell or not ?
Tell, girl, tell, O' tell girl, tell.
My husband is of tender years, O' spinning wheel,
Should I stay with him or not ?
Stay, girl, stay, O' stay, girl, stay".[3]

And again :

"Ghoom ghoom mera chaikhara
Main sauhre ghar vasan ka nan
Vas bisi vas"

("Ghoom ghoom, O' my spinning wheel, should I live with my 'in-laws or not ? Live my girl live".)[4]

Also many songs giving expression to love, hope and repressed and unfulfilled joys and desires of life were associated with

1. *Indian Farming*, 1946, Special Number, p. 272.
2. Roshan Lal, "Folk-lore of the spinning wheel", *The advance*, July-September, 1959. Vol. VI; No. 3.
3. *Indian Farming*, 1946, special Number, p. 272.
4. Roshan Lal, "Folk-lore of the spinning wheel", *The Advance*, July-September, 1959, Vol. VI, No. 3.

the spinning wheel. This was how a woman expressed her deep love for her husband.

"Fine yarn I spin, but so cheap it sells
O'fair, the wearer, in my bosom dwells
High dwells my dear, his turban's tie is slant
He is my lord, am on his feet intent".[1]

Songs depicting a sister's love for brother—

A sister's love for her brother in a typical theme of the folk-songs. If a girl has many brothers, her love for each is the same, but the younger brother is always the focus of her affection. She sings the praises of her brother in the play songs of her childhood thus.

"Hands interlocked like hoops of steel
In *kikli* dance, O'let me wheel
My brother's goodly turban I
Most lovingly shall glorify
His shoulders silken shawl as well
With deep affection I shall eye.
Beshrew the crack-cheeked son-in-law
His face with coal-tar I must dye".[2]

A married woman's only hope is her brother who would deliver her from the maltreatment of her husband or mother-in-law. The brother's horse is the best, his house the highest and his crops the richest; he wears a white turban and is honoured with a chair in the law-court.

Love-Songs—The most popular form of the love-songs is the Mahia. Mahia is an abridged form of Mahiwal (literally, one who tends buffaloes) In Hir Ranjha, the romantic ballad of the Punjab, we find Ranjha engaged as a Mahiwal in his beloved Hir's house. But as Ranjha was more of a lover than a servant, the word "Mahiwal" lost its original meaning and turned into a synonym of lover. Mahia songs are often composed extempore. "Like the the fresh flowers of spring they blossom to wither away after a

1. *Ibid.*
2. Peace, M.L., "Punjabi Women", *The Advance*, April-June, 1958, Vol. V. No. 2.

period. But they are never really lost".[1] The following is a specimen of a popular fragment of a Mahia song.

> "Sone da kil Mahia; Lokan dian ron akhian, Sada rondaee dil mahia".
> ("Lo ! here is a nail of gold, my love; the people's eyes weep, but mine is the heart that weeps, my love".[2])

The Punjabi girl was, by nature, very shy and modest and, unlike her sisters in Western countries, was extremely reluctant to enter into courtship. The choice of a husband fell on her parents and she, without demur, accepted their choice.[3] There are numerous songs, mirroring a girl's aspirations for a good husband. The following is a specimen.

> "Father what a match you have chosen !
> Short stature is not to my liking.
> Standing on the roof as I see
> He looks like a stone rolling towards me".[4]

The following is a specimen of a song depicting a lover's laments.

> "My friend buxom but coy
> The monsoon merriments enjoy,
> But me all times annoy
> Separation's pangs, no ease I know,
> Wind of the East, forbear to blow".[5]

Wedding Songs—Marriage was a special occasion for songs. A fortnight before the wedding, both in the houses of the bride and the bridegroom, women and girls assembled daily to sing nuptial songs. A girl would sing at the marriage of her brother thus:

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1. Satyarthi, D., "Songs from my village", *Modern Review*, March, 1938, p. 308.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Peace, M.L., "Punjabi Women", *The Advance*, April-June, 1958, Vol. V No. 2.
4. Kartar Singh, 'The Punjabi Folk-lore", *The Tribune*, November 10, 1957.
5. Peace, M.L. "Punjabi Women", *The Advance*, April-June, 1958, Vol. V, No. 2.

My *vira* (brother) is to wed
He comes with jaunty tread.
Cool breeze upon him blows
To alter as he goes.
Heaped is my *vira*'s head
With flowers, gold and red
The elders and the elite
In clean-white raiment alight
And brides with bracelets fine
A jingle gaily join
The wedding of *vira* mine".[1]

The couplets that are sung when a bride was about to depart from her house are some of the most pathetic.[2] Here is a dialogue between the departing bride and her father.

"O who'll care to clean thy utensils after me dear dad ! Lo my mamma is seen shedding tears in her compartment dear dad !"

"I'll send for thee soon and thou will come to see thy mamma, pray, darling, now leave for thy new home."

"Thy daughter-thy daughter will be thirsty,
In the stages of the journey through thy estate dear dad !"

"I'll construct a few wells,
Pray, darling, now go thy new home".[3]

Songs of Chivalry—Situated on the frontier of India, the Punjab had for centuries been a land of warring races and tribes. A son, born in a family, was the future soldier and defender of the entire community. In the present century the first occasion for the womenfolk to sing songs of bravery which used to be sung whenever their kinsmen proceeded to the battlefield, was provided by the First World War. Sir Micasel O' Dwyer, the Lt. Governor of

1. *Ibid.*
2. Kartar Singh, "The Punjabi Folk-lore", *The Tribune*, November, 10, 1957.
3. Satyarthi, D, "Thus Sing the Country Women of the Punjab", *Modern Review*, February 1936, p. 142.

the Punjab, writes. "In the Great War nearly every fit man of military age came forward—and an inspiring sight was to see the batches of young recruits escorted for miles on their way by their mothers, wives and sisters, singing songs of the brave deeds of their forefathers and urging the youngmen to emulate them".[1] Here is a specimen :

> "My Lord, I ask you to take care of your father's honour, as also my father's,
> Life is but a shadow, it goes and comes ;
> Running back cowardly, mind you,
> You'll get a pillow all right, not my arm instead".[2]

The hero's wife strikes a note that is entirely her own. The barber's wife comes to dye her feet with henna, and she addresses her thus :

> "Dye not my feet, pray dye not, barber's wife,
> Tomorrow begins the battle, I hear,
> And if my hero-husband gives his life fighting,
> Remember to come and dye my feet with the deep red".[3]

Patriotic Songs—"Folksongs are the autobiography of a people",[4] and the women of the Punjab have been the real custodians of this folk-art. India's struggle for freedom had a far-reaching effect on the folk-culture of the Province. The national movement touched the remotest corners of the Province and threw up ballad writers pamphleteers, and poets. The couplets of the popular poets introduced the leaders to the masses. These songs were related to the various phases of the national movement. The following couplet regarding the Swadeshi movement[5] was very popular among the womenfolk.

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1. O' Dwyer, Michael, *India as I knew it*, 1885-1925, p. 41.
2. Satyarthi, D., "Rajput Songs of War", *Modern Review*, January 1939, p. 69.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Kartar Singh, "The Punjabi Folk-Lore", *The Tribune*, November, 10, 1957.
5. Swadeshi means "own country." The movement was one advocating the use, as for as possible, of Indian goods only and for developing manufactures in India to make this possible.

"Ral mil sarian matta pakao
Mall badeshi band karao
Khaddar nall preet lagao
Sun lao karke dhian
Mun lo Gandhi da farman".[1]

(Let us resolve in a body,
To boycott foreign goods,
Let us patronise our *khaddar*,
Hear attentively and obey
The Call of Mahatma Gandhi).

Again, the feelings of the people towards Non-Cooperation Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi are depicted by the couplet thus :

"Nar mil verto te lai lavo sawaraj ji
Nale Gandhi di rakhlao laj ji".[2]

(Attain freedom by launching Non-Cooperation Movement and thus save the honour of Mahatma Gandhi).

The following lines from a Punjabi folk-song composed during the struggle for freedom clearly bring out the strong belief of the people in the ideal of non-violence.

"De charkhe noon gera
Lor na topan de"

("We do not require guns to win our freedom.
Ply your spinning wheel whole-heartedly and it will work a miracle").[3]

Folk-Dances—The most important folk-dances of the Punjab plains are the Bhangra, Giddha, Jhummar, Dhamyal and of the hill people, Natti.

Bhangra—It is a typical folk-dance of the agriculturist classes. Traditionally this dance is associated with the harvesting season, and was performed under the light of the full moon, but

1. Suri, V.S., "Punjab Ke Lok Geeton Main Azadi Ki Goonj", *Daily Partap*, Jullundur, February 10, 1956.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Roshan Lal, "Folk-lore of the spinning wheel", *The Advance*, July-September, 1959, Vol. VI. No. 3.

nowadays it is performed on any joyous occasion. It is a simple, communal dance in which anybody can join at any time. The movement is circular, so that the circle goes wider and wider, as more and nore dancers keep coming in. There is a drummer or two in the centre of the circle to time the rhythm of the dance. The dancers whirl round and round, clapping their hands and lurning and twisting their bodies and exclaiming "Bale Bale oh Bale Bale" to inspire themselves and others to the abandon of the dance.[1] To begin with the movements are slow but as the drum beats faster, the steps go swifter. The dancing is interspersed with singing when the performers stop and one man comes forward near the drummer and sings a couple of lines, from the traditional folk-songs of the Punjab called *doli* or *dhola* at the top of his voice. As soon as he finishes, the dancing is again resumed with greater energy and speed. The Bhangra goes on for hours with new people joining in as others drop off.[2] Bhangra is essentially men's dance, and women never participate in it.

Gidha—It is an exclusively women's dance though men are sometimes allowed to participate if they happen to be their very near relatives.[3] The dance is as spontaneous as the Bhangra, only softer in tone and more interspersed with songs. The dance proceeds in a circular movement, on the rhythm of clapping, in harmony with the steps. The songs are indispensable. There can be on Gidha without the Gidha songs. The couplets are sung to the set Gidha tune and the movement of the dance remains uniform throughout. The tempo rises near the end, when both the steps and the songs move swiftly.[4] The Gidha songs called *bolis* are either 'short' or 'long'. The 'short bolis' are of two lines followed by "Bale Bale" and the 'long' may range from four to twenty lines.[5] These songs talk of marriage, love, pangs of separation, the heroes and heroines of the popular Punjabi romance and various other social subjects.[6]

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1. Wahi, M.N., "Folk-dances of the Punjab", *The advance*, July-September, 1958; p. 35.
2. Pritam Singh, "Bhangra and Gidha", *The Tribune*, May 6, 1956; *D.G. Sialkot*, 1920, p. 71.
3. Mohinder Singh, "The Gidha Dance", *The Advance*, March 1955; Vol. II, No. 3.
4. Satyarthi, D., *Gidha* (Punjabi), 1958, pp. 68-69.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90, 103, 159, 211, 334, 336.

Jhummar—It is a simple dance based on the usual circle and accompanied by drum and the clapping of hands by the dancers. Any time is Jhummar time, for it is, first and last, an ecstatic expression of joy. It is a mixed dance of men and women.[1]

Dhamyal—It is the most favourite dance of the people of Haryana.[2] In this dance also both males and females participate and it forms a part of the Holi celebrations.[3] The dancers assume a kneeling pose as if deeply absorbed in mediation and longing for the peace of the soul. Nata Raja, the king of the dance, realising the drab, monotonous life of the people descends from the heaven to bless them with the spiritual instinct of art and dance. Simultaneous with this, the music starts and along with this the dancers spring up singing and dancing together around the Nata Raja. The dance is interspersed with folk-songs of some historical social or romantic significance.[4]

Dances of the Hill People—The folk dances of the hill people are very colourful. The men in Kulu and Saraj dressed themselves in "white long coats, with black caps on their heads, topped with tufts of iridescent Monal plumes", and danced to the sound of drums and trumpets. Their sword-dance, called the Natti dance, is very manly and they execute it with a spirit of joy. The performers start with slow movements and with the rise of tempo dance in various formations.[5] Another dance known as Lehlri, in which both men and women dance together, was very popular in Kulu Valley.[6]

The ancient dance and music of the Gaddi shepherds of Kangra valley offer a rich feast of delight and beauty. Smartly dressed in kilts of snow-white wool with their loins girded with yards of thick black ropes, the Gaddi men dance in a spirit of abandon to the tune of thumping sounds of the drum called *Naqara*. Their most popular song accompanying the dance is the

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1. *D.G. Jhang*, 1906, p. 68.
2. Randhawa, M.S., *Haryana-de-Lok Geet* (Punjabi), n.d., pp. 4-5.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-80; wahi, M.N., "Folk-dances of the Punjab", *The Advance*, July-September, 1958, p. 35.
5. Randhawa, M.S., *Kulu-de-Lok-Geet* (Punjabi), 1925, pp. 48-9.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-3, 61.

romantic story of Konjua and Chanchlo, the Romeo and Juliet of the hills[1] The women do not participate and only watch the dancers. The charming background provided by gay women dressed in colourful home-spun garments and overladen with silver jewellery, keep the spirits of the dancers up and they continue dancing for hours together.[2]

1. Randhawa, M.S., *Kangra* (Punjabi), 1955, p. 86.
2. *Ibid.*

5

EDUCATION

Before the annexation of the Punjab to British India in 1849, the education imparted in the schools was more religious than secular in character, and there was not a single institution for higher learning.[1] The first Government school was opened at Amritsar in 1849,[2] and the Department of Public Instruction was established in 1856 as a result of the recommendations of the Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854.[3] Consequently, both elementry and higher education began to make rapid progress in the Punjab. The position in 1901 was that there were 2,883 primary schools, 351 secondary schools and 15 colleges in the Province.[4] Besides, there were 3,850 private schools of the old type imparting religious instruction mainly, which did not conform to the educational standards laid down by the Department of Public Instruction. The number of indigenous schools gradually declined, because they were not given grants-in-aid by the Government.[5]

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1. *Selections from Educational Records (1840-1859)*, Pt. II, 1922, pp. 278-9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 280
3. "The real foundation of modern education in the Province (Punjab) was laid by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 which was the first authoritative declaration on the part of the British Government about the educational policy to be followed in India'. It declared 'the advancement of western knowledge' as its avowed object, defined the comparative position of English and Indian languages and provided a scheme which tried to touch all aspects of Indian education, right from the primary to the University stage".
   (Sethi, R.R. & Mehta, J.L., *A History of the Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1947-67*, 1968, pp. 1-2).
4. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 167.
5. *Ibid.*

Elementary Education.

Elementary education in urban areas was comparatively easy to provide, organise and make efficient. But primary education was essentially a rural problem as a great majority of the population lived in the villages. The main obstacle to its extension in the rural areas was the idea that the education creates a prejudice in the mind of the rural scholar against his ancestral occupation and made him soft-handed and unfit for agriculture.[1] To remedy this situation, a system of Zamindari Schools was introduced in 1886 in the rural areas.[2] In these schools, half-time attendance was required and the schools were closed altogether during harvesting seasons.[3] Elementary reading and writing in the language chosen by the people, and arithmetic by the indigenous methods were taught.[4] The schools flourished only for a short span of years and soon lost their popularity, because they did not lead to higher education and therefore to government employment. In 1901 they numbered only 187 with 5,562 pupils.[5]

In view of their growing unpopularity with the agricultural classes and in keeping with the policy of the Government of India[6] steps were taken from 1908 onwards to replace Zamindari Schools with Rural Schools.[7] The curriculum prescribed for a Rural School was a mere compromise between the curriculum of a Zamindari School and that of an ordinary Primary School.[8] The distinguishing features of the new courses of study were the omission of Persian and the inclusion of the Indian system of keeping accounts.[9] This type of school rapidly grew in favour and was gradually adopted by all village Primary Schools

Five-Year Programme for extension of elementary education

The first big step towards the instruction of the children of agriculturists was taken in 1918, when a five-year programme

1. *Ed. R.*, 1913-14 pp. 12-13; Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, p 88.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. xxix.
3. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 222.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 177.
5. *Ed. R.*, 1901-2, p, 18,
6. *Indian Educational Policy*, 1904, p. 20.
7. *P.A.R.*, 1907-8, p, 48.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ed. R.*, 1906-7, p. 24.

for the extension of education in the rural areas was launched.

The main object of this programme was to increase the number of schools and their enrolment. Accordingly, a scheme was formulated under which schools were to be established at every centre where an average attendance of 50 pupils was expected, provided that a distance of two miles ordinarily intervened between the two schools. It was expected that this target would be achieved within the period of 15 years, but a programme for five years was drawn up in the first instance. As the task of providing education in the rural areas was entirely in the hands of District Boards, they were given grants-in-aid by the Government in a fixed proportion to what each of them spent on opening new schools under this scheme.[1]

The programme met with remarkable success. Thus there were 7685 primary schools with 401872 scholars in 1923-24[2] as against 6123 primary schools and 289690 scholars in 1918-19.[3] The programme was, however, not renewed due to lack of funds.[4]

Wastage and Stagnation.

But the picture was not so rosy as the above statistics would lead one to infer. There was a good deal of wastage and stagnation involved at the primary stage with the result that there was a considerable disparity in the enrolment from class to class in the primary schools.[5] By wastage is meant the discontinuation of studies at any stage before the completion of the primary course. By stagnation is meant the retention in a lower class of a child for a period of more than one year.

The difficulty of keeping the young scholars at school was alleged to be, to a large extent, an economic difficulty. The agriculturist wanted his children to help him and looked to them to increase the family income.[6] Naturally, just when it became

1. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, No. 1199, O.S. dated 28.9.1923; *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1918-19*, Appendix A.
2. *Ibid.*, 1924-25 p. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, 1918-19, pp. 2, 13.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, II, p. 15; *P.A.R.*, 1924-25, p. 7.
5. *Hartog Committee Report*, 1929, pp. 47-48.
6. Proceedings of the Department of Education, Punjab, No. 18(A), dated 12-6-1918.

useful for a boy to spend most of his time at school, he also became a useful asset to his parents. Thus in 1921-22, wherer as there were 225517 boys in class I, there were only 50496 in class IV.[1] In the case of girls the position was still worse.[2] The situation was however, carefully studied by the Department of Public Instruction and the pages of its annual reports are replete with references to this effect. The policy adopted to tackle this problem was to reduce the number of one-teacher schools, which were extravagant and ineffective because in such schools all the primary classes were in the charge of one teacher, owing to the small number of scholars. It was also thought necessary to raise primary schools to lower middle schools containing six classes, so that the period for which a scholar had to remain at school might become longer.[3]

All these measures succeeded remarkably well. They tended to reduce the disproportionate base of the pyramid at class I and produced a more uniform distribution of scholars in the four classes as the following statistics show.[4] The figures in brackets represent the percentage of the total number of scholars on the rolls of the schools.

Year	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1931-32	393523 (49.6)	182898 (23.0)	120186 (15.1)	97685 (12.3)
1934-35	343368 (47.4)	159780 (22.0)	122192 (16 8)	98947 (13.6)
1936-37	317350 (44.2)	168197 (22.1)	130147 (18.1)	101616 (14.1)
1938-39	298878 (41.3)	172820 (23.9)	139163 (19.2)	112491 (15.6)

It is clear that though the position was improving gradually, yet a great leeway had still to be made up to achieve the ideal distribution of students in the four classes.

1. *Ed. R.*, 1923-24, p. 4.
2. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1929, pp. 37, 47, 50-7.
3. *Ed. R.*, 1927-28, p, 121; 1936-37, p. 14,
4. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, pp. 10, 12; 1938-39, p. 51.

Free and compulsory education

The Government of India considered in 1906 a scheme for the abolition of fees in all primary schools, which were neither under public management nor in receipts of grants from public funds and invited the views of the local governments on this.[1] The main object of the measure contemplated by the Government of India was to relieve certain classes of the community from "a form of taxation", which payment of fees was regarded as amounting to.[2]

The Government of the Punjab while appreciating this move observed that the fees levied in the Province, even if regarded as a tax, were not excessive and did not press heavily upon any section of the community.[3] In this Government was fully justified. The children of the agriculturists and village *kamins* were exempted from the payment of fees by article 234 of the Punjab Education Code, while article 235 authorised exemption, upto a limit of 10 per cent of the total number on the rolls, in the case of boys whose parents were too poor to pay fees.[4] In 1912 it was calculated that about two-thirds of the pupils in primary schools did not pay any fees.[5] A further step in this direction was taken in 1913-14 by raising the proportion of students who could be exempted from payment of fees on account of poverty to 25 per cent of the total number.[6] The scheme of free education was further enlarged by providing free education to the children of all the Indian soldiers who had been on the active list between August 4, 1914 and November 11, 1918 and were in indigent circumstances.[7] The chief obstacle in making primary education free was the limited financial resources of the Government to make good the loss of income from fees.[8]

1. Government of India, Home (Education) Proceedings No. 78A for December, 1906.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Government of India, *Papers regarding the question of the abolition of fees in primary schools*, 1910, p. 241.
4. Punjab Government. *Punjab Education Code*, 5th ed., p. 58,
5. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 186.
6. *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 63.
7. Proceedings of His Honour The Lt. Governor, Punjab, in the Home (General Department) No. 28581 dated 4.12.1921.
8. Government of India, Home (Education) Proceedings No. 78A for December, 1906.

Apart from making education free, the most effective means of removing illiteracy is widespread application of the principle of compulsion. Accordingly, the Punjab Primary Education Act was passed in 1919.[1] It embodied the principle of compulsory primary education by local bodies with the sanction of the Government and was confined to boys only. No fees were to be charged. The Act was also not to extend beyond a radius of two miles from a primary school, and was confined to the age between six and eleven years, or where necessary seven and twelve.[2] The municipal authorities of Multan started compulsory education with effect from April 1, 1921.[3] The Lahore municipality followed its example and applied compulsion from October 1, 1921.[4] In the beginning, the Act was bitterly opposed by a small section of the Muslim community. The *Maulvis* issued a *fatwa* against the Act, because they feared that it would stop the religious instruction of Muslim boys.[5] The agitation, however, cooled down on the persuation of Lala Harkishan Lal, Minister of Education, Punjab Government, who convinced them that the Act had nothing to do with religion.[6] The Government became cautious on its part and in order to ensure good progress it decided to try the scheme first in a few selected areas and, on its success, to extend it gradually to other areas. Local demand for the introduction of compulsion was stimulated through propaganda made by the Department of Public Instruction and by influential persons of the locality concerned.[7] These efforts did not go unheeded and in spite of many initial difficulties the movement made good progress. Thus while in 1923-24 compulsory education was in force in 14 urban areas and 156 rural areas only,[8] on March 31, 1939 the numbers were 65 and 2947 respectively.[9]

The real test of the success of compulsion, however, is that it should lead to a diminished waste of educational labour through

1. Punjab Government, *Punjab Gazette*, 1919, Pt. V., pp. 311-13.
2. See *The Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919.*
3. Punjab Government, *Report of the Compulsory Education Committee*, 1930, p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) No. 26628/A, dated 5.12.1935.
8. *Ed. R.*, 1923-24, p. 48.
9. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 54.

leakage and stagnation, if not to its total elimination. In this respect the scheme did not make much headway. Reports from various districts sometimes revealed that the measure had proved ineffective and inefficacious.[1] There was no marked improvement in the areas brought under the operation of the Act in the matter of enrolment, average attendance and of turning out a higher percentage of literates as compared with non-compulsory areas.[2]

The causes of slow progress of compulsory education were many. In the opinion of Compulsory Education Committee appointed by the Punjab Government in 1930, poverty of the rural population was "perhaps the most serious obstacle to compulsion.[3] It was not easy to convince the illiterate parents, who needed the labour of their children to augment the family income, of the social and economic benefits of education.[4] The other causes of failure were the lack of strict enforcement of the penal clauses of the Act and dilatory, intricate and expensive procedure for the conviction of defaulting parents.[5] At the same time it was felt that it would serve no constructive purpose "to harass the people by the infliction of fines which they cannot afford to pay".[6]

Secondary Education

Secondary schools were either middle or high. A middle school usually contained a primary as well as a middle department. A high school, in addition to its high department, usually contained these two also. The middle course extended over four classes[7] (in addition to the four classes in the primary course), and the high course extended over two years ending with the Matriculation Examination.[8] On passing this examination the students were admitted to a University course.

1. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of S. Ujjal Singh on March, 4, 1929; *Ed. R.*, 1937-38, p. 28.
2. Punjab Government, *Report of the Compulsory Education Committee*, 1930, pp. 3, 4.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
4. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 226.
5. *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, Speech of Mian Abdul Haq on March 10, 1938.
6. *Ed. R.*, 1925-26, p. 12.
7. Prior to 1919 there were five classes in the Primary Department and three in the Middle Department. (*Ed. R.*, 1918-19, pp. 4, 5.)
8. *P.A.R.*, 1918-19, p. 87, *P.A.R.*, 1919-20. p. 133.

The subjects of study in the middle department included English in the case of the Anglo-Vernacular Schools and a vernacular language, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, History, Geography, Elementary Science and Persian or Arabic or Sanskrit. In the Vernacular Middle Schools there was no provision for the teaching of English, while the standard of attainments in other subjects was slightly higher than in the case of the Ango-Vernacular Middle Schools. The subjects taught in the high department were the same, as prescribed for the Middle course, but were carried to a higher stage and taught through the medium of English until 1933, when the candidates for the Matriculation Examination were given the option to answer question papers in History and Geography either in English or in a Modern Indian language.[1]

The number of Middle Schools were 363 with 65,371 students in 1917-18[2] and 3,309 with 4,70,9.0 students in 1938-39.[3] The number of High Schools was 40 with 1,74,840 students in 1938-39[4] as against 161 schools with 82,535 students in 1917-18.[5]

University Education

The educational policy to be followed in India was for the first time enunciated by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, re-affirmed this policy by a despatch in 1859.[6] In 1860, a Medical College was opened at Lahore, and next year "the formation of a school of a superior order at Lahore, which would serve as the nucleus of a Central College"[7] was approved by Sir Charles Wood, now the Secretary of State for India. A similar institution was opened at Delhi. These institutions prepared students for the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations of the Calcutta University because there was no University in the Punjab. In 1864, two Government Colleges were established—one at Lahore and the

1. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
2. *Ed. R.*, 1918-19, p. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, pp. 2-3.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, 1918-19, p. 2.
6. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
7. Letter No. 14, dated 8th April, 1861 (Home Government File No. LXXVI, on the subject of Education in India, 1854-1868), para 6 (quoted in Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 2).
8. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit* , p. 3. The College at Delhi was closed in 1876 (*Ibid.*, p. 14 f. n).

other at Delhi—which prepared students for F.A. and B.A. examinations of the Calcutta University.[1] The Panjab University College (as the first step towards the establishment of a full-fledged University in 1882) was established in 1869.[2] The College imparted instruction for examinations in Oriental Classics only, and its Senate was empowered to confer Oriental titles, lower in status than the University degree.[3] The other schools and colleges prepared students for two separate systems of examinations. One group of students appeared in the examinations held by the Calcutta University, while the other group appeared in the examinations conducted by the Panjab University College, Lahore. In 1870, the Oriental School (its name was altered to Oriental College in 1872), and the Law School (converted into a College in 1909) were established under the direct control of the Senate of the Panjab University College.[4] The Law School prepared candidates for "Mukhtarship" and "Pleadership" examinations of the Calcutta University. In 1874, these examinations were placed under the control of the Panjab University College, Lahore".[5]

"The establishment of the Panjab University College was only a stepping-stone for the leaders of the movement to press forward their demand for the foundation of the Panjab University".[6] A deputation of prominent citizens, the Princes and European and Indian officials waited on the Viceroy Lord Ripon, When he visited Lahore in November, 1880.[7] They pressed for the early foundation of a University in the Province. The Viceroy promised to consider the proposal favourably. Accordingly, a bill for the establishment of the Panjab University was passed by the Legislative Council in October 1882 and the Panjab University came into existence on October 14, 1882.[8]

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1. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 3. The College at Delhi was closed in 1876. (*Ibid.*, p. 14 f. n).
2. Bruce, J, F., *A History of the University of the Panjab*, 1933, p. 23.
3. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Bruce, J. F,, *op. cit.* p. 69.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 81. The Panjab University "was a teaching as well as an examining body—It was designed to give special encouragement to Oriental studies—through the medium of modern Indian languages. Side by side with this, the University adopted the Western system of education and English language was also used as a medium of instruction". (*Ibid.*, p. 10).

Higher education spread quickly after the foundation of the Panjab University. Thus, whereas in 1883-84 there were only three Arts Colleges affiliated to the University, in 1889-90 their number rose to 7, and in 1901-2 to 15.[1] These colleges offered a wide range of teaching in various arts subjects. The following statistics show the vast expansion which occurred in the examinations held by the Panjab University, Lahore.[2]

	Number of candidates	
	1883	1904 (a)
Matriculation	386	3068
Intermediate	50	597
B.A. & B.Sc. (b)	20	296
M.A. & M. Sc. (c)	8	37

(a) The last year in which the Panjab University operated under the Act of Incorporations of 1882.

(b) The Panjab University was not empowered to grant degrees in Science until 1891.

(c) The M.Sc. degree was instituted in 1906.

Unfortunately, the system of University education developed some major defects and presented a motley picture at the end of the nineteenth century. On the one hand there was considerable expansion which was creating a veritable renaissance in all walks of life of the people; on the other, the efficiency of the new colleges was not very high and according to the Calcutta University Commission, 1917, "the main feature of the twenty years following 1882 was the rapid creation of the colleges which depended mainly or wholly upon fees and throve as coaching

1. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p. 367.
2. Bruce, J.F., *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 210.

institutions, rather than as places of learning".[1] This unhappy situation led to serious controversies between officials and non-officials, when Lord Curzon started his drive to reform education, especially because the two sides could not agree, either on the nature of the evils or the means to overcome them. Lord Curzon gave first place to university reform in his programme of educational reconstruction and convened an educational conference at Simla in 1901, which was followed by the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission on January 27, 1902, "to enquire into conditions and prospects of the Universities established in British India, to consider the report upon any proposals which have been or may be made for improving their constitution and working and to recommend to the Governor General-in-Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching and to promote the advancement of learning".[2] The Commission submitted its report in June 1902. As a result, Legislative Council passed the Indian Universities' Act which came into force on March 21, 1904. The Act introduced important changes in the organisation and administration of the Indian Universities. "As regards the functions of the Panjab University, this Act was a positive advancement upon the Act of Incorporation of 1882, because the 3rd clause of the Act opened a new vista of development. This clause read as follows, 'the University shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of the students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, —to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act which tend to the promotion of study and research' ".[3]

The system of University education was profoundly affected by the Indian Universities' Act. Before its passage no system of affiliation existed in the Panjab University, colleges being 'recognised' only. But now the University "acquired the right and duty of inspecting its teaching institutions and maintaining a certain measure of control over their teaching equipment and

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67. *Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19*, I. p. 59.
68. Quoted in Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
69. *Panjab University Calendar*, 1933-4, p. 31 quoted in Bruce, J.F., *op. cit.*, p. 120.

the accommodation and discipline of their students".[1] All the 'recognised colleges applied for affiliation which was granted in every case, but the Syndicate required certain improvements to be effected as a condition for the continuance of affiliation.[2] This stricter provision for affiliation of colleges along with some changes in the administrative machinery of the Panjab University were voilently opposed by the public and the press and it was feared that they were intended to work against private enterprise in the field of education.[3] The *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, of September 6, 1904, remarked "the Universities' Act—will always be regarded as Lord Curzon's most pernicious piece of legislation. It will not only lead to the introduction of drastic changes in the existing educational system but is calculated to deal a death blow to the educational policy of Lord Macaulay and other well-wishers of India".[4]

The fears, however, turned out to be false for the growth of colleges maintained by private sector was far more rapid after 1904 than before . The policy of stressing quality in education enunciated by Lord Curzon was fully adhered to by his predecessors and, in fact, between 1905 when Lord Curzon left India and 1921, when education became a transferred subject under the Reforms of 1919, this policy was worked out in a resolute and zealous manner.[5] In the Government of India Resolution on Educational policy dated the 21st February, 1913, Government's policy in the matter of university education was broadened so as to satisfy public opinion which felt that the Indian Universities' Act fell short of its expectations. But no action could be taken due to the outbreak of the First World War, and also because it was thought essential to hold an expert enquiry into the question before taking any action along the lines indicated therein.[6] In 1917 the Government of India appointed the Calcutta University Commission to study and report on the problems of education.

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1. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 183.
3. *N.P R.*, 1904, pp. 69, 104-5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
5. Nurullah and Naik, *Students' History of Education in India*, 1955, p. 234.
6. The two important declarations made by the Resolution were that (i) the teaching activities of the Universities would be encouraged, and (ii) residential Universities in place of affiliating ones would be established. (*Indian Educational Policy*, 1913, pp. 34-6).

The scope of the recommendations of this Commission was primarily intended to be limited to the re-organisation of the Calcutta University, but many of the criticisms and recommendations of the Commission were of much wider application and profoundly influenced the development of University education all over India. Regarding it the Commission made a general recommendation that "Honours courses, distinct from the outset from pass courses, should be instituted in the Universities in order to make provision for the needs of abler students".[1] As a result, the Panjab University began to pursue the long-delayed policy of establishing post-graduate teaching departments of its own. Honours Schools in Sanskrit, Arabic, Mathematics, History, Physics, Chemistry, Technical Chemistry, Botany and Zoology were instituted and Professors in some of these and other arts subjects were appointed soon afterwatds.[2] "This was the most significant development in the University (Panjab University) since its foundation, not only because it immediately changed its character from that of an institution which was chiefly concerned with the prescription of courses of study, the general supervision of affiliated institutions, and the examination of their candidates, but because it definitely prescribed the general plan of development for the future".[3] The Chair of History was established in 1930,[4] and the Department was re-organised in 1933 by the introduction of two types of courses leading to the degree of Master of Arts in History, namely (i) an Honours School course of 3 years after Intermediate examination leading to the B.A. (Honours) degree, and after a further course of one-year's post-graduate study and research to the M.A. (Honours) degree, (ii) a Pass course of two years' post-graduate study, leading to a Pass M A. degree.[5] The academic year 1933-34 saw the opening of the department of Political Science, and the institution of an M.Sc. degree in Technology in place of the Honours School in Technical Chemistry.[6]

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1. Indian Government, *Selected Chapters of the Calcutta University Commission*, 1919, p. 163.
2. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3, 25-6, 30.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

Another reform advocated by the Calcutta University, Commission was the separation from the University of all tuition of a pre-university standard and its] concentration into new institutions to be known as Intermediate Colleges, which was to provide the logical culmination of the system of secondary education.[1] Intermediate Colleges were accordingly opened at suitable centres in the Province and numbered 5 in 1923-24.[2] These institutions, however, did not prove a success and the Panjab Education Report for 1936-37 remarked that "Intermediate Colleges have dwindled in popularity and have not been as successful as four-year institutions".[3] Most of these colleges were, therefore, raised to the degree standard.

In 1933, the Punjab Government appointed the Panjab University Enquiry Committee "to enquire into and report on the reform of the University".[4] The Committee made a systematic survey of the growth and condition of the Panjab University and recommended certain measures for its improvement. Unfortunately, the Senate of the University did not "favour any of the major recommendations of the Enquiry Committee, including suggestions for a change in the existing course of instruction".[5]

In the years that followed, vast expansion occured in the university education. In 1938-39, the number of Arts colleges alone was 30 with an enrolment of 15,839 scholars.[6] This, in its turn, threw into sharp relief some of its existing defects and also created new problems of its own. The Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1929, popularly known as the Hartog Committee, after the Chairman Sir Philip Hartog, while appreciating the general advance observed that there had been a definite lowering of educational standards due to the indiscriminate admissions and the stereotyped systems of examinations, that the English medium of instruction impeded the intellectual growth of the students and that unemployment among university graduates

1. *Selected Chapters of the Calcutta University Commission*, p. 156.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1923-24, p. 106. The complimentary recommendation of the Commission to lengthen the degree course from two years to three years was, however, not accepted.
3. *Ed. R.*, 1936-37, "Government Resolution", p. 2.
4. Sethi & Mehta, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
6. *Ed. R.*, 1938-39, p. 2.

due to a purely literary education was increasing and that the universities had failed to produce leaders of society both from qualitative as well as quantitative points of view.[1]

Professional Education

The early attempts to organise professional education in India were motivated by the necessity of securing employees for the subordinate ranks of government service. The system of vocational education therefore, differed redically from that of liberal education where the cultural aspect of spreading westren knowledge was more specially emphasised. The growth of vocational education in the Punjab may be conveniently studied under the following heads:—

(i) Legal Education
(ii) Medical Education
(iii) Agricultural Education
(iv) Veterinary Education
(v) Commercial Education
(vi) Teachers' Training
(vii) Engineering Education, and
(viii) Technical and Industrial Education

(i) Legal education

Legal education had been organised because practising pleaders and subordinate officers were required for the new judicial system evolved by the British. Outside government service, the bar was the only profession which offered a dignified career and in which talent could command generally a competence and sometimes a fortune. A Law School was established at Lahore in 1870 for the training of pleaders and *Mukhtars*.[2] In 1882 it was incorporated in the Panjab University and in 1909 was raised to a full-fledged College with a whole-time principal and staff. The College admitted students for two courses, namely, Licentiate in Laws and Bachelor of Laws. The degree of Master of Laws and the Diploma in conveyancing and Deed-writing were instituted in 1931.[3]

1. *Hartog Committee Report*, pp. 137, 345-6.
2. Punjab Government, *Report of the Enquiry Committee on the University of the Panjab*, p. 114.
3. *Ed. R.*, 1931-2, p. 88.

In 1938-39 there was 598 students on rolls of the College.[1] Legal advice and assistance was in great demand in the Province due to the litigious nature of the Punjab peasant. Legal studies, therefore attracted a fairly large number of students. The profession was, however, gradually becoming over crowded and losing that popularity and remunerative character which it used to enjoy.[2]

(ii) Medical education

In the beginning, Medical education made very slow progress in the Punjab, owing to social and religious prejudices of the people. It was often very difficult to find an adequate number of students for admission to medical courses in the westren system of medicine.[3] However, the position gradually improved and by the turn of the present century, the medical profession was considered as "one of the most successful branches of technical education".[4] In 1901, there were one Medical College and one Medical School at Lahore and one Medical College for Women at Ludhiana".[5] The School at Lahore was shifted to Amritsar in 1920[6] and one more was opened at Ludhiana in 1934.[7] In 1938-39 there were 556 students in the Medical College Lahore;[8] 547 students in the Medical School, Amritsar;[9] and 229 students in the two institutions at Ludhiana.[10] Facilities were also available for the study of Indian system of Medicine in special classes attached to the Dayanand Anglo-Vernacular College and the Islamia College at Lahore. There were 214 students in these classes in 1938-39.[11]

(iii) Agricultural education

The importance of agricultural education in a Province like the Punjab, where majority of the population depended for its livelihood on the produce of the soil, can hardly be exaggerated.

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1. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, pp. 2-3.
2. *Report of the Enquiry Committee on the University of the Punjab, 1933*, pp. 114-15.
3. *I.G.O.I., Indian Empire*, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 441.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *P.A.R.*. 1920-21, p. 137.
7. *Ed. R.*, 1937-38, pp. 86.
8. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 67.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
11. *Ibid.* pp. 70-71.

And yet, it is a paradox that agricultural education began very late and made slow progress.

Agricultural Education at the Collegiate Stage

There were no facilities for training in agriculture in the Province till 1909, when the Punjab Agriculture College and Research Institute was opened at Lyallpur.[1] The institution was to fulfil a twofold purpose. The problems connected with the agriculture of the Province were to be studied in the laboratory and the field, while a thorough general education in all branches of the agricultural science was to be given to students who would concentrate on the progress of agriculture along modern economic lines either in the personnel of the Agriculture Department or on their own farms.[2]

In the beginning the College failed to attract students and a crisis was reached in 1913, when no student turned up for admission to the first year class of the diploma course extending over a period of three years.[3] In order to make the prospects more attractive, an increase in the pay scale of Agricultural Assistants in the Agriculture Department was announced and a four-year course leading to the degree of B.Sc. (Agriculture) of the Panjab University was instituted.[4] As a result, the demand for admission gradually increased and in 1938-39 there were 310 students studying for the degree course.[5] The College also provided short-term courses in a variety of subjects such as estate management, fruit-gardening, fruit preservation, dairying, bee-keeping, poultry farming and fruit culture.[6] All these courses were popular among the people. Beside the College at Lyallpur, teaching of agriculture for the first two years of the four-year degree course was also started in 1923 by the Khalsa College, Amritsar. This was equivalent to the Intermediate standard. The students willing to complete the degree course had to spend two years more at the Agriculture College and Research Institute, Lyallpur.[7]

1. *P.A.R.*, 1909-10, p. 45.
2. *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-7*, I, pp. 176-7.
3. *P.A.R.*, 1912-13, p. 84.
4. *Ed. R.*, 1914-15, p. 15.
5. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 74.
6. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, p, 62; 1938-39. p. 74.
7. *Ed. R.* 1932-33, p. 121.

The Agricultural education at the collegiate level failed to make an impact on agriculture, because the main objective of the students was to enter the ranks of the Agriculture Department and hardly two or three per cent of them went back to their farms.[1]

Agricultural Education at the School Level

Before 1919, there was no satisfactory arrangement for the teaching of agriculture at the secondary stage except in a few schools where theoretical teaching of agriculture as an optional subject was carried on in the high classes only.[2] On the recommendation of the Provincial Conference on Agricultural Education held in April 1918, the Punjab Government introduced in 1919 elementary agriculture as an optional subject in the curriculum of the Varnacular Middle Schools,[3] and from 1932 onwards theoretical and practical agriculture was made an integral part of the Middle School curriculum.[4] In the high schools also the purely theoretical teaching of agriculture was supplemented by practical work on land.[5] For this purpose, a farm of about three acres was attached to every school in which agricultural course had been introduced, but owing to financial stringency and non-availability of land near the schools in urban areas, the alternative of school gardens of ½ acre to one acre in area was adopted in 1923.[6] The experiment proved a great success and was highly commended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928.[7] As a result of the agricultural training in the rural areas, the farmers began to take a genuine interest in agricultural progress and reform.[8] It also gradually dispelled the belief that school education makes a boy soft-handed and unfit for hard labour on the fields.[9]

(iv) Veterinary education

The Veterinary College established at Lahore in 1882 was the only institution in the Punjab, which trained students in veterinary medicine and surgery.[10] The College conducted a four-year

1. Mukhtar Singh, *Kisan* (Urdu), n. d., p. 74.
2. *Ed. R.*, 1918-19, Appendix B.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 1933-34, p. 102.
5. *Ibid.*, 1918-19, Appendix B.
6. *P.A.R.*, 1923-24, p. 108.
7. *R.C.A.*, pp. 65-6.
8. *Ed. R.*, 1933-34, pp. 84-5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 286.

degree course. The minimum qualification for admission was matriculation, though candidates with higher educational qualifications also sought admission because propects of employment were bright in this branch of education.[1] In 1938-39 there were 202 students in the college.[2]

(v) Commercial education

In 1901 there were only two Commercial Schools in the Punjab with 48 pupils, and there was no college for commercial education.[3] On the recommendation of the Conference on Commercial Education held in 1905, a number of clerical and commercial classes were started in Government and municipal high schools. The Schools prepared the students for the Clerical and Commercial exemination of the Panjab University.[4] These classes were, however, discontinued in 1926.[5]

Evening continuation classes

For the benefit of employed men and women, evening continuation classes in Commerce were started in 1906 by the Punjab Government.[6] In 1911 the classes were placed under the control of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations at Lahore, and grants-in-aid were given to them to run these classes.[7] To begin with, students were prepared for the examination of London Chamber of Commerce, but this was found to be entirely unsuitable for Indian students and therefore from 1926 it was replaced under the Junior Clerical Examination held by the Department of Education.[8] The course was of one year's duration in type-writing, shorthand and book-keeping.[9]

Higher Commercial Education

With a view to providing better education in the subject, a post-matriculate commercial class was started at the Government

1. *Ed.R.*, 1938-39, p. 71.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, 1901-2, p. 129.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1909-10, p. 45.
5. *Ed.R.*, 1926-27, p. 87.
6. *P.A.R.*, 1907-8, p. 59.
7. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 191.
8. *Ed.R.*, 1926-27, p. 87.
9. *P.A.R.*, 1920-21, p. 138.

High School, Amritsar in 1918.[1] Next year a diploma course extending over a period of two years was instituted and for this purpose the Government Institute of Commerce, Lahore, affiliated to the Panjab University was started in September, 1919.[2] The post-matric class was also transferred to this institution in the same year.[3] The institution was, however, closed down in 1923 as it "suffered from a confusion of ideas in regard to its scope",[4] and in its place a course of two year training for Matriculates was started at the Central Model School, Lahore.[5] The Clerical and Commercial Education Committee appointed by the Punjab Government in 1926 also approved of this course and recommended its further extension.[6] Accordingly, post-matric classes were started in 1927 at Lyallpur, Multan, Jhang, Sialkot, Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ambala and Rohtak.[7] The length of the course was reduced from two years to one from the session commencing in May 1930 and the syllabus was also suitably modified.[8] There were 215 students studying in these classes in 1938.[9]

The Clerical and Commercial Education Committee appointed by the Punjab Government reported in 1926 that there was a considerable demand for higher commercial education in the Province and to fulfil this a commercial college leading to the degree of Bachelor of Commerce should be established.[10] The Government at once took up the hint and mainly through the benevolence of Sir Ganga Ram, a well-known philanthropist, opened the Hailey College of Commerce at Lahore in March, 1927.[11] The College prepared students for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce, extending over a period of three years of the Panjab University and the

1. *Ed.R.*, 1919-20, p. 139.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.* The course included English, Elements of Accountancy, Economics and Commercial Geography as compulsory subjects, and either Stenography or a foreign language as an optional subject (*Ibid.*)
4. *Ibid*, 1926-27, p. 86.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
6. Punjab Government, *Report of the Proceedings of the Clerical and Commercial Education Committee*, 1926, p. (i) Appendix (B).
7. *Ed.R.*, 1926-27, p. 87; 1929-30, p. 119.
8. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, pp. 119-20.
9. *Ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 100.
10. *Report of the Proceedings of the Clerical and Commercial Education Committee*, 1926, p. (i) Appendix (B).
11. *Ed.R.*, 1927-28, p. 92.

ducational qualifications for admission was a pass in the Interme-iate examination. The College, thus, fulfilled a long-felt need or higher commercial education in the province.

vi) Teachers' training

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Educational despatch of 1854, Normal Schools were opened to train teachers or primary and middle schools in the Punjab. In 1881, the Central Training College was opened in Lahore to train teachers or high schools. Two types of courses were taught at this College viz., the Senior English Course for English teachers teaching in high schools and the Senior Vernacular course for vernacular teachers teaching in primary, middle and high schools. In 1883-84 Junior English class was started to train teachers for the primary classes of Anglo Vernacular Schools. In 1904 a teachers' degree course was instituted for those graduates who had already passed the senior Anglo Vernacular Certificate Examination.[1] In 1918 the senior vernacular classes were detached from the Central Training College, Lahore, and located in separate schools.[2] In 1938-39 there were 66 students studying for the degree course and 101 students in the S.A.V. classes,[3] while for the training of vernacular teachers, there were 5 schools with 551 pupils.[4]

In 1901-2 there were only 35 women under training in the five Normal Schools.[5] There was no degree college for training women teachers until as late as 1933 and they had to study along with men at the Central Training College, Lahore.[6] This much-felt deficiency was made up in September 1933, when the first batch for the degree course was admitted in the Lady Maclagan School, Lahore.[7] In 1938-39, 30 students were studying for the degree course and 53 for the Junior Anglo-Vernacular Course at this School.[8] Besides, there were 25 schools teaching the Junior Vernacular Course.[9]

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 229.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 229-30.
3. *Ed.R.*, 1938-39, p. 56.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 178.
6. *Ed.R.*, 1930-31, p. 74; 1936-37, p. 74.
7. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, p. 102.
8. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 88,
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89,

The director of Public Instruction reported in 1939 that about 50 per cent of the teachers,b oth men and women, in schools were untrained. This shows that the facilities for training of teachers were insufficient and more training centres would have been welcome in view of the proper education of the children.

(vii) Engineering education

No adequate facilities existed in the Punjab for engineering education. The Panjab University financed the engineering classes of a very elementry type held at the Mayo School of Art, Lahore. There were 57 students in these classes in 1904-5.[1] These were taken over by the Department of Public Instruction in 1905-6 and organised as Government School of Engineering.[2] In 1911-12, the school was shifted to Rasul, the head-works of the lower Jhelum Canal, and placed under the Public Works Department.[3] The school prepared students as overseers and draftsmen. Another institute imparting instruction in electrical and mechanical engineering was the Victoria Diamond Jubilee Hindu Technical Institute, Lahore, founded in 1897-98. In the beginning, it provided instruction in industrial arts and crafts only, but later on started engineering courses also. However, a long standing desire for a higher institute of engineering was fulfilled in 1922 when the Maclagan College of Engineering was opened at Mughalpura, near Lahore, to impart theoretical and practical training in electrical and mechanical engineering.[4] As the engineering profession held out great prospects and the students got employment readily under the Public Works Department, there was always a keen competition for admission to these institutions.

(viii) Technical and industrial education

The facilities for technical and industrial education in the Punjab were inadequate and out of proportion to that for literary education. The number of technical and industrial schools were only 10 and there was no technological institute to provide instruction in applied science and technology.[5] All these schools

1. *P.A.R.*, 1904-5, p. 52.
2. *Ibid.*, 1905-6, p. 62.
3. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 179, 191.
4. *Ed.R.*, 1926-27, p. 81.
5. *Ibid.*, 1901-2, pp. 27-99.

except the technical classes held at the D.A.V. College, Lahore, were in fact craft schools, which aimed at teaching some craft such as carpentry, metal work, woodwork, shoemaking, engraving, tailoring, weaving, etc., along with some elementary education in order to enable the students to earn a living.[1] The Mayo School of Art,[2] Lahore, established in 1875 and the Railway Technical School, Lahore, later known as Technical School, Lahore, established in 1889, were under Government control, the rest being managed by local bodies under a system of grants-in-aid from the Government.[3] They did not help in any way the growth of industries and Lord Curzon remarked in regard to them that "these schools have been started—upon no definite principles and with no clear aims, and have so far been attended with insignificant results".[4]

The Indian Educational Conference held in January,1902, at Lahore reviewed the working of the industrial schools in the Punjab and recommended that new schools should be established at large industrial centres but with some modified courses of instruction.[5] The main defect in technical education pointed out by the Conference was the fact that the students after completing the course cheerfully dropped the acquired skill and accepted a modest billet in the service of the Government.[6] This defect was also pointed out by the Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904[7] and again by an enquiry held into the matter in 1912.[8] To remedy this defect, the Resolution suggested that the technical schools should not be multiplied for the present and admission to them should in future be "confined to those boys who are known by their caste or occupation to be likely to practise in after life the handicrafts taught in schools.[9] But the recommendations remained a dead letter and nothing was done to improve the industrial schools.

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1. Home Department Proceedings (Education), Government of India, Nos. 44-56(A) of November, 1905.
2. The School provided instruction in the art of design with special reference to the artistic industries indigenous to the Punjab.
3. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 171.
4. Raleigh, Sir Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
5. *Report of Industrial Education* Pt. 11, 1902, pp. 45-53.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1904, par. 33.
8. Government of India, *Report on the Enquiry to bring Technical Institutions into closer touch and more practical relations with the employers of labour in India*, 1912, pp. 83-4.
9. *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1904, par. 34.

In the meantime, public opinion was growing keen on the point and demanded rapid development of industries and technical education. The question again received detailed attention at the hands of Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18. The Commission made a number of recommendations for (i) the provision by local governments and authorities of a suitable system of primary education with an industrial bias for the artisan and labouring population, (ii) provision of industrial and craft schools for cottage industries and (iii) provision for the training of men for organised industries.[1] Fortunately the labours of the Industrial Commission did not go waste, and the Punjab Government took concrete steps to place industrial training on a better footing. A scheme for the re-orientation of the industrial schools prepared by the Standing Committee on Technical and Industrial Education, 1918 was accepted by the Punjab Government. According to this scheme, the industrial schools were divided into two categories-Primary and Middle. The Primary Industrial Schools were to provide instruction in manual arts such as woodwork and smithy, drawing and in the general subjects of the primary school curriculum. Teaching of craft was not to be attempted at this stage. The course for the Middle Schools was designed to give specialised training in craft work.[2] Institutes for training of men for organised industries were also started. Thus the Central Weaving Institute was established at Amritsar in 1920,[3] and the Government Hosiery Institute at Ludhiana in 1926.[4]

Progress of industrial education

The number of Industrial Schools was 19 with 1,639 pupils 1911.[5] The numbers rose to 26 and 4,336 respectively in 1929-30.[6] In 1932 the number of students further rose to 4,429.[7] Thereafter the world economic depression and cheap imported articles necessitated a change in the policy governing the organisation of Industrial Schools. The Punjab Administration Report

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1, *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, (Reprint), 1919 pp. 276-8, 284.
2. *Ed.R.*, 1918-19, Appendix (A).
3. Government of India, *Facilities for Technical Education*, Pt. IV, 1950, p. 27.
4. *Report of the Department of Industries, Punjab, for 1926-27*, p. 17.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 191.
6. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, p. 65.
7. *Report of the Department of Industries, Punjab, for 1931-32*, p. 7.

for the year 1933-34 wrote, "If the Punjab craftsman is to be enabled to compete with those of other countries and to supply in India many of the articles, which by reason of their cheapness and efficiency are now imported from abroad, he must receive specialised training from the start".[1] The industrial schools, therefore, were to aim at turning out craftsmen trained in specialised crafts. A vigorous programme of internal re-organisation and overhauling of the courses was initiated. Specialised trades such as machine-making, engine and pump-making, improved wood-working, wool-spinning and wool-weaving, lace and braid-making were started in the Industrial Schools.[2] Separate schools were also opened to teach a particular craft.[3] Other changes made were the discontinuation of primary classes in the industrial schools and the restricting of admission only to "students of sufficient general education".[4] In 1939 there were 42 technical and industrial schools with 1,679 students.[5] The decrease in the number of students as compared with the figures for 1932 was due to the changes made in the curriculum of these schools.

Education of Women

The position of women's education was very disappointing. In 1910 it was reported that only 0.33 per cent of the total female population of school-going age was under instruction.[6] The custom of early marriage and the conservatism of the people were the main reasons for the slow growth of education among women. Further complications were created by the fact that it was essential for girls to be educated, if at all, separately from their brothers. There was also a dearth of women teachers because of general backwardness of girls' education and also because young women, not unnaturally, were reluctant to face uncongenial and sometimes unsafe experience of service in remote villages.[7]

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1. *P.A.R.*, 1933-34, p. 63.
2. *Report of the Department of Industries, Punjab, for 1933-34*, p. 19.
3. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 30.
4. *Ibid.*, 1932-33, p. 7. The admission was restricted to boys who had passed the 6th or 8th class. *(Ibid.)*
5. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, pp. 24-30.
6. Proceedings of the Department of Education, Government of India, Nos. 1-2, A, October, 1917.
7. *R.C.A.*, par. 522; *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 183; Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, p. 57.

Public opinion was, however, slowly but surely changing in favour of womens' education. One of the reasons for promoting education among them was the growing desire of educated youngmen to look for literate wives, so that education had, on this account, begun to be valued by parents as a means of improving the marriage prospects of their daughters.[1]

In the Punjab, private enterprise played a significant role in the spread of education among women. The Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims all vied with one another providing educational facilities for them. The various socio-religious organisations like the Arya Samaj, Dev Samaj, the Singh Sabha and the Chief Khalsa Diwan, and Muslim Anjumans made strenuous efforts in this direction. The institutions run by these organisations were in a flourishing condition. The attendance was full and in some cases was in excess of the accommodation available. The Christian missionary ladies also rendered yeoman's service by conducting classes at suitable centres for the benefit of the Muslim ladies who observed strict *purdah*.[2]

The Government also took full interest in the education of women. Scholarships were given to 20 per cent of the pupils in primary and secondary schools and a limited number of stipends were also provided to deserving students who desired to pursue higher studies. The need for providing a large number of suitably trained women teachers was fully realised by the Government and it offered stipends to all women undergoing training for the teaching profession and the salaries paid to them were considerably higher than paid to men having corresponding qualifications.[3] The outcome of these measures was that elementary and secondary education made very rapid progress, especially in the urban areas and as regards the elementary education, the Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1938-39 remarked that "the limiting factor has usually been a matter of finance and not the apathy of the people".[4] The

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 205; Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 341.
2. *Ed.R.*, 1918-19. p. 2.
3. Proceedings of the Department of Education, Government of India, Nos. 1-2, A, October, 1917.
4. *Ed.R.*, 1938-39, p. 80.

University education had also begun to be appreciated but its progress was very slow. The limiting factors were shortage of separate colleges for women and the prejudice of the people against co-education, especially at higher stages.[1]

Education of Adults

Although literacy is not equivalent to education, it is nevertheless the first indispensable step towards it and in the Punjab, where a very large majority of the people where illiterate, the extreme urgency of liquidating adult illiteracy needed no pleading. But the Government did not pay attention to this problem until 1921. In that year, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Nur Elahi the Inspector of Schools, Multan Division, started schools for illiterate adults in the rural areas on his own initiative.[2] The teaching work was done by school teachers at night and no extra allowance was given to them for this. The incidental charges were mainly met from public subscriptions or the nominal fees charged from the pupils.[3] At the end of 1923, when the movement was officially recognised by the Department of Public Instruction there were 100 schools with about 2000 adults on their rolls.[4] As it was not justifiable to get additional work from the teachers, a scale of allowances for the extra work was fixed by the Department when the scheme came under its control.[5] The result was that the number of schools and their enrolment rose to 3,784 and 9,8414 respectively in 1926-27.[6] After that the number of schools and pupils began to decrease and numbered only 189 and 4,988 respectively in 1936-37.[7] This led the Department of Public Instruction to survey the position of adult schools rather critically in order to adjudge their usefulness. A number of flaws were detected such as fictitious enrolment and what was called as

1. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Mr. Abdul Rehman on November 1, 1935; Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 101.
2. *Proceedings of the Punjab Educational Conference, December, 1926*, p. 181.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education), CM No. 119-G.S., dated 28-11-1923.
6. Government of India, *Report of the Adult Education Committee*, 1939, p. 31.
7. *Ibid.*

"paper schools".[1] The Local Bodies were, therefore, instructed to weed out inefficient, ineffective and bogus schools. There was also something radically wrong with the whole system. The main defects were the application of unsuitable methods of instruction, viz., those used in the case of children and unpsychogical collective teaching of adults by teachers who were ignorant of adult psychology and tired after teaching in the day schools.[2]

New method of "Each one Teach one"—The year 1937 opened a new page in the history of adult literacy in the Punjab. In February of that year Dr. Laubach, an expert on the subject, arrived in the Punjab and called a conference of officials and non-officials at the Village Teachers' Training School, Moga (Ferozepur district) for the purpose of explaining the method he had applied very successfully to the backward population of the Philippines where, according to his claim, the percentage of literacy had in three years (1929-32), gone up by 40 per cent.[3] It was soon decided that the experiment of teaching adults in the countryside along the lines and techniques advocated by Dr. Laubach should be conducted by the Mission School, Moga, under the able guidance of Mrs. and the Rev. Dr. Harper.[4] The new experiment was based on Dr. Laubach's technique of "Each one, teach one". The new method was based upon a sound knowledge of the psychology of the adult mind, the interesting method of instruction and the easy and inexpensive teaching of one individual by another.[5]

The method was first tried in a few selected places. After the success of this experiment, the Punjab Government launched a five-year programme commencing from 1939-40 to attack the problem of illiteracy, and sanctioned adequate funds for purchasing books and stationery.[6] The result was that the number of adults under instruction increased from 5,127 in 1937-38 to 94,030 in 1939-40 and 116204 in 1941-42.[7] The number of literacy

1. *Report of the Adult Education Committee*, 1939, p. 32.
2. *Ibid; Ed.R.*, 1931-32, p. 6; *R.C.A., Introduction to Volume VIII*, 1928, p. 113.
3. *Report of the Adult Education Committee*, 1939, p. 32.
4. Government of India, *Progress of Education*, 1937-47, p. 145.
5. *Ed.R.*, 1936-37, p. 19; *Ed.R.*, 1939-40, p. 21.
6. Government of India, *Progress of Education*, 1937-47, p. 145.
7. *Ed.R.*, 1941-42, p. 4.

certificates issued also increased from 628 in 1937-38[1] to 34,046 in 1944-45.[2] In 1945, the programme was extended for a further period of five years.[3]

Muslims and Western Education

In the beginning the Muslims, unlike the Hindus, held aloof from western education from the fear that it would ultimately proselytise them to Christianity. The result was that they as a body fell far behind the Hindus in the field of education. The position improved substantially after 1870's, but there was a great leeway yet to be made up if the community was to reach the educational standard attained by other communities.[4] In 1901-2, the number of Muslim scholars in schools of all kinds was 11.55 per cent of those of school-going age as compared with 15.45 per cent and 15.98 per cent in the case of Hindus and Sikhs, respectively.[5]

With a view to making the Muslims as educationally advanced and as politically conscious as the other communities, the Punjab Government offered scholarships and fee concessions to Muslim students.[6] Gradually the community itself awakened to the need for keeping pace with other communities in the matter of capturing Government posts. They opened special schools and instituted scholarships for their community. The result was that the old prejudice against western education gradually disappeared and by 1939 the community could "no longer be considered as specially backward".[7]

Separate educational institutions for the Muslims—Though a large number of Muslim students attended schools and college which were open to all communities, they evinced a sense of dissatisfaction with such institutions. The chief reasons put forward were (i) absence of religious instruction, (ii) absence of adequate facilities for cultural studies in Persian or Arabic, (iii) paucity of Muslim teachers on the staff, (iv) non-observance of Muslim holi

1. *Ed.R.*, 1943-44, p. 15.
2. *Ed.R.*, 1944-45, pp. 15-16.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Smith, W.C., *op. cit.*, p. 193.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 180.
6. Proceedings in the Home (General) Department, Punjab Governmen No. 1657, dated December 11, 1901.
7. *Ed.R.*, 1938-30, p. 101.

days and festivals and (v) an allegation that the interests of the Muslims were not properly safeguarded by teachers and managers of the other communities.[1] This separatist attitude produced a desire among them for establishing separate educational institutions for themselves. Such a desire had existed even before 1901, but it became intense during the early decades of this century and a large number of institutions catering to the special needs of the community were established.[2] The distinctive features of such institution were the arrangements made for the teaching of Arabic Persian and Urdu and the provision for religious teaching.[3] "Hindus were not necessarily excluded from them... but Mohammadan teachers were employed as far as possible".[4]

Effect on other communities—With the opening of separate institutions by the Muslims, a desire was roused among other communities to start similar institutions suited to their own needs. Such denominational schools and colleges were "technically" open to other communities too, but they primarily aimed at meeting the special requirements of the communities for the benefit of which they were established. The atmosphere of these institutions was necessarily of a culture and civilisation associated with only one community and the education imparted in them had the effect of isolating the students from those of the other communities.[5] However, "in the interests of the national solidarity it was essential to provide *common schools* for all, and within them make such provision as may be essential to safeguard the cultural and linguistic interests of all minorities".[6] In regard to the damage done to the national cause by the communal institutions, Khan Bahadur Mian Ahmad Yar Daultana, Member, Punjab Legislative Council, deposed before the Punjab University Enquiry Committee, 1932-33 that the students went away after finishing their education with the impression that there was a very severe rivalry between the various religions, which, in consequence, laid

1. Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.B., *A History of Education in India*, 1951, pp. 580-81.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 581.
3. *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1912-17, I, p. 202.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1929, pp. 247-48.
6. Nurullah and Naik, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

the foundation of great communal strife.[1] The socio-economic effects of communal rivalry can be easily imagined.[2]

Education of the Depressed Classes

Education of the socially depressed classes presented peculiar difficulties. The classes that were high in the social scale were unmindful of the well-being of low castes and objected to their admission to educational institutions because of the physical contamination supposed to be involved in touching them. Moreover, the poverty ridden parents were more interested in their children's ability to augment the family income than in their schooling

Fortunately, the Christian Missionaries had opened separate schools for the depressed classes and there were 30 such primary schools with 665 pupils in 1901-2.[3] In addition to these elementary schools, there was a high school at Sialkot with 151 scholars on its rolls and an Anglo-Vernacular Middle School with 43 boys at Daska, in Sialkot district.[4]

Besides, in 1901-2 there were 126 low caste boys attending ordinary public schools, where they were seated apart from their classmates.[5] A few schools especially meant for them were also maintained by socio-religious societies like the Arya Samaj and the Dev Samaj.[6] The Government made every effort to increase the attendance of low caste children in the ordinary schools and the Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1917-18 remarked that the old-time prejudice was gradually disappearing.[7] The whole position was reviewed by the Punjab Government in June, 1923 and it declared that "the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) is anxious that earnest efforts be made by all concerned for the education of these classes. Not only

1. *Report of the Enquiry Committee on the University of the Panjab, 1933*, p. 150; *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Mian Abdul Haye on 24-6-1937, and of Th. Pancham Chand on 2-3-1936.
2. *Supra*, pp. 95-97.
3. *Ed.R.*, 1901-2, p. 18.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 331.
7. *Ed.R.*, 1917-18, p. 22.

do the claims of justice and humanity plead on behalf of these people, but it is also essential to the best interests of the Province as a whole that no community, however, low in the social scale, should be denied the benefit of education. Equality of opportunity for all should be the watchward of a properly devised educational scheme".[1] The policy once clearly marked out, was put into practice immediately. Admission to low caste children was thrown open by all the schools and they were not to be seated apart henceforward. A large number of scholarships were reserved for them and liberal grants were given to special schools maintained by the socio-religious organisations.[2] The effect of all these measures was an increase in the number of low caste children under instruction. Thus whereas in 1916-17 only 290 of them were attending ordinary educational institutions, in 1930-31 their number rose to 29,533[3] and to 31,718 in 1938-39.[4] The increase, however, was very low as compared with that of high caste children. Another depressing feature was that very few of the low caste children proceeded beyond the Middle School and a large majority of the parents withdrew their children from the schools without letting them complete even the primary course.[5] The result was that education among them made very little headway. It would have been better if steps had been taken first to educate the parents and thus convince them of the moral and material benefits of education.

Education of the Handicapped

There were two schools for the blind in the Punjab, one at Lahore and the other at Amritsar.[6] The period of schooling extended from four to five years and included instruction in general subjects like Arithmetic, Sanskrit and English and crafts like spinning and weaving, canning chairs-seats and band-playing. There was no school for the deaf and dumb in the Punjab. The Government, however, paid an annual subsidy to the Lady Noyce

1. Proceedings of the Ministry of Education, Punjab Government, CM. No. 210-G.S., dated 13-6-1923.
2. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1929, p. 223.
3. Proceedings of the Ministry of Education, Punjab Government No. 2857-R, dated 19-2-1932.
4. *Ed.R.*, 1938-39, p. 22.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Progress of Education*, 1937-47, p. 156.

School for Deaf and Dumb at Delhi for admitting children belonging to the Province.[1] The number of scholars in all the institutions for the handicapped was 83 in 1938-39.[2]

National Education

One of the significant developments in education in the early years of the present century was the evolution of the idea of national education. Though a nation-wide awakening of educational thought was discernible in the nineteenth century, as shown by the enquiry of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, it was Lord Curzon's administration and policies that gave rise not only to a new militant nationalism, but also to national education.[3] The Swadeshi Movement initiated after the partition of Bengal (1905) with economic ends, also affected other walks of life. A demand for national education soon began to be put forward and gradually coincided with the Indian struggle for freedom.[4]

There was naturally a lack of clarity in ideas in the early stages and when it come to defining precisely what the new educational system ought to be, opinions were not so unanimous. Nevertheless, certain principles of national education, came to be universally accepted as fundamental in a short time. These were, of course, motivated by the condemnation of the defects of the existing official system of education. Almost all national thinkers were of the opinion that the official system was unhelpful and even antagonistic to national development. Mahatma Gandhi remarked that "the existing system of education is defective, apart from its association with an utterly unjust government, in three most important matters : (i) it is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous culture; (ii) it ignores the culture of the heart and the hand, and confines itself simply to the head; and (iii) real education is impossible through a foreign medium".[5] Mrs. Annie Besant was equally vehement in her condemnation of official education. She said, "Nothing can more swiftly emasculate national life, nothing can more surely

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ed.R.*, 1938-39, Table II A.
3. Singh, M.P., *A Students' History of Educational Thought*, II, n.d., p. 105.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.
5. Gandhi, M.K., *Young India (1919-22)*, p. 451.

weaken national character, than allowing the education of the young to be controlled by foreign influences, to be dominated by foreign ideals".[1]

Accordingly, national education was to be controlled by the Indians. It was to inculcate love and reverence for the motherland and for past traditions of India in the minds of all young Indians. The use of English as a medium of instruction was to be discontinued and proper place given to the modern Indian languages. Lastly, under the national system of education due place was to be given to vocational education at a cost within the reach of an average Indian.[2]

The attempts to start "national institutions" in India fell into two distinct periods. The first effort was made soon after the partition of Bengal, but the movement remained confined to that province.[3] The second upheaval occurred in 1920-22 and was more widespread and intensive than the first. It was the outcome of the Non-cooperation Resolution passed by the Nagpur Congress in 1920, which advocated the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces.[4] The personal followers of Mahatma Gandhi were not in favour of a boycott of government schools and colleges and it was on Gandhiji's stubborn insistence that the Resolution was passed.[5] He supported it on the ground that there was the supreme political necessity of the youths' fighting for the freedom of their country. Moreover, the main idea behind the Non-cooperation Movement of 1920-21, as enunciated by Gandhiji, was that *Swaraj* could be obtained within one year if the public followed his political philosophy and completely boycotted the educational institutions run by the Government. In other words he desired to

1. Quoted by Lala Lajpat Rai in *The Problem of National Education in India*, 1920, p. 28.
2. Gandhi, *Young India*, (1919-22) pp. 450-1, 848; Lajpat Rai. *The Problem of National Education in India*, pp. 28-30, 63-7, 79-85, 208-9.
3. Lajpat Rai, *the Problem of National Education in India*, pp. 25-6, Singh, M.P., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 105-6.
4. Sitarammya, Pattabhai, *History of the Indian National Congress*, 1, 1946, p. 203.
5. India Government, *India in 1921-22*, p. 41.

create a complete deadlock and paralyse the Government.[1] His apeal did not go in vain. National Universities, National Colleges and National Schools appeared like mushrooms throughout India.[2] The Punjab could not remain isolated, though it did not become a stronghold of the movement. The Punjab Administration Report for 1921-22 described the situation in the Province thus: "For a time towards the end of 1920, and in the early months of 1921, the situation seemed serious. A few institutions cut all connections with the Government and University system".[3] There were 69 National Schools and Colleges with 8,064 students functioning in the Punjab in 1922.[4]

The movement, however, suffered an early set-back. This was due to the manifold difficulties under which the newly created institutions had to labour. Almost suddenly full-fledged educational institutions of a type the organisation of which had hardly been discussed or precisely envisaged had to start functioning. Lack of suitable buildings and equipment and inadequate finances and lack of trained teachers stared them in the face. The tempo of the movement cooled down after some time and as some cases of violence began to occur in some parts of India, the movement was withdrawn altogether. Thus the fundamental concept of *Swaraj* within one year did not materialise and as it became more and more evident that the political struggle would continue for some years to come, the enthusiasm of the students naturally began to wane and the concept of running a parallel educational system was finally given up. The colleges and schools, that had ceased to function under the Education Department, sought and received recognition again. By 1922, the tide had completely ebbed.[5] It is, however, worthy of note that although "discipline and work undoubtedly suffered",[6] this unheaval was not without its valuable lessons. It at least showed that there was a lot of public dissatisfaction about the educational policy of the Government.

1. Sitarammya, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 189-253.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, II, p. 71.
4. *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, I, p. 5.
5. India Government, *India in 1921-22*, p. 41; *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, II, p. 71; Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 209.
6. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 209.

Review of the growth of education in the Punjab from 1901 to 1939— It is true that the actual achievements were not great and much leeway still remained to be made up in the field of education but it was a satisfactory feature of the period (1901-1939) that the main lines along which the educational set-up ought to have been re-organised were clearly marked out and that a fairly good start was made in what could not but be a long and difficult journey.

6

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION

Agriculture

The Punjab was primarily an agricultural province. In other words, agriculture was its chief industry. Agricultural production provided all the foodgrains consumed within the Province and yielded large quantities of raw materials like cotton, oil seeds, etc., on which not only trade and commerce but also the principal manufacturing industries in the Province were based. And yet this primary industry had its own doleful take to tell. Judged by whatever standard—the size and the constitution of the land holdings, the implements and the fertilizers in use, the system of rotation of crops, the quality of the seeds, animal husbandry, subsidiary rural occupations and the like—the agriculture was decidedly in a very backward condition. The words of Dr. Clouston, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, are quite significant in this connection: "In India we have our depressed classes : we have, too, our depressed industries, and agriculture, unfortunately, is one of them".[1] This generalization applied to the Punjab.

The need for agricultural development—The need for agricultural improvement was necessary from many points of view. The Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18, held the view that

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1. *Royal Commission on Agriculture, Minutes of Evidence*, I, "Evidence by the officers of the Government of India".

apart from ensuring an adequate food supply for the growing population, it will lead to an improvement in the economic conditions of the masses and improve their standard of living. Improved agriculture will also have a bearing in industry since the purchasing power of the rural masses will tend to provide a large home market for absorbing the products of the home manufactures. Side by side with this the improvement in agriculture will give rise to mechanization of its process and thus may bring into existence large manufacturing establishments to produce agricultural tools and machinery.[1]

Backwardness of agriculture and its causes—Although a great mass of human effort was being devoted to agriculture, it was conducted under highly unsatisfactory conditions and the average yield per acre of the different crops was consequently much lower than in countries where agriculture was better organised.

Some of the principal causes of the backwardness of agriculture were the uncertain character of the rainfall, floods, hailstorms, frosts and other vagaries of nature, which obviously had an injurious effect on the crops. Irrigation no doubt supplied a partial corrective to deficiency of rainfall, but the effect of the other calamities mentioned above were altogether beyond human control. Damage was also caused by wild animals, rats, locusts and other pests, besides crop diseases. But the most important causes were ignorance and conservatism, inefficient tillage and the under-equipment of the argiculturist. The problems arising from these several causes, psychological and organisational, and also those of subdivision and fragmentation of holdings and the system of tenants tenure which resulted in wasteful husbandry are discussed below.[2]

Technique and Equipment

The agriculturist for the most part followed methods of extensive cultivation which were unsuitable in view of the

1. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18,* p. 52.
2. Referring to the low productivity of the Indian Agriculture Sir. M. Visvesvarya writes : "On the normal pre-war basis, the average production of British India, including irrigated crops, cannot be more than Rs. 25 per acre; in Japan it cannot be less than Rs. 150". (Visvesvarya, *Reconstructing India*, 1920, p. 174).

smallness of the average holding. The result was that the production was very low.

Methods of sowing—There where three methods of sowing commonly employed for field crops—(i) *Chhatta* or broadcast sowing, (ii) *Kera* or dropping seed in the furrow behind the plough by a person other than the ploughman and (iii) *Pora* in which the plough was used as a one-row drill by tying a tube behind it in which seed was dropped by the ploughman himself.[1]

These methods were either inefficient or they involved excessive consumption of time and labour. To remedy this the Department of Agriculture evolved and recommended the use of a few sowing drills but they found favour only with big cultivators in the canal colonies.

Rotation of crops—Rotation of crops which is in sharp contrast to growing the same crop year after year means the system of raising crops from a piece of land in such an order or succession that the fertility of land suffers the least and farmer's profits out of land or also increased.[2] The system of rotation of crops followed in the Punjab differed in different parts of the Province and depended mainly on the supply of water.[3] Other factors such as the physical condition of the soil, prevalence of weeds and supply of plant food, though they were important in themselves, were of only secondary importance.[4]

In the canal colonies the chief rotation was wheat, *toria*, cotton, or two crops of wheat in succession followed by *toria* and cotton.[5] On well-irrigated lands the main rotation was wheat, maize, *senji* and sugar-cane, or wheat, cotton, *senji* and sugar-cane; but small areas of tobacco, potatoes, melons and other vegetables were also grown in the neighbourhood of the towns.[6] The common practice followed in the *barani* tracts was wheat, gram or barley in the *rabi*, followed in the succeeding *kharif* by *chari*, *moth*, *mash*, *til* or cotton with a year's fallow.[7] On the lands in

1. Roberts, William, *A Text Book of Punjab Agriculture*, 1947, pp. 61-66.
2. Government of India, *Better Farming*, 1955, p. 20.
3. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, I, p. 317.
4. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p. 300.
5. *R.C.A., Vol. VIII, Evidence*, 1927, p. 189.
6. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, I, pp. 317-18.
7. *Gazetteer of Hissar District and Loharu State*, 1915, p. 160.

the riverain tracts which were liable to an annual deposit of silt the rotation was either sugar-cane, a period of lying fallow, and sugar-cane or sugar-cane, wheat, and sugar-cane.[1] In the hills the system varied according to the class of the soil, but the most common practice was to allow the land to lie fallow after three harvests.[2]

On the whole, the subject of crop rotation was fairly recognised in principle but was followed in an imperfect way, more for the sake of the crop than the soil.[3] The desire for immediate gain led to an unhealthy and, in the long run, unprofitable concentration on certain crops like wheat and cotton.[4] This was largely responsible for the cultivators' reluctance to adopt the recommendations of the Department of Agriculture regarding systematic rotation of crops.

Manure—The application of manure and fertilizers as a vital factor increasing the yield from the soil was thoroughly understood by the Punjab peasant; but on the whole the question of proper manurial treatment of the soil and the careful conservation of manure was much neglected.[5] Farmyard manure was the principle manure used in the Province though crude saltpetre and village refuse were also applied, if and when available.[6] The use of artificial fertilizers was appreciated, but lack of funds was the chief hindrance in their application on a large scale.[7]

One of the most wasteful practices to which the ordinary cultivator was addicted was the use of cow-dung as fuel. Writing in 1893, Dr. Voelcker called attention to the regrettable practice common in his days. Thirty-five years after his report, the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928, repeated the same woeful story.[8]

1. India Government, *Indian Sugar Committee*, 1920, p. 65.
2. *Gazetteer of Suket State*, 1927, p. 73; *Gazetteer of Chamba State*, 1904, p. 221.
3. *I.G.O.I., Provincial Series*, 1908, p. 253
4. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, I, p. 318.
5. India Government, *The Famine Inquiry Commission, 1945, Final Report*, p. 146.
6. *Indian Sugar Committee*, 1920, p. 66.
7. Russell, J., *Report on the Work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research*, 1937, p 56.
8. *R.C.A.*, par. 82-3.

Ten years later, Sir John Russell reported that the wasteful practice still continued.[1]

In unirrigated areas where rainfall was low, little manure was used as it did not rot well in the absence of sufficient moisture and, therefore, had an adverse effect on the crops.[2] On the other hand, irrigated lands were generally manured.[3]

Corps such as sugar-cane, maize, potatoes were also manured, because they require a relatively large amount of plant food for their growth.[4] Wheat, cotton and barley occasionally manured, while spiked millet, gram and other inferior crops were seldom manured.[5]

Implements—The agricultural implements were cheap, light and portable, easy to make and to repair, and within the capacity of draught cattle.[6] There was, however, great scope for improvement. Some useful work was done by the Department of Agriculture by introducing several types of improved implements like furrow-turning ploughs popularly known as iron ploughs, sugar-cane crushers, fodder cutters, harrows, hoes, small pumping machinery and water-lifts, but much yet remained to be done in this direction. Their adoption was also extremely slow due to several reasons such as ignorance, conservatism and inertia, lack of capital, small holdings and the inability of village blacksmith to repair them.[7] Also one of the earlier difficulties in the way of their adoption by the individual cultivator was his fear of ridicule and of being regarded as a crank.[8] But gradually the value of improved agricultural implements had begun to be appreciated more and more, especially in the canal colonies.[9] However, as compared with the total number of ploughs used the figures for

1. *Report on the Work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in Applying Science to Crop Production in India*, 1937, p. 57.
2. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, p. 38.
3. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
4. *Gazetteer of Chenab Colony*, 1904, p. 69.
5. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, 1, p. 310.
6. *R.C.A.*, par. 105.
7. *Notes and Proceedings of the Meetings Held at Simla on 5-7th September 1928, to Consider the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, I, pp. 26-7.
8. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 180.
9. *P.A.R.*, 1923-24, pp. 124-25.

improved types were not encouraging. Thus, while there were 24,53,096 wooden ploughs in 1940 the number of iron ploughs was only 76,723.[1] It is interesting to note that motor tractors were tried for a number of years in various parts of the Province, but proved a failure, owing to frequent breakdowns (even where well looked after), besides the non-availability of spare parts. These were generally owned and worked by the Department of Agriculture on the government agricultural farms and only a few by the compartaively big landowners.[2]

Sub-division and Fragmentation of Land Holdings

One of the many causes responsible for the backwardness of agriculture and the impoverishment of the cultivator was the endless sub-division and fragmentation of the land. The sub-division of holding means the small size of the total area held or cultivated, while fragmentation implies the division of the holdings into a number of fragments or plots which are scattered throughout the arable lands of the village.

Extent of the evil in the Punjab—The problem of sub-division and fragmentation can be studied under the following four heads: (i) the sub-division of holdings of the landowners, (ii) the sub-division of holdings of the cultivators, (iii) the fragmentation of holdings of the landowners and (iv) the fragmentation of holdings of the cultivators.

(i) **Sub-division of holdings of landowners**—Mr. H. Calvert was the first in this Province to have studied this aspect of the agricultural problem in 1924 and the results of his inquiry were published in 1925. The table given below shows the number of landowners' holdings according to area of cultivated land owned[3]—

1. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Agricultural and Trade Statistics of the British Punjab, 1939-40*, p. 7.
2. Roberts, *op. cit* , pp. 103-9.
3. Calvert, H., *The Size and Distribution of Agricultural Holdings in the Punjab*, 1925, p 3.

Size of Holding	Holdings		Area	
	Number	Percentage to the total	Estimated No. of acres cultivated	Percentage of total area cultivated
Below 1 acre	625400	17.9	313000	1.0
Between 1 & 3 acres	908400	25.5	126800	4.4
,, 3 & 5 ,,	520000	14.9	1935000	6.6
,, 5 & 10 ,,	630600	18.0	4400000	15.1
,, 10 & 15 ,,	288300	8.2	3353000	11.5
,, 15 & 20 ,,	150100	4.3	2444000	8.4
,, 20 & 25 ,,	94000	2.7	1967000	6.8
,, 25 & 50 ,,	168700	4.8	5887000	20.4
50 acres and over	120900	3.3	7452000	25.7

Thus the inquiry disclosed that—

(i) About 17.9 per cent of the owners of cultivated land in the province possessed less than one acre of such land each and the area thus, owned was only one per cent of the whole.

(ii) About 40.4 per cent of the owners owned area from one to less than five acres and the area owned was only 11 per cent of the total.

(iii) About 26.2 per cent of the owners possessed from 5 to less than 15 acres, the land being 26.6 per cent of the whole.

(iv) About 11.8 per cent owned from 15 to less than 50 acres the land involved being 35.6 per cent of the whole.

(v) About 3.3 per cent possessed 50 and more acres and owned, at a rather rough estimate, 25.7 per cent of the land.

For the Province as a whole the average size of owner's holding was between 7 and 8 acres.[1] The larger holdings were found in the *barani* tracts and in the newly settled canal irrigated areas of the Province, where the population had not yet reached the stage constituting a high pressure on the soil. Conversely the densely populated tracts in the old settled sub-mountainous areas with good rainfall were naturally broken Into smaller holdings.[2]

A similar inquiry conducted by the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, in 1939, revealed a further deterioration in the size of the holdings. For the sake of convenience the results are given below[3]—

Size of Holding	Percentage of owners	Percentage of land
Below one acre	20.2	0.8
Between 1 & 3 acres	28 6	5.2
,, 3 & 5 ,,	14.9	6.2
,, 5 & 10 ,,	16.9	13.1
,, 10 & 15 ,,	7.3	9.1
,, 15 & 20 ,,	3.6	7.2
,, 20 & 25 ,,	2.2	5.6
,, 25 & 50 ,,	3.9	14.8
50 acres and over	2 4	38.0

Thus, while according to Mr. H. Calvert 58.3 per cent of the owners cultivated less than 5 acres of land, according to this inquiry the percentage rose to 63.7, the land involved remaining

1. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, pp. 206-7.
2. Punjab Government, *Bulletin of the Joint Development Board*, 1930, p. 13.
3. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Proprietary Holdings in the Punjab. Their Size and Distribution, Preliminary Report*, p. 1.

the same. Supposing a holding of at least 5 acres is an economic holding[1], 63.7 per cent of owners in 1939 possessed uneconomic holdings instead of 58.3 per cent nearly 15 years ago. If the economic holding is to be regarded as equal to at least 15 acres (as some observers e.g., Mr. Darling think)[2], then in 1939 about 87.9 per cent of the owners possessed land less than this and, therefore, must have been living from hand to mouth.

(ii) **Sub-division of holdings of the cultivators**—The sub-division of cultivation was even more pronounced, landless cultivators being much more numerous than landowners. A large number of people took to agriculture for bare subsistence in the absence of any other means of livelihood. In the Province, according to an inquiry made by Mr. Calvert in 1927, 22.5 per cent of the cultivators cultivated 1 acre or less, 15.5 per cent between 1 and 2.5 acres, 17.9 per cent between 2.5 and 5 acres, 20.5 per cent between 5and 10 acres,12.6 per cent between 15 and 50 acres and only 1 per cent cultivated over 50 acres of land each.[3]

(iii) **Fragmentation of holdings of landowners** –The average area of the holding was not only small but also it was scattered in a number of fragments or plots.[4] Fragmentation of owners' lands was a normal accompaniment of division of property according to the laws of inheritance, so that very few of the holdings were in one compact block. There were fields which were sometimes over half a mile long but a few yards wide, while in certain cases fragmentation had been carried so far as to prevent all attempts at cultivation.[5]

(iv) **Fragmentation of holdings of cultivators** — Although fragmentation of ownership also meant fragmentation of cultivation, yet it was not always so. A cultivator might take on rent a

1. It is not easy to define precisely the term "economic holding". Dr. Mann defines it as "one which will provide an average family at the minimum standard of life considered satisfactory". (*Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, II, p 43.) According to Keatings an economic holding should allow a man "a chance of producing sufficient to support himself and his family in reasonable comfort after paying his necessary expenses." (*Rural Economy*, pp. 52-3.)
2. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1932, p. 133.
3. Calvert, *The Size and Distribution of Cultivators' Holdings in the Punjab*, 1928, pp. 14-15.
4. *R.C.A.*, p. 14; Ahmad, Z.A., *The Agrarian Problems in India*, 1936, p 5.
5. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1932, pp. 29-30, 84, 133-4, 264.

block of land consisting of several plots belonging to different owners. On the other hand an owner's compact holding might be let on rent of different tenants in fragmented pieces. The fragmentation of cultivation was decidedly a more serious and more extensive evil than fragmentation of holdings and was carried to greater extremes. For example, in a village in Jullundur district, Mr. Darling found that 1,28,000 acres were splintered into 63,000 fields and in another 584 owners cultivated no less than 16,000 plots of which a large number were less than one-seventh of an acre. The size of individual plots was sometimes as small as 0.006 of an acre, or 30¼ square yards.[1] Again, in the village of Bairampur, in Hoshiarpur district, Mr. Ram Lal Bhalla found that 34.5 per cent of the cultivators had over 25 fragments each.[2] This was typical of a widely prevalent situation.

Causes and effects of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings—The increase in population, decay of handicrafts unaccompanied by corresponding expansion of large scale industries, the dissolution of the joint-family and the development of separatist tendencies (supported by the laws of inheritance and succession) were the principal causes of the smallness of the average holding and its excessive fragmentation.

The sub-division and fragmentation of land results in a host of evils. The multiplication of small fields involved a great waste of cultivable area because a great many more hedges, paths, etc., were required and the total area wasted in this manner was very considerable. Further, the cultivation of an unduly small holding entailed waste in a variety of other ways. For example, it was not possible to get full worth in terms of economic gain from such poor equipment as the ordinary cultivator possessed, namely, a pair of bullocks and a plough. The plots were in some cases so

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.
2. *Report on an Economic Survey of Bairampur (A Village in Hoshiarpur District)*, 1922, p. 35. The village lands were found to be divided into 1,598 fields averaging about one-fifth of an acre each. Thirty-eight per cent of the holdings had over thirty fields, and in three cases plots were so small — the smallest was only 0.014 of an acre — that they had been lost sight of by their owners and had passed into the hands of others. *(Ibid).*

small that it was hardly possible to turn the bullocks round while ploughing. The cost of maintaining the cattle and the cultivator himself of course remained the same even if the holding was smaller than an economic one.

Again, much time was wasted in shifting ploughs, cattle and manure from one field to another. Where land had been excessively fragmented, irrigation often become impracticable, although sufficient water was available. Very often, in order to save time, the cultivator tried to find a short cut through other people's fields. This, together with the disputes about boundaries and rights of way, was the constant cause of litigation and endless quarrels among village folk.[1]

Remedial measures taken—The obvious remedy to cope with the evil of fragmentation[2] is the consolidation of holdings, either by the Government or by co-operative action. The Punjab peasant, it was held, was not ready for compulsion and for this reason experiments in this direction was first started in 1920-21 under the auspices of the Co-operative Department by the formation of co-operative societies on the basis of moral persuations and propaganda. It did not take long for the cultivators to understand the benefits of having scattered holdings in one compact block and more than one million acres were thus consolidated by the end of 1939.[3] It was no mean achievement, but stupendous task still lay ahead. To accelerate the pace of consolidation the Punjab Consolidation of Holdings Act (IV of 1936) was passed allowing compulsion to be applied to a small, if stubborn, minority.[4]

From the year 1936, when the Act was passed, the whole scheme of consolidation of holdings came under the control of the Revenue Department of the Punjab Government.[5] Side by side

1. The causes and effects of sub-division and fragmentation have been compiled from *R.C.A.*, p. 130; *Famine Inquiry Commission Report*, 1945, pp. 261, 272, 457; *Agricultural Legislation*, II, Ahmad, Z.A., *op, cit.*, p.6.
2. It was not possible to restrict sub-division of holdings without changing the law of succession. Public opinion was strongly opposed to depriving the owner's sons of their share until some equivalent measures of income were insured for them.
3. See Chapter VII.
4. *Punjab Gazette Extraordinary*, November 24, 1936.
5. *Report on the Operations of the Department of Land Records*, 1936, p. 15.

with this, the work was also carried on by the co-operative societies. The position by 1938-39 was that seven districts, namely, Rohtak, Sialkot, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Muzaffargarh and Gurgaon were in the charge of the Revenue Department and the remaining districts under the control of the co-operative societies.[1] During 1937-39, about 87 thousand acres were consolidated by the Revenue Department under the Punjab Consolidation of Holdings Act, 1936.[2]

Tenants' Tenures

The Punjab was primarily a land of the cultivating proprietors.[3] But a peculiar feature prevailing in the Province was that the peasant proprietor was a tenant as well as a receiver of rent. An investigation conducted by the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, in 1939, revealed that 80.6 per cent of the owners owned less than 10 acres,[4] while the size of a holding considered cultivable by one yoke of oxen was about 14 acres.[5] In order to make it nearly an economic holding this class of owners felt the necessity to take some more land on rent if it was available or to rent their own land to a neighbour and themselves work merely as tenants on bigger holdings.[6] It is interesting to note, in this connection, that out of about 17½ lakhs landlords paying Rs. 5 or less as land revenue no less than 6,24,835 (that is more than one-third) rented their lands to others.[7] "In other words, as receivers of rent more than six lakhs of the smallest landholders stand in the same position and have the same interests as some of the owners of the biggest estates".[8]

Tenancies were of two kinds : (i) those which were held by tenants with rights of occupancy under the Punjab Tenancy Act (XVI of 1887) and (ii) those which were held as tenancies-at-will.[9]

1. *Ibid.*, 1938, p. 17.
2. See annual *Reports on the Operations of the Department of Land Records.*
3. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 122.
4. *Supra*, p. 166.
5. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, p. 176.
6. Punjab Government *18 months of Provincial Autonomy (April 1, 1937 to September 30, 1938)*, pp. 2-3.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *P.A.R.*, 1911, p. 52.

Occupancy tenants— The origin of the tenants with rights of occupancy are mainfold. A landowner might experience difficulty in securing tenants and had to offer attractive terms to secure them. He might have guaranteed them fixity of tenure for their lives or even to their descendants, or he might have gone away and neglected his land and the tanants might have gradually acquired during his long absence prescriptive right, which the owner, on his return, felt compelled to recognise. In these and in many other ways, there arose this class of tenants.[1] In 1887 the "facts sufficient to establish a tenant's right of occupancy" were set forth in detail in the Punjab Tanancy Act (XVI 1887).[2] This act defined occupancy tenants as those who, for two generations, had paid neither rent nor services to the proprietor, but only their share of Government assessment. The other rights and obligations of occupancy tenants were also determined by this act.[3] An occupancy tenant had a right to hold his land as long as he paid the rent fixed by the Government and to pass it on to his descendants on the same terms.[4] The rents of tenants with rights of occupancy were liable to enhancement or reduction in accordance with fixed rules.[5] So long as the fixed rent was paid, the occupation of the tenant could not be challenged. On the death of an occupancy tenant his tenancy right passed on" (i) to his male lineal descendants in the male line of descent, (ii) failing them, to his widow for life or until remarriage but without any power to sale, gift or mortgage, or of subletting for a period exceeding one year, (iii) failing male descendants and a widow, or, when a widow succeeds, then after her death or remarriage or in the event of her abandoning the land, agnates or male collateral relatives in the male line of descent, provided that the common ancestor of the late tenant and the agnates occupied the land. On failure of legal heirs the holding reverts to the landlord".[6] The tenants with right of occupancy had, next to the proprietors, a pre-emptive claim to purchase any land offered for sale in the village in which their holdings were situated.[7]

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 122; Baden-Powell, *Land Revenue and Tenure in British India*, 1907, pp. 133-38, 140-142.
2. Punjab Government, *Punjab Settlement Manual*, 1930, par. 207.
3. *Ibid.*, par. 195.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The Act was amended from time to time. See *Punjab Code*, I, 1952, p. 190.
6. *Punjab Settlement Manual*, 1930, par. 212.
7. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 52.

Tenants-at-will— The overcrowding on land and the lack of alternative means of securing a living were the two important factors which forced the cultivator to grow food wherever he could and on whatever terms. This was, in short, how tenants-at-will came into existence. A tenant-at-will was an annual tenant and his rent was determined by agreement between him and the landlord. He had practically no security of tenure. The only protection granted to him by law was that he could be ejected only after issue of notice through a court of law. These notices were issued at a particular season of the year and opportunity was given to the tenant either to contest his liability to ejectment or to claim compensation for permanent improvements made by him as a condition precedent to the relinquishment of the land if he wished to do so. The right to compensation was also regulated by fixed rules embodied in the Tenancy Act (XVI of 1887).[1]

For the most part, the tenant-at-will maintained his position by his scarcity value.[2] For this reason tenancy had never been a burning question and the tenancy and rent litigation was extremely small in volume. The number of tenants-at-will who were ejected on an average annually was not more than 0.06 per cent of the total number.[3] Indeed, very often himself a tenant as well as a receiver of rent, the peasant proprietor was fully alive to the necessity of maintaining honest standards of business and harmonious relations with his tenants.[4] The bonds of sympathy and fellowship were further strengthened by their common economic objective of getting a livelihood from the same source.[5] But while the relations between landlords and tenants were on the whole good, the cultivation through such an agency as tenants-at-will was fraught with bad results.

Defects of tenancy cultivation—The cultivated area of the Province was held by owners and tenants as follows[6]—

1. *Punjab Settlement Manual*, 1930, pp. 95. 96; Baden-Powell, *The Land Systems of British India*, II, 1892, pp. 720-21; India Government, *India in 1917-18*, p. 141; Mukerjee, R.K., *Land Problems of India*, 1933, pp. 149-69; *Punjab Code*, I, p. 190.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. (iv).
3. *Ibid.*
4. Punjab Government, *18 months of Provincial Autonomy*, p. 3.
5. *Ibid.*
6. The table has been compiled from the *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, pp. 41-42; 1911-12, p. 5; *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab for the year ending 30-9-1937*, Statement No. II, p. iv.

	1901—2 (acres)	1911—12 (acres)	1936—37 (acres)
(i) Total cultivated area	25363161	27231427	31041660
(ii) Area cultivated by owners	11282286	12896948	12908188
(iii) Area cultivated by tenants free of rent or at nominal rent	280911	308509	489113
(iv) Area cultivated by tenants paying rents with rights of occupancy	2666480	2367645	2483646
(v) Area cultivated by tenants without rights of occupancy	11133484	11658325	15160713
Total area held by tenants paying rent (iv+v)	13799964	14025970	17644359

A glance at the above table shows that the total area held by tenants was on the increase and the situation was even more deplorable in view of the fact that in 1937 out of the total cultivated area of 31041660 acres in the Province, not less than 15160713 acres were cultivated by tenants-at-will. It can be easily inferred that there was a great demand for land. This in its turn accounted for the high rents and the "ability of the landlord to exact a fifty per cent share (in kind)[1] instead of a reasonable cash rent".[2] This

1. "It has been calculated that while cash rents in England form about 20 per cent of the gross produce, *batai* rent in the Punjab comes to about 45 per cent". Dewett, *Indian Economics*, 1948, p. 105.
2. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, p. 177. "The great majority of them pay in kind *(batai)* and this generally amounts to half the produce The tenant-at-will has to bear the expenses of cultivation and provide the plough and cattle, but his landlord sometimes provides half the seed". (*Famine Inquiry Commission Report*, 1945, p. 266

could hardly be conducive to good agriculture because "when the cultivator has to give to his landlord half of the returns to each dose of capital and labour that he applies to the land, it will not be to his interest to apply any doses the total return to which is less than twice enough to reward him".[1]

Looked at from another point of view, cultivation by tenancy cannot be condemned outright because "the best agriculture in the world is carried on under the tenancy system (England)".[2] This is because "an English landlord is his tenants' best friend and spends fully one-third of his rental back on the land and its needs most Punjab landlords levy double the rent an English landlord would do and spend practically nothing back on the land".[3] Naturally, therefore, under these conditions tenants generally took little interest in improving the land and methods of cultivation, especially, the tenants-at-will who were aware of their ejection, sometimes without adequate compensation. On the whole, the tenants kept poor livestock, grew less valuable crops, avoiding especially, those requiring the sinking of capital in the land.[4] The proportion of land tilled by tenants was therefore an economic loss to the Province.

State in Relation to Agriculture

All the burden of removing the difficulties in the way of improved agriculture devolved upon the Government. At first it was no doubt a matter of controversy whether and, if so, how far the state should actively assist the industrial development, but the necessity of extending official help in the matter of amelioration of the cultivators' position and the improvement of the entire agricultural system had been definitely recognised for a long time past.

As in other provinces so in the Punjab the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1880 resulted in the creation of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture. However, only a few disconnected experiments were made with exotie varieties of

1. Marshall, Alfred, *Principles of Economics*, 1949, p. 535.
2. Carver, T.N , *Principles of Rural Economics*, 1911, p. 227.
3. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, p. 298.
4. India Government, *India in 1917-18*, p. 141; Mukerjee, *Land Problems*, pp. 149-169; Muhhtar Singh, *Kisan* (Urdu), p. 214; Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, II, p. 11.

cotton, wheat and maize, and nothing serious was attempted in the way of agricultural experiments until May 1901 when a small experimental farm was opened at Lyallpur in the Chenab Canal Colony. This farm constituted the nucleus of what ultimately became the largest and the most progressive agricultural college and research institute in India.[1]

Reorganisation in 1905 and after—It was in 1905 that the organisation of the Department was greatly improved. It was relieved of the extra work[2] with which it had been formerly saddled and a recurring grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs supplemented out of the provincial funds was allocated from the beginning of the financial year 1905-6, for the development of agricultural experiments, research, demonstration and instruction.[3] In the same year an All-India Board of Agriculture was founded, with a view to bringing the provincial departments into touch with one another, discussing at their annual meetings programmes of agricultural work and making suitable recommendations to the Government of India.[4] In 1919 a Provincial Board of Agriculture was formed in the Punjab under the presidentship of the Financial Commissioner.[5]

The centralized control of the Government of India over the provincial departments was considerably relaxed as a result of the Reforms of 1919 and from 1921 agriculture came under the control of provincial Ministers.[6] The Imperial Department of Agriculture thereafter addressed itself to the task of solving agricultural problems of all India importance and maintained a number of institutions.[7]

1. *P.A.R*, 1901-2, p. 103; *R.C.A.*, par. 24.
2. The Department of Agriculture was separated from that of Land Records on July 1, 1906, (*P A R.*, 1905-6, p. 26).
3. *Ibid.*
4. *R.C.A.*, par. 67.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1919-20, p. 67.
6. *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 61.
7. (i) The Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa (Bihar), established in 1903 and transferred to New Delhi in 1936, (ii) the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research, Muktsar, (iii) the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying, Bangalore, (iv) The Imperial Cattle breeding Farm, Karnal, (v) The Creamery at Anand, (vi) The Imperial Canebreeding Station, Coimbatore and (vii) the Sugar Bureau, which, originally at Pusa, was transferred to Kanpur in 1931 and placed in charge of Sugar Technologist. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was established in July, 1929.

Work done by the Department of Agriculture—The Department of Agriculture carried on experiments and research on agricultural farms and in laboratories and organised propaganda with a view to securing the adoption by the Punjab peasant of new methods of farming and improved implements. It also engaged itself in the production, maintenance and distribution of pure seeds of the improved varieties of crops.

Improvement in seeds—It may be said that the main success of the Department of Agriculture was in the direction of the introduction of improved varieties of crops and it is a matter of genuine satisfaction that, in this branch of its work, it received the full co-operation of the cultivators, especially, in the canal colonies.

The distribution of wheat seed was first begun in 1905, when 360 maunds of grain grown on the agricultural farm at Lyallpur were distributed among the farmers. In the same year, 500 maunds of Australian wheat were also imported by the Department, but unfortunately neither of the lots showed good results.[1] Nothing was done till 1912-13 when the distribution of seeds which proved themselves of value was resumed and 45 maunds of improved cotton seeds of indigenous varieties, 83 maunds of American cotton seeds and 227 maunds of improved wheat seed from the Agricultural College and Research Institute, Lyallpur, were offered for sale to cultivators.[2] Thereafter, the distribution of seeds and its popularity with the growers increased steadily and surely. In 1926 the amout of improved wheat and cotton seeds sold to agriculturists was 29,200 maunds and 32,100 maunds respectively.[3] It increased to 2,78,000 maunds and 91,100 maunds in 1937-38, respectively.[4] The sale of improved seeds of other crops like rice and gram was also on the increase.[5] In this connection the remarks of Mr. Darling are partinent: "thousands of cultivators who twenty years

1. *R C A.*, Vol VIII, 1927, p. 177.
2. *Ibid*
3. Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Agriculture), No. 1112-D, dated March 17, 1937.
4. *Report on the Operations of the Agriculture Department for the year ending June 30, 1939*, p. 82.
5. *Ibid.*

ago never gave a thought to the quality of their seeds now either grow selected seed themselves or purchase it from others".[1]

Fruit culture—In the begining the Department concentrated its energies on the improvement of export crops like wheat and cotton, to the comparative neglect of non-export crops like *Jowar*, *Bajra*, fruit and vegetables, in spite of the fact that they were quite as important both from the point of view of food requirements of the population and the profit of the agriculturists. Latterly, however, it began to devote increasing attention to some of these requirements, especially the development of fruit-growing. In 1935 a scheme for producing nursery plants of known origin was started, and during 1937-38 and 1938-39, 34,138 plants and 39,000 plants were sold by the departmental nurseries.[2]

Demonstration of improved methods of agriculture—Apart from the economic work on crops, researches and investigations relating to fundamental problems of agricultural chemistry, agricultural bacteriology, plant pathology. mycology and entomology were set on foot under the auspices of the Department. The other investigations carried on related to the reclamation of saline lands, the conservation of soil-moisture, the mosaic disease of sugar-cane and the control of pests infesting foodgrains.

The difficult task of bringing round the farmer to appreciate the utility of improved seeds and appliances was greatly facilitated by the system of practical demonstrations on the cultivators' farms. In addition, several demonstrations of improved implements were given at horse-and-cattle-fairs and similar other gatherings. Their use was also encouraged by leasing out Government land on favourable terms and by granting other facilities to those who undertook to use improved methods of farming.[3] This work of

1. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 180. The Agriculture Department estimated in 1936 that "from improved wheats the Punjab farmers are now getting Rs. 21,300,000 extra; from improved cottons Rs. 26,000,000; from improved sugar-canes Rs. 9,052,000 annually". (*Report on the Operations of the Agriculture Department for the year ending June 30, 1936*, p. 2).
2. Proceedings of the Punjab Government. Development Department, No. 1203-D, dated March 20, 1940.
3. India Government, *Moral and Material Progress Report*, 1916-17, p. 46; *Notes and Proceedings of the Meetings Held at Simla on 5-7th September, 1928, to Consider the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, I, p. 37; *R.C.A.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 160-1.

popularising the improvements was also supplemented by Village Farmers' Associations organised in 1911-12 under the guidance of the Department.[1] The cultivators formed associations and agreed to follow the advice and recommendations of the Department in all matters connected with agricultural improvement. In 1920-21, the Associations were reported to be working "practically in every district".[2] The Associations numbered 2,600 in 1935-36 and more than 4,500 in 1938-39.[3]

The educative value of agricultural shows and exhibitions was soon realised. Farmers' Weeks were observed on the government agricultural farms and numerous periodical exhibitions of agricultural produce were held in different parts of the Province. Active propaganda in this direction was also conducted by means of lantern slides, documentary films, dramatic clubs, leaflets and popular lectures.[4]

In order to create a class of farmers who might set an example for others, a new scheme—unique in its character—of granting land in the canal colonies to educated persons was started in 1932 when 73 such grants, each of about 50 acres were made. The scheme was further extended in 1938 when 81 grants of land of similar nature were made. Most of the grantees were graduates and under-graduates in Arts, Science and Agriculture.[5]

Thus, the Agricultural, Department by doing useful work in various directions, gradually amassed a great wealth of knowledge and experience, and succeeded in securing the confidence of the agriculturists in a remarkable degree. The progress of agricultural reform, however, had not been very rapid. The main obstacles in the path of progress were inadequacy of capital at the command of an average cultivator, insufficient irrigational facilities in some parts of the Province and the general ignorance of the agriculturist.[6] To these must, of course, be added the paucity of funds placed at the disposal of the Department of Agriculture. The net

1. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 111.
2. *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 65.
3. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, Development Department, No. 1203-D, dated March 20, 1940.
4. *Bulletin of the Joint Development Board*, 1931, p. 18; Ikramullah Khan, *Technique of Agricultural Propaganda*, 1940.
5. *Report on the Operations of the Agriculture Department*, 1939, p. 88.
6. Howard, A., and G.L.C., *Indian Agriculture*, 1927, p. 22.

expenditure on agriculture amounted to Rs. 8.5 lakhs in 1913-14,[1] Rs. 26 lakhs in 1920-21[2] and Rs. 33.7 lakhs in 1938-39.[3] The expenditure no doubt increased gradually, but, it was too small as compared with the total revenues of the Province, which amounted to Rs. 1,168 lakhs in 1938-39.[4] All this means that a very small percentage of the revenues of the Province was spent on the development of its chief and basic industry.

Rural Uplift

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928, truly remarked that "no substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living".[5]

Of all the factors, conducive to prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself and it is no exaggeration to say that efficient agriculture depends, to a very great extent, on the qualities of the man behind the plough more than on anything else.[6] The demand for a better life could, therefore, be stimulated only by a deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general condition of the country-side and the responsibility for initiative in this matter rested with the Government.

Rural Community Board and Community Councils—The importance of the subject was fully realised and a Rural Community Board was set up in Lahore in 1923, under the Minister for Education as Chairman and with the heads of the beneficent departments (Education, Public Health, etc.) and the representatives of some of the major unofficial organisations such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Red Cross as members.[7] To supplement the work of and to co-operate with the above body, Community Councils (later called Dehat Sudhar Committees) were established in the districts with the Deputy Commissior as Chairman. The

1. *P.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 56.
2. *Report on the Operations of the Agriculture Department*, 1921, I. p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*, 1939, p. 9.
4. Punjab Government, *Budget for the year 1940*, p. 12.
5. *R.C.A.*, p. 89.
6. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, p. 25.
7. *Ed.R.*, 1927-28, pp. 66-7.

membership of these councils was predominantly non-official.[1] The object of the Board was to control and co-ordinate the activities of the departments of Agriculture, Co-operation, Education, Veterinary and Public Health. The Board was financed by the Government; and the Councils, by grants from the Board and by local subscriptions.[2]

Joint propaganda meetings were held in the villages, lectures delivered and lantern slides shown; and, as a consequence, a certain impetus was given to the improvement of agriculture, health, education and rural recreation. This ambitious scheme, while it made encouraging progress in the beginning, was handi capped by lack of adequate funds, the preoccupation of the district officers with other multifarious duties, the lethargy of voluntary associations in the rural areas and, the last but not the least, the reluctance on the part of the village folk to carry forward the movement, except under official pressure. Gradually, most of the Councils lost their vitality and, except a very few which still showed some activity, all became either dead of moribund.[3]

The Gurgaon experiment under Mr. Brayne—The notable campaign for village uplift was conducted for seven years, 1921 28 in the District of Gurgaon by Mr. F.L. Brayne, the then Deputy Commissioner. In this work, though the District Community Council did have some share, the greater part was the fruit of the tireless zeal of Mr. Brayne himself.

The object of the "Gurgaon Experiment" was to introduce better method of farming, to reduce economic waste to a minimum, to secure for the people good health and to raise their general standard of living.[4] As to the methods of achieving, Mr. Brayne observed that "Agriculture was easy—better seed, better implements, and more manure. All these things were already worked out and ready to hand. They only required bringing home to the people on a large scale. The reduction of waste was equally simple: better finance—that is to say, co-operation credit—arbitration in preference to litigation, the limitation of expenditure on

1. *Ibid.*
2. Blunt, *An Introduction to Some Social and Economic Problems*, p. 390.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 391.
4. Brayne, F.L., *Rural Reconstruction in India*, 1934, p. 2.

social ceremonies, the discarding of ornaments by children and men, and a substantial reduction in the number worn by women. The health of the village, fortunately, combines easily with better farming—every farmer must have a six feet deep pit in which to collect everything that will help his crops".[1] To achieve a better standard of living, greater attention was to be paid to education, especially of girls.[2] The objects as well as the measures were thus conceived so as to cover the whole field of rural reconstruction.

In order that the cultivator should make concerted effort for the improvement of the village and its surroundings, enlightened leadership is necessary. Mr. Brayne solved this problem of providing enlightened leadership by introducing a system of village guides in the district. The idea was that it would be an advantage to the cultivator to have "some one reliable individual" to look up to instead of a bewildering multiplicity of agencies.[3]

Did the experiment succeed?—Mr. Brayne claimed that the experiment was a success and that "the Gurgaon scheme is a complete and logical whole, and does provide a satisfactory and practical remedy for the existing state of affairs".[4] The following data bear testimony to the success of Brayne's Gurgaon scheme[5]—

	1921	1927		1921	1927
Approved stud bulls	8	557	High Schools	2	4
Hissar heifers	—	123	Boys in schools	10,839	26,744
Iron ploughs	—	1,600	Girls in Boy's schools	—	1334
Iron Persian wheels	—	800	Schools for adults	—	152
Area under improved varieties of wheat	—	36,750 (acres)	Co-operative societies	153	822
Pits for village refuse	—	40,000	Members of co-operative societies	3,303	19,126
Hospitals	11	24			

1. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p 11.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
5. *Census 1931*, XVIII, p. 61.

The above table indicates the extent to which these measures were successful in ameliorating the social and economic condition of the agriculturists of the district. The achievements of this seven-year experiment deeply impressed the public mind throughout India, and it was successfully demonstrated that, even in such a backward district as Gurgaon, the changes in agricultural methods and social customs and abandonment of many unhygienic and uneconomic practices could be made acceptable to a large majority of the hitherto reluctant and backward people.[1] But there is also another side to the picture. It soon became evident, after Brayne's departure from the District, that only little permanent mark was left on Gurgaon itself[2] and that slower progress with more attention to the development of unofficial committees and institutions which might in the future have functioned with less official patronage, would in the end have been more secure.[3] About eighty per cent of the population lapsed into inactivity after Mr. Brayne's departure from the District.[4] One important reason for this was that while the whole programme of improvement was practically forced on the reluctant but docile masses, not all its details had been carefully worked out. Further, the village guides who were expected to act as village leaders were "hurriedly selected", "insufficiently trained" and "inadequately supervised",[5] and, on account of their extreme youth and ignorance, they themselves failed to command influence or popularity with the villagers.[6]

Another cause of the partial collapse of the experiment was inordinately intensive and crude propaganda and too little real teaching.[7] The fact was that Mr. Brayne aspired to achieve something great and to achieve it quickly. Within the short period

1. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1933, p. 155.
2. "Little now servives except the manure pit and the Persian wheel and these only where conditions are favourable". (Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1934, p. 199).
3. Blunt, *An Introduction to Some Social and Economic Problems*, p. 391. Mr. Brayne said, "I did not hesitate to use the whole of my official influence". (Brayne, *Rural Reconstruction*, p. 5). Therefore, after his departure ' though official support was still being generously given, official influence could no longer be applied". (Darling *Rusticus*, 1933, p. 155).
4. Darling, *Rusticus*, 1933, p. 155.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
6. *Ibid.* "Most of them are only 'middle pass' or 'middle fail' and nearly are were striplings". (*Ibid.*)
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-28.

of his tenure as Deputy Commissioner, (which was in his case twice as, long as usual), he was anxious to remove swiftly and radically all the squalor of the villages and "establish a *fait accompli* to the satisfaction of the district and of the world at large".[1]

Nevertheless the influence of Gurgaon Experiment on Indian social policy was marked and lasting. It was not devoid of a moral and it proved beyond doubt that the question of rural uplift was too urgent to be dealt within a merly unsystematic, haphazard manner. The necessity for undertaking a definite, well-planned and ceaseless campaign, if substantial progress was to be achieved within a reasonably short time, was unmistakably established.[2]

Appointment of the Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction— The Gurgaon experiment may be interpreted to point at least one moral : the problem of village improvement cannot be successfully tackled through individual effort. This lesson, fortunately, was not lost sight of and a permanent organisation under Mr.F.L. Brayne, as Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction was established in 1933 to ensure the continuity of his policy and the consequent, steady pressure over a long period. The main duty of the Commissioner was to co-ordinate the work of the various Departments promoting the welfare of the rural population. The movement also received a stimulus when a most striking gesture was made by the Government of India which set apart Rs. 1 crore (from the budget surplus in 1935) for distribution to the various provinces for the economic development and improvement of rural areas. Out of this amount the Punjab Government received Rs. 7½ lakhs.[3] The grant was to be spent on schemes of village improvement in consultation with the Central Government. The Central Government's grant of Rs. 11.04 lakhs, which was repeated in the following year, gave a fresh stimulus to provincial rural uplift programmes, especially those relating to agricultural improvement, rural sanitation and hygiene.[4] Out of these grants, the Punjab Government spent Rs. 47,765 on the development of fruit growing and

1. Brayne, *Rural Reconstruction*, p. 5.
2. *R.C.A.*, par. 24.
3. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of the Hon'ble J.D., Boyd, Finance Member, on March 29, 1935.
4. *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, Speech of Mr. Mohan Lal Finance Minister, on March 1, 1938.

fruit preservation industries during 1936-37.[1] Next year Rs. 18,500 were spent for the same purpose and during 1938-39 it spent Rs. 17,998 on boring of wells.[2] These Central grants were, however, too small as compared with the volume of work to be done for the rural uplift. The Punjab Government also showed enthusiasm by instituting a special Development Fund in 1937-38.[3] A sum of Rs. 55 lakhs was originally contributed to the Fund from the revenue surplus of the year 1937-38.[4] More was to be added to it in subsequent years.[5] The various Government departments such as Agriculture, Co-operation, Industries and Education were to be subsidised with this fund in accordance with a co-ordinated plan called the Special Rural Development Scheme for the economic and social uplift of the village folk.[6] The expenditure out of this fund amounted to Rs. 20,095 in 1937-38 and Rs. 70,158 in 1938-39.[7] These amounts were obviously too inadequate to finance rural uplift schemes. Larger funds should have been made available by the Government to be spent on those people who employed their last dregs of labour on the most basic of all industries in the Province, viz., agriculture.

The programme, chalked out by Mr. Brayne, aimed at improving the health of the people and methods of farming, control of cattle diseases, education and thrift, but the movement was not spontaneous and no more than varying success was achieved.[8] "The work is being done" wrote Mr. Brayne in June, 1936, "practically entirely by official inspiration, drive, persuasion and even order".[9] He further added that if official efforts ceased all progress would come to a standstill. He emphatically pressed for the necessity of arousing the people to a realisation that they themselves were largely responsible for their undesirable condition.[10]

1. *Report on the Operations of the Agriculture Department*, 1937, p, 12
2. *Ibid.*, 1938, pp. 5, 9.
3. *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, Speech of Mr. Mohan Lal, Finance Minister, on March 1, 1938.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Punjab Government, *Five Years of Provincial Autonomy in the Punjab*, (1937-42), pp. 21, 47.
7. *Report on the Operations of the Agriculture Department*, 1939, p. 8.
8. Registrar, Co-operative Socities, Punjab, *Rural Reconstruction*, n.d., pp. 5-23.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

Irrigation

There are several reasons why agriculture in the Punjab could not afford to depend exclusively on rainfall and why suitable irrigation facilities were necessary for the agriculturist. First, as many parts of the Province were practically rainless, successful cultivation, except with the help of artificial irrigation, was not possible. Secondly, where rainfall was not very deficient, it was precarious or ill-distributed. Thirdly, as the agriculture was of primary importance in the economic life of the people of the Punjab, their well-being necessarily depended on irrigation as the most important prerequisite.[1]

Means of Irrigation

Naturally, therefore, in the Province even in the olden times endeavours were made to make use of the sources of water supply such as were available in the circumstances.

The sources of artificial irrigation in the Punjab were embankments, streams and springs, wells and the large irrigation canals.

Embankments—Tanks have been a characteristic feature of the Indian agricultural economy from the very early times. They have however, been almost practically unknown in the Punjab. Nevertheless, embankments of great antiquity were to be found in Gurgaon district, which seemed to have played a very useful part in pre-British days. These embankments gradually silted up and nothing was done to improve their condition by the British because the embankments earned a very small direct revenue. In 1910 they were placed under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon, but the whole system proved unsatisfactory and many of them fell into such a state of disrepair that while useless as a means of irrigation they constituted "a menace to the district".[2] Consequently, they were handed over to the Drainge Board which made a more vigorous effort to repair dangerous points and restored this ancient form of irrigation to a workable condition.[3]

1. Harris, D.G., *Irrigation in India*, 1923, pp. 1-4; Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, 1, p. 229.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1923-24, p. 76.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Irrigation by means of embankments was also commonly resorted to in the Salt Range where embankments were thrown across the hill torrents and the flood water drawn into a network of distributaries.[1] A dam called the Nammal Dam was also built in Mianwali district in 1913 to irrigate annually an area of 18,000 acres.[2]

In the hilly tracts, too, emankments were very popular. The rain-water gushing down in torrents was intercepted over the fields as required. Such embankments played another useful part by affording to the land below them protection from the depredations of torrents. In Kangra Valley, these embankments were arranged in tiers along the contour lines of the hills, thereby retaining water sufficient for the cultivation of rice.[3]

Springs and streams—In the hills, artificial irrigation was done entirely by means of small channels called *kuhls* through which the waters of the hill streams were led to and distributed over the terraced fields.[4] The water was directed from field to field filling up first the plots at the top and, through them, those lower down. In Simla and Kangra districts they were practically the only means of artificial irrigation.[5] In Jhelum and Dera Ghazikhan districts, irrigation was chiefly done through perennial and non-perennial springs.[6] In Hoshiarpur district, irrigation was effected through percolation in those portions of the *cho* beds which were situated between the hills.[7] In Sialkot district there marshy depressions, locally known as *Chhambs*, fed by rain-water, surface drainage and small streams, which were utilised as reservoirs for purposes of irrigation.[8]

The above methods of irrigation were of some importance and utility in certain areas only and the area irrigated from these sources was very small as compared with the total irrigated area

1. *I.G.O.I., Provincial Series,* II, 1908, p. 147.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1913-14, p. 39.
3. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today,* I, p. 232.
4. *I.G.O.I., Provincial Series,* I, 1908, pp. 326, 365; II, pp. 360, 395; *Gazetteer of Suket State,* 1927, p. 72.
5. *Census 1931,* XVII, p. 38.
6. *D.G. Jhelum,* 1904, p. 120.
7. *D.G. Hoshiarpur,* 1904, p. 120.
8. *D.G. Sialkot,* 1920, p. 6.

of the Province. In 1901-2 the area irrigated from "other sources" (i.e., excluding that irrigated by canals, tanks and wells) was 1,32,341 acres out of 88,51,293 acres irrigated from all sources.[1] The area irrigated by "other sources" remained more or less stationary. The largest irrigated area recorded was 1,80,782 acres in 1919-20 and the smallest in 1923-24 when only 1,10,687 acres were irrigated from this source.[2] In 1938-39 the area irrigated from "other sources" was 1,42,968 acres as against 1,65,43,598 acres from all sources.[3]

Well-irrigation—Wells constituted the most important indigenous source of irrigation. Well-irrigation demands a fairly high level of the subsoil water. As a rule, therefore, wells were mostly found useful when the depth of water was much less than 35 feet, as the cost of lifting water beyond that point became prohibitive.[4] As such, the districts where-well-irrigation was most prevalent were Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and Montgomery.[5] In the south-west of the Province the wells were lesser in number, owing to the great depth of subsoil water.[6]

The lands, attached to the wells, were essentially very fertile, since the expense and labour which well irrigation entailed prevented its adoption except with a prospect of a fair return. The area, ordinarily cultivated with the aid of irrigation from a well, was different in different parts of the Province. In the Salt Range, an area of 2½ acres was usually attached to a well while in the Ara circle of Shahpur district as many as 54 acres, on the average, were attached to a well.[7] The factors governing this variation were the depth of water, the slope and nature of the soil. The number of wells increased from 2,79,174 in 1906-7 to 3,10,274 in 1928-29[8] and to 3,39,768 in 1938-39.[9] The area irrigated also increased

1. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Agricultural Statistics, 1901-2 to 1935-6*, p. 47.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Supplement 3 to Publication No. 52*, p. 1.
4. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 163.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 12.
7. *D.G. Shahpur*, 1917, pp. 2-3.
8. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p. 49.
9. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Supplement 3 to Publication No. 52*, p. 2.

considerably from 37,46,785 acres in 1901-2[1] to 47,49,094 acres in 1938-39.[2]

Canals—The most important source of irrigation in the Province was, however, the magnificent system of irrigation canals.

When the Punjab came under the British rule, the only canals of any importance in existence were the inundation canals which had been drawn from the rivers Satluj, the Chenab and the Indus to irrigate the comparatively low lands in the valleys of those rivers.[3] In some parts of the Province they were in a serviceable condition, in others they had become silted and useless. The British made strenuous efforts to restore them to a working condition and to extend their scope of usefulness to agriculture.[4] The old channels were cleared, remodelled and extended; new canals were excavated and several which had been dug by private agency were taken over by the Government at their owner's request.[5] Some lessees of Government waste land were also encouraged to dig private canals to irrigate their grants and a great deal was done to extend cultivation in this manner, especially, in Shahpur district.[6] Of the other private canals (in the sense that they did not belong to the Government), the most important were the Grey canals in Ferozepur district, which irrigated an area of 2,60,000 acres in 1900-1 and the Sarusti canal in Karnal district, the Gharak and Gharkhana canals in Montgomery district and the Shahn Nahar canal in Hoshiarpur district.[7] The total irrigated area from private canals was 4,10,610 acres in 1901.[8] The area remained almost stationary and was 4,44,098 acres in 1938-39.[9]

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1. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p 49.
2. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Supplement 3 to Publication No. 52*, p. 2. The normal method of raising well-water for irrigation purposes was by means of the Persian wheel, but in the dry tracts of the south-west of the Province, where water was too deep, an indigenous method called *charsa* was used, in which the oxen walked down an inclined plane and so drawing up a big leather bucket from the well. (Roberts, *op. cit.*, 1947, pp. 146-49).
3. *Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission*, 1901-3, Appendix, p. 33.
4. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, General, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, Pt. II, Provincial, p. 28.
6. Punjab Government, *Punjab Land Administration Manual*, 1931, par. 786.
7. *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 139-40; 1912-13, p. 62.
8. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p. 47.
9. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Supplement 3 to Publication No. 52*, p. 1.

(1) **Classification of Government irrigation works**—Until 1921 the Government irrigation works were classified under three heads viz., productive, protective and minor. The classification was made for the purpose of indicating the source from which the funds for the construction of irrigation works came.

(i) **Productive works**—Productive works were constructed from funds raised by loans and were expected to yield a net revenue sufficient to cover the interest charges on the capital invested within ten years of their completion.

(ii) **Protective works**—Protective work were bullt out of the current revenues; and, though they were not expected to yield an immediate return, yet they were a kind of insurance against possible famine.

(iii) **Minor works**—Minor works were also financed from the current revenues. "This includes all works which have not been classed as productive or protective". Among the minor works a distinction was made between those for which capital and revenue accounts were kept and those for which such accounts were not kept.[1]

This classification was abolished in 1921. Thereafter any work of public utility, whether or not directly "productive", could be financed from loans. All works were classed as either "productive" or "unproductive" according to the financial results, without reference to the source of the funds, the former being those which produced sufficient revenue within ten years to cover their working expenses and the interest charges on their capital cost, calculated at—

(a) 4 per cent on the capital invested in the case of works sanctioned before April 1, 1919,

(b) 5 per cent in the case of those sanctioned between April 1, 1919, and August 1, 1921, and

(c) 6½ per cent in the case of those sanctioned after August 1,1921.[2]

1. Punjab Government, *Review of the work of the Irrigation Department*, during the year 1921-22, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*

The position of the Government canals in operation in 1901-2 is shown by the following table —

Canal	Area irrigated in 1901-2	Net revenue earned (excluding interest charges) in 1901-2	Capital invested upto the end of the year 1902
	(Acres)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)
Major or Productive and Protective Works			
Western Jamuna canal			
Imperial		1236772	17222297
Patiala State (contributions)	589955	60068	1138739
Bari Doab canal	856041	2200202	19133092
Sirhind canal			
Imperial	728908	1469677	24484824
Patiala, Nabha & Jind States (contributions)	Not available	113410	14077457
Chenab canal	1748129	5012753	26555413
Jhelum canal	65367	—21876	9463053
Lower Sohag & Para canal	47753	48346	766355
Sidhnai canal	114132	313529	1279657
Minor Works			
Upper Satluj Inundation canals	170849	365741	846691
Indus Inundation canals	174220	140358	725898
Shahpur ,, ,,	23790	51371	211578
Ghagar ,, ,,			
Imperial	21993	—24691	339421
Bikaner State		— 8740	279679
Shahpur (Provincial) canal	20480	11994	Capital a/cs not kept
Lower Satluj canal	163775	100584	,,
Chenab Inundation canals	114617	41045	,,
Muzaffargarh Inundation canals	291797	173789	,,

Besides other canals added to the above list after 1901-2, there have been many changes from minor works to major and vice versa in these canals.

(ii) Scope for further extension—Of the net area of 2,15,08,567 acres actually sown in 1901-2 only 88,51,293 acres were irrigated from all sources, out of which the Government canals irrigated 45,30,766 acres.[1] The total cultivable waste in the same year amounted to 1,86,91,256 acres.[2] This shows that there was a great scope for further extension of irrigation works in the Punjab. The Indian Irrigation Commission of 1901-03 wrote, "Although little more than half a century has elapsed since the Punjab came under British rule, it is here that the greatest progress has been made in irrigation works—and—it is here that there is still the greatest field for their further extension—the conditions of soil and climate throughout the Punjab plains are such as to ensure a constant and sustained demand for irrigation wherever it can be provided".[3]

(iii) Indian Irrigation Commission, 1901-03, and future irrigation policy—The appointment of the Irrigation Commission of 1901 by Lord Curzon was the result of the famines that ravaged the country towards the end of the 19th century and affected Deccan with particular severity. The Commission consisting of irrigation and revenue experts toured the country in 1901 and 1902, and presented a report in 1903, laying down a definite policy regarding the selection, financing and maintenance of canal works. The Commission held that railway construction, which was recommended as a measure of famine protection alongside of protective irrigation works by the Famine Commission of 1880, had played its part in the policy of famine insurance and it was now important to develop the food resources. They further recommended that the field for the construction of remunerative works was limited to the Punjab, Sind and part of Madras, all of which were vulnerable to famine. They, however, added that these works should be increased as fast as possible, because they would be profitable to the Government and would increase the total food supply of the country. For the protection of famine areas, they reccommended the construction of protective irrigation works which, though not directly or immediately remunerative, would dispense with the possibility of large expenditure on famine relief which would otherwise be necessary.[4]

1. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, pp. 45, 47.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission*, Pt. II, Provincial, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, General and Pt. II, Provincial.

The subsequent irrigation policy of the Government was influenced and based upon these recommendations and presents a contrast to the earlier policy of greater concentration on railways than on irrigation, which called forth the adverse criticism of economists like R.C. Dutt.[1] The most important irrigation work constructed in the Punjab following the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission was the Triple Canal Project which linked-up the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi rivers and made it possible to construct the Upper Jhelum, the Upper Chenab and the Lower Bari Doab Canals.

(iv) Post-war (1914-18) development in irrigation— After the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919 irrigation became a (Reserved) Provincial subject, in consequence of which the Provincial government possessed greater financial powers and therefore showed greater initiatives. Combined with this was the prosperity in the Province following the First World War which made it possible to complete the two major works of great importance, the Satluj Valley Project, and the Haveli canals.

A brief account of the above projects is called for since they were constructed after 1901 and constituted epoch-making events in the economic history of the Province.

(v) The Triple Canal Project—The primary object of this project was to irrigate the Ganji Bar in the watershed between the rivers Ravi and the Satluj. Since the whole of the winter volume of the waters of the Ravi was already hypothecated to the Upper Bari Boad Canal, the Satluj naturally appeared the most suitable source of supply to the area in question. A scheme for a canal with its head at Harike on the Satluj was actually prepared and submitted for sanction, but the Irrigation Commission of 1901 strongly recommended that other means of irrigating the tract in question should be sought, the waters of the Satluj being conserved for the protection and improvement of the existing inundation canals which drew their supplies from it and for the extension of irrigation into the unirrigated waste on either bank of the river.[2] As a result of this recommendation, a bold scheme known as the Triple

1. See Dutt, R.C., *India in the Victorian Age*, 1904, *Economic History of India*, 1906.
2. *Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission*, Pt. II, Provincial, pp. 12-18; Appendix, pp. 34-5, 44-50, 52-59.

Canal Project, embracing the construction of the Upper Jhelum, the Upper Chanab and the Lower Bari Doab canals, to irrigate the Ganji Bar by the surplus water from the Jhelum river transferred across the Chenab and the Ravi was designed. The sanction of the Secretary of State for India was received in January, 1905, and work on the canals was immediately commenced.[1] The whole project was completed in March 1917, at a total expenditure of Rs. 10.1 crores.[2]

(a) The Upper Jhelum Canal—Work on this canal was commenced in 1904-5 at an estimated cost of Rs 4.29 crores.[3] It was to carry the surplus water from the Jhelum to replenish the supplies of the Chenab, but was also proposed to irrigateannually 3.44 lakhs acres in Gujrat district.[4]

Upto 1911-12 the total direct outlay on the canal amounted to Rs. 2 51 crores[5] and to Rs. 4.23 crores in 1915-16 when the canal was formally opened for irrigation, but no irrigation was done.[6] In the first year, therefore, it worked at a loss of 4.12 per cent on the capital outlay (including interest charges).[7] Next year it irrigated, for the first time, an area of 1.17 lakh acres and the gross income from all sources amounted to Rs. 0.83 lakhs and the working expenses to Rs. 6.40 lakhs, resulting in a loss of Rs. 5.57 lakhs or 1.27 per cent on the capital invested. This loss was due to the fact that water-rates were collected for the *Kharif* crops only.[8] In 1920-21 it irrigated an area of 3.58 lakh acres and earned a a net revenue of 0.95 per cent on total capital outlay (direct and indirect) of Rs. 4.45 crores.[9] The area irrigated in 1928-29 and 1938-39 was 3.46 lakh acres[10] and 3.36 lakh acres,[11] respectively. The gross revenue earned for these years was Rs. 24.67 lakhs[12]

1. *P.A.R* , 1904-5, p. 35.
2. *Ibid.*, 1916-17, p. 46.
3. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 137-38.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
6. *Ibid.*, 1915-16, pp. 45-6. The canal was opened on October 7, 1915. It took off from the left bank of the Jhelum at Mangla. (*Ibid.*)
7. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
8. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, for the year 1938-39, p. 28.
9. *Ibid.*, 1921-22, "Pt. II, Statement II. C".
10. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, "General", pp. 6-7.
11. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "General", pp. 6-7.
12. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, "General", pp. 6-7.

and Rs. 18.02 lakhs[1] respectively, but the canal worked at a los[s] (including interest on capital outlay) of Rs. 2.86 lakhs[2] and Rs. 8.88 lakhs[3] respectively. As the canal was one of the important links in the Triple Canal Project, its "financial record, considered alone is largely fictitious. Moreover, as the canal passed through the Pabbi hills for a large part of its length in which there were numerous high embankments and drainage culverts". It "made the cost of maintenance extraordinarily heavy".[4]

(b) Upper Chenab Canal—Work on this canal commenced in 1906-7. It was designed to irrigate an area of 6.48 lakh acres annually, chiefly in Gujranwala district, and to carry supplies to the Ravi for use by the Lower Bari Doab Canal.[5] Out of an estimated cost of Rs. 3.61 crores upto 1911-12, Rs. 2.65 crores had been spent.[6] The canal was opened for irrigation in April, 1912, at a total cost (upto that year) of Rs. 2.95 crores.[7] In 1912-13, it irrigated 1.16 lakh acres and the net revenue realised fell short of the expenditure by nearly Rs. 6,000.[8] Next year, however, it earned a net profit of Rs. 1 56 lakh or 0.49 per cent on the capital outlay (including interest charges).[9] In 1921-22 it irrigated an area of 6.55 lakh acres and earned a net profit of 13.96 per cent on the total capital outlay (direct and indirect) of Rs. 3.56 crores.[10] The area irrigated in 1928-29 and 1938-39 was 6.19 lakh acres and 6.52 lakh acres respectively, and the canal realised an income (direct or indirect) of Rs. 20.45 lakhs and 37.84 lakhs respectively.[11] The total income realised by the canal in 1928-29 fell short of the expenditure (including interest charges) by Rs. 19.16 lakhs or 5.14 per cent on the capital outlay of Rs. 3.73 crores to the end of that year.[12] In 1938-39, however, it earned a net profit

1. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "General", pp. 6-7.
2. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, "General", pp. 6-7.
3. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "General", pp. 6-7.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1928-29, p. 90.
5. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 138.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, 1912-13, p. 60. The canal took off from the left bank of the Chenab at Merala, crossing Gujranwala district to the Ravi at Balloki in Lahore District. (*Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 138.)
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 1921-22, "Pt. II", pp. 8-9.
11. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, "General", pp. 2,6,7; 1938-39, "General", pp. 2,6,7.
12. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, "General", pp. 6-7.

(after deducting charges, direct and indirect, including interest on capital outlay) of Rs. 10.07 lakhs or 2.39 per cent on capital outlay.[1] As a matter of fact, this canal being in a great measure a feeder for the Lower Bari Doab Canal, as a "commercial proposition it cannot be judged solely by its own financial results".[2]

(c) **Lower Bari Doab Canal**—This canal was designed to irrigate annually 8.77 lakh acres in Montgomery and Multan districts at an estimated cost of Rs. 2.16 crores.[3] Construction of the canal began in 1907-8 and the total direct outlay upto the year 1911-12 amounted to Rs. 1.19 crores.[4] It was formally opened on April 12, 1913, and in the beginning did not earn any profit.[5] Thus, in 1914-15 and 1915-16 the percentage of loss on the capital outlay (including interest charges) was 2.47 and 3.79 respectively.[6] But it soon became a commercial asset. In 1921-22 it earned 10.56 per cent profit on the total capital outlay (direct and indirect) of Rs. 2.26 crores and irrigated an area of 9.93 lakh acres which exceeded the project estimate by 1.15 lakh acres.[7] In 1928-29 and in 1938-39 the percentage of profit earned on the total capital outlay (direct and indirect) was 24.77[8] and 32.99[9] respectively, while the irrigated area was 12.62 lakh acres[10] and 12.87 lakh acres[11] respectively. This was the most remmunerative canals of the Triple Canal Project.

(v) **The Satluj Valley Project**—The Satluj Valley Project was the direct outcome of the great Triple Canal Project. A brief account of the conditions prevailing in the Satluj valley is given below to make the implications of the scheme more understandable.

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1. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "General", pp. 6-7.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1920-21, p. 101.
3. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 138-9.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
5. *Ibid.*, 1912-13, p. 61. The canal was in direct continuation of the Upper Jhelum Canal from which it derived its main supplies. Its head-work were on the Ravi at Balloki in Lahore district. (*Ibid.*, 1911-12, pp. 138-9.)
6. *P.A R.*, 1914-15, p. 49; 1915-16, p. 44.
7. *Review of the work of the Irrigation Department*, 1921-22, pp. 13-15.
8. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, 1928-29, "General", pp. 6-7.
9. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "General", pp. 6-7.
10. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, p. 2.
11. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 2.

On either bank of the Satluj, there were a series of inundation canals drawing their supplies from the river wherever the water-level was high enough. There were no weirs at their heads and in the case of some canals, there were no means of controlling the volume of water entering them.[1]

The object of the project was threefold. First, it was proposed to control the volume of water entering them, irrespective of the seasonal fluctuations in the water-level, by the provision of weirs and head regulators and thus making them non-perennial.[2] Secondly, it aimed at extending the areas irrigated by the existing canals so as to include the whole low-lying area in the river valley. Thirdly, it sought to afford perennial irrigation to large tracts in the uplands on both banks which had been hitherto entirely unirrigated and, owing to low rainfall, had lain as practically wasteland.[3] It was estimated to cover about 59.5 lakh acres—28 lakh acres in the Punjab, and 28 lakh acres and 3.5 lakh acres in Bahawalpur state and Bikaner state (Rajputana), respectively.[4]

(a) Completion of the Project—The work was estimated to cost Rs. 19.75 crores and all the surveys connected with the project were completed in 1909-10.[5] The project, however, received the formal sanction of the Secretary of State for India on December 1, 1921, and the work was commenced immediately on four main canals, namely, Pakpattan, Dipalpur, Eastern and Mailsi.[6] The last three canals were opened for irrigation in 1927-28. The Pakpattan canal was ready for first irrigation a year earlier. The whole project was, however, completed in March, 1933.[7]

In the first year of its construction, Rs. 4 lakhs were spent on this project. Next year a sum of Rs. 1.62 crore was expended. Upto the year 1924-25 the total outlay was Rs. 6.35 crores out of which Rs. 3.38 crores were contributed by Bahawalpur and

1. *P A R*, 1921-22, II, p. 47.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 195.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, II, p. 48.
5. *Ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 34.
6. *Review of the work of the Irrigation Department*, 1921-22 "Statistics and Statements".
7. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "Statement I. (A)".

Bikaner states.[1] In 1931-32 the total outlay stood at Rs. 21.37 crores, including Rs. 11.51 crores from the partner states.[2]

(b) Area irrigated—In the first year of its operation (1926-27) the Pakpattan canal irrigated 26,256 acres.[3] Next year it irrigated 77,751 acres and in 1928-29, nearly 3 lakh acres.[4] The area irrigated steadily increased and stood at 4.60 lakh acres in 1931-32[5] and 6.68 lakh acres in 1938-39.[6] The area irrigated by the Dipalpur, Mailsi and Eastern canals were 4.79 lakh acres, 3.85 lakh acres and 1.54 lakh acres in 1938-39 respectively,[7] as against 3.35 lakh acres, 2.26 lakh acres and 1.06 lakh acres in 1928-29 respectively.[8]

(c) Financial results—During 1928-29, the Project worked at a loss of Rs. 30.13 lakhs or 3.56 per cent on the total capital outlay (direct and indirect) of Rs. 8.47 crores to that year. The loss was due to the fact that the system had not fully developed and also because heavy rains and locusts damaged the crops, irrigated by the Eastern canal.[9] The net revenue earned by the canals in the British territory in 1931-32 amounted to Rs. 29.06 lakhs and to Rs. 69.26 lakhs in 1934-35. The latter represented a return of 7.51 per cent excluding interest charges and 2.61 per cent including interest charges on the capital invested.[10] The total income (direct and indirect) of the Project in 1938-39 was Rs. 98.64 lakhs and the net profit (after deducting charges direct and indirect, including interest on capital outlay) was Rs. 38.58 lakhs, which represented 4.30 per cent on the total capital outlay of Rs. 8.97 crores.[11] By the end of 1938-39, therefore, the project had become fairly remunerative and bid fair to be one of the greatest commercial assets of the Punjab.

(vii) The Haveli Project—This project, to divert the waters of the rivers Jhelum and the Chenab into the Ravi near Sidhnai

1. *P.A.R.*, 1924-25, p. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, p. 94.
3. *Ibid.*, 1926-27, p. 87.
4. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, 1928-29, p. 2.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1931-32, p. 91.
6. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, 1938-39, p. 2.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, p. 2.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7, 40.
10. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, p. 39.
11. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, pp. 6-7.

by constructing a barrage at Trimmu, was originally planned in 1916 and a fresh estimate and a new design were prepared in 1926-27.[1] The project was framed to cover a gross area of 7 lakh acres under perennial and 8.50 lakh acres under non-perennial irrigation at an estimated cost of Rs. 5.36 crores.[2] The project was sanctioned by the Government in April 1937, and work on it commenced in October, the same year.[3]

The Project was completed during 1938-39 and was opened on April 2, 1939. The total capital outlay to the end of the year 1938-39 was Rs. 2.65 crores.[4] Irrigation began with *Kharif* 1939.[5] The Karam, Ganesh and Talini canals of the Muzaffargarh Canal System as well as the Sidhnai canal and the Chenab Inundation canals were amalgamated with the system during 1939-40. In the same year the total area irrigated by the Haveli Canals System amounted to 7.23 lakh acres and the gross receipts to Rs. 14.53 lakhs against the recurring expenditure of Rs. 11.23 lakhs, thus earning a net revenue of Rs. 3.29 lakhs or 0.98 per cent on the total capital investment of Rs. 3.35 crores upto that year.[6] This was the first year of its working and showed satisfactory results and therefore held out hopes for the future.

(viii) Extent and growth of canal irrigation—The irrigation canals of the Punjab drawing a perennial supply of water from the rivers fed by the Himalayan snow rendered large tracts independent of the local rainfall and transformed waste land into a fertile and rich crop-bearing tract. The total area irrigated from all sources was 1.65 crore acres in 1938-39[7] as against 1.31 crore acres in 1923-24 and 88.51 lakh acres in 1901-2.[8] The major portion of the area was, of course, irrigated by the Government irrigation work.

In 1887-88 the area irrigated by all classes of canals was 23.41 lakh acres.[9] With the opening of the Lower Chenab canal in

1. *P.A R*, 1926-27, p. 91.
2. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, 1938-39, p. 45.
3. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Speech of Mr. Manohar Lal, Finance Minister, on February 2, 1939.
4. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, 1938-39, p. 45.
5. *Ibid*, 1939-40, p. 52.
6. *Ibid*, pp, 52-4.
7. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Supplement 3 to Publication No. 52*, p. 1.
8. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No 52*, p. 47.
9. *Administration Report of the P.W.D. (Irrigation Branch)*, 1938-39, "Pt. I", p. (iii).

1887 and the Lower Jhelum canal in 1901-2, the area rose to 54.73 lakh acres in 1901-2 and remained almost stationary till 1908. With the opening and expansion of the Triple Canal Project it rose rapidly and stood at 1.02 crore acres in 1920-21. Further, as a result of the opening of the Satluj Valley Project, the canal irrigated area reached 1.22 crore acres in 1928-29 and 1.31 crore acres in 1938-39.[1]

The main increase, however, had been in the class of "productive works" which irrigated 14.22 lakh acres in 1887-88; 44.91 lakh acres in 1901-2; 62.70 lakh acres in 1910-11; 95.08 lakh acres in 1919-20; 1.19 crore acres in 1928-29 and 1.23 crore acres in 1938-39.[2]

(ix) Financial results— The financial advantage accruing to the Government from these canals was immense.[3] The net receipts (direct and indirect) from all Productive Works amounted to Rs. 3.72 crores or 10.95 per cent on the total capital outlay of Rs 36.66 crores in 1938-39,[4] as against 12.53 per cent on the total capital outlay of Rs. 31.75 crores in 1928-29.[5] The Unproductive Works, however, seldom showed profit. In 1928-29 and 1938-39, they worked at a loss of Rs. 5.71 lakhs and Rs. 1.42 lakh respectively, which comes to 4.33 and 3.59 per cent on the total capital invested, respectively.[6] The total accumulated profits of the Productive Works to the end of the year 1938-39 (net revenue to the end of the year minus interest charges to the end of the year) amounted to Rs. 92.88 crores as against Rs. 1.90 crore in 1887-88;

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.* As compared with this, the area irrigated by Minor or Unproductive works was very small. The highest figure was recorded in 1916-17 when the area irrigated stood at 10.85 lakh acres. The lowest figure was recorded in 1927-28 when only 3.44 lakh acres were irrigated from these works. During the period 1901-1939, the area fluctuated between these two limits. (*Ibid.*, p. v.)
3. The canals earned revenue in two ways. One was the land revenue assessment due to irrigation and the other, the charges for water. The water-rates were charged for areas actually irrigated and varied considerably with the crop grown and were different upon the several canals of the Punjab. The water-rates were fairly low. (*Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission*, 1901-3, "Appendix", p. 49; *Report of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee*, 1925, I, p. 109; IV (Evidence), pp. 2-4, 18-19).
4. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, 1938-39, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, p. 8.
6. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 9.

Rs. 6.15 crores in 1901-2; Rs. 14.79 crores in 1910-11; Rs. 34.24 crores in 1920-21 and Rs. 60.17 crores in 1928-29.[1] Thus, the accumulated profits far exceeded the total capital outlay (direct and indirect). The annual revenue earned by the canals played a great part in stabilising the finances of the Government.

(x) Indirect benefits of irrigation and criticism of the Government policy— The benefits of the irrigation, however, cannot be measured merely by the profits derived by the Government from the capital invested. They extend much farther.[2] Increased facilities for irrigation mean "increase in general wealth and prosperity of the community resulting from the increase in the produce of the cultivation".[3] Irrigation in fact operates as a powerful force in checking the horrors of famine and the cost involved in combating it.[4] The Punjab enjoyed all these benefits. Trade and industry also received a great stimulus.[5] The total value of crops raised by the canals was estimated at Rs. 67.2 crores in 1921-22,[6] which had amounted only to Rs. 20.7 crores in 1910-11.[7] The value of crops in 1928-29 and 1938-39 was not less than Rs. 55 crores,[8] and Rs. 40 crores,[9] respectively. (This decrease in value was due to agricultural depression and, in consequence, to the low prices of agricultural produce). A major portion of these amounts went into the pockets of the cultivators.

But there is another side to the picture. The Government, in the construction of irrigation works, concentrated mostly on what were called "Productive Works". Works which had only a protective value received much less attention than they actually deserved. By contrast to the productive works, the unproductive works involved a capital outlay of Rs. 1.31 crore only in 1938-39.[10] This point stands out in clear relief when we consider large amounts

1. *Ibid.*, "Pt. I", p. (iv).
2. Sohan Lal, *Development of Irrigation in the Punjab*, n.d., pp. 24-35.
3. *Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission*, Pt. I, General, p. 27.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *National* Planning Committee, *River Training*, 1947, p. 32; Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, p. 15.
6. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab.* 1921-22, p. 25.
7. *Ibid.*, 1910-11, "Statement III-E".
8. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, "Resolution of the Punjab Government".
9. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, "Resolution of the Punjab Government".
10. *Administration Report of the Canals in the Punjab*, 1938-39, pp. 8-9.

of money which were being spent on remissions of land revenue and occassionally on famine relief in the arid south-west parts of the Punjab. The policy was, therefore, based on narrow financial considerations and lack of foresight and all direct and indirect advantages were not taken into account when large scale irrigation schemes were seriously contemplated and energetically executed.

7

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS AND CO-OPERATION

Rural Indebtedness

Considering its fertile soil, facilities of irrigation afforded by the canals, abundance of labour and great inherited agricultural skill,[1] the Punjab seemed to have been marked out by nature as a prosperous agricultural region. And yet its agriculture, as has been pointed out in the preceeding chapter, was in a backward condition and the living standard of the average tiller of the soil was pitifully low.[2] The existence of debt was acknowledged as the principal cause of this sad state of affairs. Mr. Wolff rightly remarked that in India "it is the bonds of debt that shackle agriculture".[3] The presence of a huge volume of agricultural indebtedness, which was unfortunately for the most part unproductive, checked improvement in all directions and constituted one of the most serious problems of agricultural economy in the Punjab.

Extent of indebtedness—The total figure for agricultural debt of India was enormously high. Sir Edward Maclagan calculated it to be about Rs. 300 crores in 1911 on the basis of Sir Fredrick Nicholson's estimate of Rs. 45 crores for Madras alone in 1895.[4] According to an inquiry made into this matter by Mr. M.L. Darling, the total debt for Britsh India (including Burma) and the Punjab was Rs. 600 crores and Rs. 90 crores respectively in 1921.[5] The inquiry further revealed that in the Punjab the debt averaged Rs. 31 per cultivated acre and Rs. 76 per head of the agriculturist

1. *Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, 1901, p. 113.
2. Mukherjee, *Land Problems of India*, p. 4.
3. Wolff, H.W., *Cooperation in India*, 1919, p. 3.
4. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1928, p. 17.
5. *Ibid.*

population and that it was at least nineteen times of land revenue demand.[1] Further investigation into this question made in 1929-30 by the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, which based its conclusions on comparatively comprehensive survey, put the total agricultural debt of the Punjab at Rs. 135 crores in 1929, thus showing an increase of 50 per cent on the estimate for 1921.[2] Further, the debt's multiple of land revenue rose to 27, the debt per head of those supported by agriculture to Rs. 104 and the debt per cultivated acre to Rs. 45 in 1929.[3]

Causes of indebtedness—Before the annexation of the Punjab to British India, the small peasant proprietor's capacity to borrow capital for meeting his various social and personal requirements was strictly limited by the lack of economic, legal and political security and land could hardly be considered to offer security for borrowings. But the establishment of *Pax Britannica* and the development of a strong and stable rule as well as the "reclamation of desert lands by the extension of canal irrigation combined with facilities for marketing agricultural produce ushered in an era of prosperity that the Punjab had never seen".[4] The increased earnings from agriculture led to an increase in the value of land. In fact, the whole course of the British rule in the Punjab witnessed a rapidly increasing land value. The average price of land rose from Rs. 10 per acre in 1869-70[5] to Rs. 451 per acre in 1938-39.[6] This, in its turn, increased the capacity of the agriculturist to borrow money against the land he tilled.

The money lenders who had previously "disdained to advance money on anything as worthless as land"[7] were now too eager to accept it as a security for loans. "Their business methods were far from ethical ; they falcified accounts and charged exorbi-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 19, 20.
2. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30*, I, par. 222. The total agricultural indebtedness of the British Indian provinces in 1929 was estimated in the neighbourhood of Rs. 900 crores. *Report of Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, 1931*, I, Pt. II, par. 77.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, 1966, p. 151.
5. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Agricultural Statistics, 1901-2, to 1935-36*, p. 39.
6. *Ibid., Supplement 3 to Publiaation No. 52*, p. 6.
7. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, II, 1966, p. 152.

tant rates of interest".[1] This, coupled with the ignorant and extravagant debtors' notorious propensity for spending borrowed capital on occasions of marriage and other social ceremonials drink, gambling and litigation, often got them entangled in perpetual penury with little or no chance of extricating themselves from their liabilities.[2] The other causes of indebtedness were : (i) insecurity of harvests due to uncertain rainfall,[3] (ii) excessive sub-division and fragmentation of agricultural land,[4] and (iii) heavy mortality of livestock.[5]

Since the land had become a valuable commodity, sale of the mortgaged land for the satisfaction of debt under a civil decree became an ordinary expedient instead of the exceptional resort that it had been in the pre-British period. No wonder, then, that land began to pass to the money-lender on an alarming scale. Realising this as a first-rate and most profitable investment, the money-lender tried to bring the cultivator into his clutches more and more.[6] Till 1860, the total alienations in the Punjab amounted to 39,28,008 acres.[7] Mortgages in the early seventies had an average of only 15,000 acres a year. Twenty years later (188-93) mortgages averaged over 50,000 and in ten years the annual increase in the area under mortgage rose from 1,65,000 acres (1875-78) to 3,85,000 acres (1884 88).[8] The situation was, therefore, fast deteriorating. By 1891 the mortgages went upto the 14 million acres mark, whereas it was only one million acres in 1874.[9] The conditions for mortgages were such that these lands generally ended in sale.

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1. *Ibid.*
2. Thorburn, S.S., *Punjab in Peace and War*, 1904, pp. 352-3.
3. It was calculated that an agricultural cycle of five years gave one good year, one bad and three that were neither good nor bad. It was, therefore, in good years that the peasant could most probably keep himself out of debt. (Darling *Punjab Peasant*, 1932, p. 27).
4. As professor Carver pointed out, small holdings invariably meant small incomes and in the Punjab where expenditure was less determined by incomes than dictated by custom and necessity small incomes sooner or later meant debt. (Carver, *Principles of Rural Economy*, p. 253).
5. That heavy cattle mortality constituted an important cause of the economic embarrassment of the cultivator is evidenced by the large percentage of loans given by cooperative societies in the Punjab for the purchase of cattle.
6. Strickland, R.B., *Indian Co-operative Studies*, 1920, p. 35.
7. *Annals of Indian Administration*, V, 1861, p. 125.
8. Darling, *Punjab Peasant* 1932, p. 174.
9. Nanavati, *Indian Rural Problem*, 1951, p. 224.

Government Policy Regarding Rural Indebtedness

We may now proceed to discuss the measures taken by the Government to tackle this problem. The subject can be conveniently studied under the following heads—

(i) Measures for restricting the alienation of land and protection to the debtor,

(ii) Measures undertaken with the object providing credit, and

(iii) Measures to regulate money-lending and for conciliation of bebt.

Restrictions on the transfer of land—The facility with which the ignorant and unthrifty peasantry borrowed recklessly on the strength of the improved security of land led, in course of time, to the reduction in their status from proprietors to tanants. In the beginning, far from desiring to prevent transfer of land, the Government seemed actually to welcome it because it was thought that the facility of transfer would place the land at the disposal of those who would bring capital, intelligence and enterprise to bear on it. Such enlightened enterprise has been the principal cause of the progressive character of English agriculture.[1] On the other hand, in the Púnjab the money-lender did not cultivate land himself, but let it out on rent to his former debtors. He "does not invest any capital in improving it—but contents himself with obtaining the best rent he can".[2]

Many years had to pass before the growing impoverishment and financial subjection of the agricultural classes attracted the attention of the Government. Gradually the realisation dawned on it that transfer of land to non-cultivating classes was socially, economically and politically dangerous.[3] And it was not earlier than 1900 that the bull was taken by the horns by passing the Punjab Land Alienation Act, which opened a new era in the economic history of the Province.[4]

1. Dewett, *op. cit.* pp. 183, 274,
2. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, p. 271.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-264.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 37,

Under this Act, non agriculturist classes were not allowed to buy land from a member of an agricultural tribe, nor to take it in mortagage for more than twenty years.[1] The Act was hailed by the agricultural classes as the Magna Charta of their freedom.[2]

(a) Emergence of the agriculturist money-lender—But after the passing of this Act, difficulties were found in its working. It had, therefore, to be amended as many as ten times till 1940.[3] The main difficulty in the working of the Act was that it had provided against the expropriation of the agriculturist by a non-agriculturist or by an agriculturist of a different tribe or group, but nothing was provided in the Act against the expropriation by the same tribe or a tribe of the same group. Experience showed that the agriculturist money-lender took advantage of his privileged position to fleece his brother agriculturist in a manner as unscrupulous as that of the professional money-lender.[4] While, therefore, the Act helped materially the retention of land in the hands of the agriculturist, it is open to doubt whether it had appreciably diminished the evil of indebtedness.[5] This was, however, remedied by the Panjab Act V of 1938, Section 3, which provided that no alienation of land could be made by a member of the agriculturist tribe to a member of the same tribe or of a tribe in the same group, if the alienee had advanced money or loan to the alienor and the Deputy Commissioner after making proper enquiries could declare the alienation null and void and could enject the alience from the possession of the land and the place alienor in his place.[6] After the provision of this clause there was little complaint on this account.

(b) Benami (fictitious) transactions—Though the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, achieved its main object—checking the

1. *Ibid.*
2. Darling. *Punjab Peasant*, 1925, p. 259.
3. The Act was amended by Act I of 1907; Act XVIII of 1920; Act I of 1931; Act VII of 1936; Government of India Adaptation of Indian Laws Order, 1937; Act II of 1938; Act X of 1938, Act V of 1938; Act VIII of 1938 and Act VII of 1940.
4. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Pandit Nanak Chand on December 12, 1925.
5. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, par. 175.
6. This now formed Section 3 A of the Act XIII of 1900.

alienation of land to the non-agriculturist to a remarkable degree —the money-lender, however, was "not willing to loss his hold on the cultivator".[1] He invented a new method to evade the provisions of the Act by resorting to *Benami* transactions,[2] by which transfers were nominally made in favour of an agriculturist, while the real benefit was reaped by him. Mr. Pir Akbar, Member, Legislative Council, declared in the Punjab Legislative Council on March 2, 1933, that *Benami* transactions were on the increase.[3] This was remedied by the Act X of 1938, which provided that the *Benami* transactions tended to evade the provisions of the Act[4] were to be null and void.[5]

(c) **The Punjab Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act, 1938**— As a measure of relief to the indebted peasantry, the Government passed another Act called the Punjab Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act, (IV of 1938). The Act provided for the restoration, without any compensation, of agricultural lands mortgaged prior to June 8, 1901 (the date on which the Punjab Alienation of Land Act came into force), if the mortgagee had already derived from the land benefits amounting to twice the mortgage money. The mortgagee was to be given reasonable compensation in other cases.[6]

(d) **Debtor's Protection Act, 1936**—Under the British rule, the better defined rights of property and a stricter enforcement of them through the civil courts, had unduly disturbed the old balance between creditor and debtor. The complex legal machinery sometimes proved an engine of great oppression in the hands of money-lender. Though the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act (VII of 1904) provided that the debtor against whom a decree had been passed could not be imprisoned for the non-payment of his debts, the poorer sections of the community needed further protection against the unscrupulous money-lender.[7] The main pur-

1. *Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission*, 1945, p. 465.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1918-19, p. 19.
3. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Mr. Pir Akbar on March 2, 1933.
4. *Act XIII of 1900*, Section 13-A.
5. *Punjab Act X of 1938*
6. *Punjab Act IV of 1938.*
7. *Punjab Act VII of 1934*, Section 34. The Indian Civil Procedure Code, 1908, had provided for the imprisonment of the debtor for the non-payment of his debt. (Sections, 55-59, Order 21-Rule 37-40).

pose of the Debtors' Protection Act, 1936, was therefore, to protect the agriculturist debtor from molestation and intimidation. The Act provided for the exemption of certain kinds of agriculturist debtor's property that he needed for providing his necessaries of life from attachment and sale in execution of a decree of the court. His cattle, his crops, his ancestral property, furniture and even a part of his land were now secure and safe.[1]

The supply of money and credit—Loans to agriculturists were advanced under the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1884 and the Agriculturists' Loans Act of 1884. Under the former Act, long term loans for making permanent improvements on land, such as well and embankments, were granted. Under the latter, short-term loans were given for current agricultural needs, such as the purchase of seed, cattle, manure, implements, etc.[2]

The amount of loans advanced under the Land Improvement Loans Act, from year to year were so varied in amount that little could be said about their adequacy. But, generally speaking, the loans advanced were meagre, the more so when we look to the needs of agriculture and the agriculturist. Moreover, a fundamental defect of the Land Improvement Loans Act was that no loans could be granted under it for the redemption of old debts and consolidation of holdings—the two essential prerequisites for agricultural improvement.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture showed great satisfaction on the working of the Agriculturists' Loans Act and wrote, "Since the Act came into force, it has proved of immense value in times of distress, whether arising from drought, flood, epidemic or earth quake, and is a potent weapon in the hands of any local government called upon to deal with any sudden emergency which requires the immediate issue of capital for current needs".[3] At another place they observed, "On the whole we are satisfied with the working of the Act. Local governments and their officers are keenly alive to its value and also to the necessity for careful supervision of its working in order to prevent abuses".[4]

1. *Punjab Act II of 1936*, Sections 4-5.
2. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, pp. 300-1.
3. *R.C.A.*, par. 362.
4. *Ibid.*

Although a frequent use of the Acts was made in the Punjab, it would certainly have been better, had larger sums been advanced under them. The findings of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, 1931, were that the two Acts provided a very small parts of the finance required by the agriculturists. They furnished figures illustrating "the very insignificant part played by the Government in the matter of supplying rural credit".[1] The grant of an inadequate loan inevitably leads to its misapplication. A loan must be sufficient to ensure the completion of the projected work. The inadequate amount of loan, thus, inevitably threw the cultivator into the arms of the money-lender. As such the provision of suitable and cheap system of credit for the agriculturists for combating rural indebtedness remained a great desideratum.

Measures for regulating money-lending, etc.— In the early 1930's the adoption by the Punjab Government of the Policy of granting relief and affording protection to the agriculturist debtor, who had been hard hit by the slump in prices due to world economic depression, resulted in several enactments. The main purpose of these enactments was to reduce usury to the minimum.

(a) Regulation of Accounts—The business of money-lending has been controlled and regulated in several countries because the power which money-lenders have over their borrowers is apt to be abused. But in the Punjab the problem had another aspect, too. The money-lender was unscrupulous, while the cultivator was simple-minded and unlettered. To remedy this, the Regulation of Accounts Act was passed in 1930.[2] Under this Act a money-lender was required to maintain regular account-books and to furnish each debtor, annually or six-monthly, with a statement of accounts in respect of each loan transaction.[3] The penalty for failure to maintain proper accounts was the loss of interest, wholly or in part, found due and also of costs of suits for the recovery of arears.[4]

1. *Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission*, 1945, p. 292.
2. The Act came into force on July 1, 1930, vide Punjab Government Notification No. 1871, dated June 17, 1931, published in the *Punjab Government Gazette*, 1931, Pt. I, p. 657.
3. *Punjab Act I of 1930*, Section 3(2)
4. *Ibid.*, (b).

(b) Limitations of rates of interest— The maximum rates of interest that could be charged were fixed by the Relief of Indebtedness Act, 1934, according to which on secured loans the maximum rate was fixed at 12 per cent simple and 9 per cent compound interest and on unsecured loans it was to be 18 and 14 per cent respectively. In this connection the old Hindu rule of *damdupat*[1] was also incorporated in the above Act.[2] However, it was rather impossible to enforce interest rates for the reason that when the borrower was in dire need of money, the lender could always charge a higher rate, either by agreement in favour of a higher rate of interest out of court or by entering a higher sum as principal at the legal rate of interest than was actually loaned. The adoption of the *damdupat* was, however, welcome in so far as it led creditors to sue the debtors within a reasonable time.

(c) Registration and licensing of money-lenders Act— But licensing and registration of money-lenders was essential for the enforcement of any regulation of professional money-lenders.[3] This was finally done in 1938, when the Registration and Licensing of Money-lenders Act was passed.[4] This Act required all money-lenders to get themselves registered and to hold license on payment of a prescribed fee. Provision was also made for the cancelling of license under certain circumstances such as dishonesty on the part of the money-lender. The panalty to the money-lender for not taking out a license was the withholding of the assistance of law-courts in enforcing his claims.[5]

Owing to the absence of a regular review of the working of the Act by the Punjab Government, no statistical data is forthcoming in regard to the actual number of money-lenders or the

1. According to this rule, interest on a loan is not to exceed the principal. (Dewett, *op. cit.*, p. 186).
2. *Punjab Act VII of 1934*, Section 30. Though the Usurious Loans Act, 1918, (an all-India legislation) had given powers to the courts to regulate the rates of interest, it practically remained a dead letter mainly due to the debtors' ignorance. *(Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission*, 1945, p. 465).
3. See *Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1931, par. 117.
4. The Act came into force on June 15, 1939. (*Punjab Government Gazette*, Pt. I, dated June 9, 1939.)
5. *Punjab Act III of 1938*, Section 3.

volume or the manner of business done by them. Therefore, nothing can be said about the working of the enactment.[1]

(d) Debt conciliation— The Royal Commission on Agriculture wrote, "We consider that, in areas where debt is known to be beyond the capacity of the people to pay, conciliation bodies might be tried".[2] The Central Banking Enquiry Committee also suggested that a policy of debt conciliation on a voluntary basis should be pursued by provincial governments.[3] The Punjab Government took up the hint and made the provision for setting up of Debt Conciliation Boards in the Relief of Indebtedness Act, 1934.[4]

The central idea underlying the Act was that scaling down of debts should take place as a result of mutual agreement between the debtor and the creditor through the machinery of a Conciliation Board, consisting of a Chairman and two or more members appointed by the Government for a term not exceeding three years. The jurisdiction of the Board was limited and debtors who did not owe more than Rs. 10,000 could only apply.

The Conciliation Boards achieved substantial results in the Punjab. The Act came into force on April 8, 1935,[5] and by the end of 1939 there were 29 Boards functioning in the Province. They received 40,720 applications from debtors during this period involving a debt of about Rs. 563 lakhs and 27, 060 applications from creditors covering a debt of Rs. 27 lakhs.[6] The Act worked smoothly and during the year ending December 31, 1940, the Boards disposed of nearly 26,000 applications involving Rs. 246 lakhs. The debts which were actually admitted amounted to Rs. 91.45 lakhs, of which the debtors agreed to pay Rs. 35.38 lakhs. The debts admitted on creditors' applications only amounted to

1. India Government, *Agricultural Legislation in India*, I, "Regulation of Money-lenders", p. 4.
2. *R.C.A.*, par. 367.
3. *Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1931, pars. 91-2.
4. *Punjab Act VII of 1934*, Sections 7-29. Sir Henry Craik summed up the position, while introducing the Bill, thus "Creditors cannot recover and the debtors cannot pay. It is in these circumstances necessary to seek legislative remedy of this kind". (*Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Henry Craik on March 20, 1934).
5. *The Punjab Government Gazette*, (Extraordinary), of 8th April, 1935.
6. Punjab Government, *Report on the Working of Debt Conciliation Boards in the Punjab from the date of their inception upto December 31, 1939*, p. 1.

Rs. 14.42 lakhs.[1] By the end of 1943 claims amounting to Rs. 361 lakhs were scaled down to Rs. 138 lakhs by mutual agreement.[2]

It may, however, be indicated that the method of scaling down of debts had only a limited utility because it tried to remove the effects without striking effectively at the root cause of indebtedness. The Reserve Bank of India in its *Preliminary Report on Agricultural Credit, 1936*, rightly stressed the two aspects of this problem, namely, the need for reducing debt and restricting credit and at the same time for increasing the earning capacity and purchasing power of the cultivator by divising measures for rural betterment.[3]

General effects of debt legislation—Rural debt legislation as outlined in the foregoing pages had a certain tendency to restrict the supply of credit in rural areas. The Statutory Report on Agricultural Credit (Reserve Bank of India) observed that "money-lenders have discontinued lending except to old and trusted clients and have restricted their loans to a minimum".[4] As a result, sometimes for want of securing fresh loans the celebration of a marriage had to be deferred.[5] Nevertheless this was not an unmixed blessing as it tended to inculcate habits of saving and thrift among the peasantry [6] But legislation regulating money-lending must not be judged by this result alone. Honest money-lenders had nothing to lose from these enactments intended to protect illiterate and needy debtors from the malpractices of unscrupulous money-lenders. Then, again, the enac'ments taught the money-lender to find new avenue of investment of his capital, which was necessary for example for trade and industry, and the last but not least benefit derived was that it produced a suitable atmosphere for honest business that was necessary for supply the legitimate needs of agricultural operations and thereby agricultural prosperity.[7]

Co-operations

Numerous definitions of co-operation have been put forward. Three good quotations which bring out the salient characteristics

1. Nanavati, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
2. *Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission*, 1945, p. 465.
3. *Preliminary Report on Agricultural Credit*, 1936, par. 10.
4. Reserve Bank of India, *Statutory Report on Agricultural Credit*, 1937, par. 11.
5. *D.G. Amritsar*, 1947 p. 161.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *P.A R.*, 1905-6, p. 14.

of co-operation are Sir Horace Plunkett's, Self-help made effective by organization"[1]: Sir Edward Maclagan's, "The theory of co-operation is very briefly that an isolated and powerless individual can, by association with others and by moral development and mutual support, obtain, in his own degree, the material advantages available to wealthy and powerful persons, and thereby develop himself to the fullest extent of his natural abilities";[2] and C.F. Strickland's "Every group of individuals, associated to secure a common end by joint effort, may be said to co-operate—A century of history has given to co-operation with a capital C a more precies meaning. It indicates the association of individuals to secure a common economic end by honest means: it is also essential in many forms of co-operation that the individuals possess a personal knowledge of one another".[3]

Origin and development of co-operation—The idea of using co-operation in India as a means of combating rural indebtedness supplying credit was first mooted by Mr. Fredrick Nicholson, a Madras civilian, who had made an extensive study of agricultural and other land banks in Europe. The Madras Government deputed him to study the feasibility of starting, in the Madras Presidency, a system of agricultural or other land banks.[4] His report was very thorough, pleading powerfully for the establishment of co-operative credit societies, but no immediate action was taken on it.[5]

In the meantime, in two districts, Multan and Mianwali, of the Punjab, efforts were being made by two Settlement Officers, Mr. Maclagan and Captain Crosthwaite, to induce the people to benefit themselves by co-operation.[6] These attempts were, however, being made in an isolated and uncoordinated manner and it was also realised that no real advance was possible without the

1. Plunkett, H., *Co-operation*, 1925, p. 7.
2. Maclagan, E., *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India*, 1915, par. 2.
3. Strickland, C.F., *Co-operation in India*, 1938, p. 15.
4. Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India, for October, 1904, Nos. 1 to 3 (A).
5. *Ibid.*
6. Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India, for October, 1904, Nos, 1 to 10 (A).

help of special legislation, the Joint Stock Companies Act with its elaborate provisions being obviously unsuitable for the co-operative rural banks.[1] The Famine Commission of 1901 afforded further impetus to the idea of co-operation by strongly recommending the establishment of Mutual Credit Associations.[2] In the same year the Government of India appointed a committee under Sir Edward Law after ascertaining the views of local governments on Mr. Nicholson's report. Their recommendations were followed by the introduction of a bill in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir Denzil Ibbetson in 1903, and this was passed under the title of Co-operative Credit Societies Act, 1904.[3]

The Act provided for the formation of credit societies only and postponed all forms of non-credit co-operation. This policy was deliberately pursued, because credit societies with their simple organisation and method of management afforded an easy field in which the principles of co-operation could be learnt and practised.[4] Further, emphasis was laid on rural rather than urban credit due to the more urgent character and greater importance of the former. To encourage the movement the Government offered certain concession and privileges to the societies, such as exemption from income-tax, stamp duties, registration fees, etc.

Review of the progress from 1904 to 1912—After the passage of the Co-operative Societies Act, 1904, the Government at once launched a new scheme of co-operation in the Province under the guidance of the Registrar who was appointed in October, 1904.[5] The new doctrines did not take much time to strike root and the progress was remarkable, as is illustrated by the following figures[6]—

Year	No. of societies	No. of members	Working capital (Rs.)
1905-06	23	1,203	42,595
1906-07	177	17,533	301,908
1907-08	258	21,881	451,216
1908-09	316	23,429	891,544
1909-10	706	38,604	1,862,996
1910-11	1,088	61,423	3,685,097
1911-12	1,769	93,169	7,321,926

1. *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India*, 1915, par. 4.
2. *Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, 1901, pp. 97-102.
3. Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India, for October, 1904, Nos. 1 to 3 (A).
4. *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India*, 1915, par. 8.
5. *P.A R.*, 1905-6, p. 23.
6. Figures culled from *R.C.S.*, 1914. p. 2.

The movement, thus, amply fulfilled the expectations of its promotors, at least in so far as the number of societies started was concerned and in two directions especially the need for a change in the Act of 1904 was urgently felt. First, the credit societies established under this Act had prepared good background for co-operative societies for purposes other than credit, for which as yet there was no legislative provision. Secondly, the need for a free supply of capital and an efficient machinery of supervision had led to the formation of various central agencies, later known as unions and central banks, to finance and control the primary credit societies and these, too, were not recognised by the Act of 1904.[1] On a re-examination of the whole question, the Government of India passed the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912, to remove the deficiencies of the Act of 1904.

The Co-operative Societies Act, 1912—This Act recognised non-credit forms of co-operation affecting purchase, sale, production, insurance, housing etc It also recognised three kinds of central societies as distinguished from primary societies, namely, (i) unions, consisting of primary societies for mutual control and credit, (ii) central banks, consisting partly of primary societies and unions and partly of individual, and (iii) a provincial bank, consisting of primary societies, unions and central banks for supply of credit. The liability of a society, which aimed at provision of credit and the majority of members of which were cultivators, was to be unlimited. The others were left to the option of the members. In view of the importance of share capital, societies could declare dividends or shares in the case of unlimited liability societies, subject to the permission of the Government. Express permission was also given to all societies to set apart a portion of their profits not exceeding 10 per cent for education and charitable purposes, after one-fourth of the profits had been carried to the reserve fund.[2]

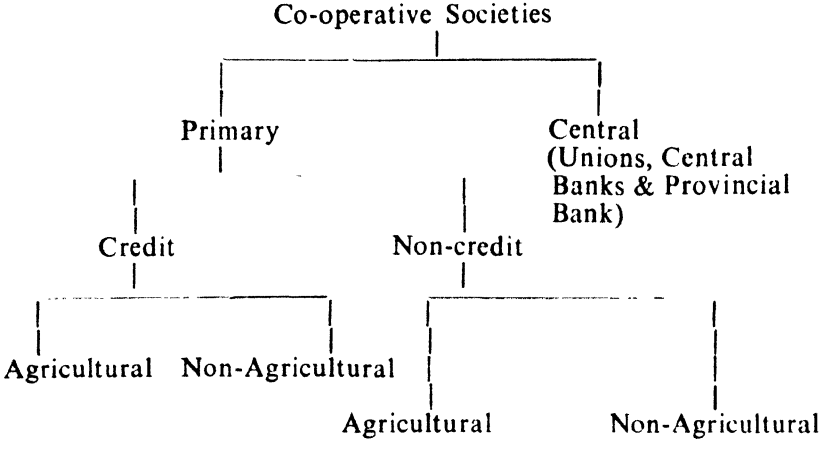
Progress subsequent to the Act of 1912—The new Act considerably stimulated the growth of the movement. The number of societies and their members went on increasing steadily. The pace, however, was deliberately slowed down owing to the policy of

1. *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India*, 1915, par. 5
2. See Calvert, *The Law and Principles of Co-operation in India*, 1921.

"consolidation and rectification" adopted in consequence of the various difficulties faced by co-operative societies during the years of world economic depression.[1]

Classification of Co-operative Societies

The classification below gives some idea of the complex co-operative structure that was built up in the Punjab.



The following table shows the growth of the primary co-operative societies from 1913 to 1939.[2]

Year	Primary Agricultural Credit and Non-Credit			Primary Non-agricultural credit and Non-credit		
	No. of societies	No. of members	Working capital (Lakhs Rs.)	No. of societies	No. of members	Working capital (Lakhs Rs.)
1913	2780	129662	97.7	31	2973	2.5
1918	3938	125058	137.5	45	5063	3.9
1923	8893	223742	263.8	444	19428	17.1
1928	15299	453133	634	2616	88690	100
1931	17541	569296	849	3037	110320	139
1933	17726	573756	840	3240	114332	143
1934	17936	584633	860	3340	123056	145
1936	18559	632348	867	3820	145050	159
1937	18846	657735	840	4162	164827	162
1938	19057	690797	826	4419	177286	172
1939	19401	726419	722	4734	192834	171

1. *R.C S.*, 1924, p. 3.
2. The table has been compiled from the annual *Reports on the working of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab.*

Year	Primary Agricultural Credit only			Primary Non-agricultural credit only		
1915	3267	154065	136.6	14	1264	1.3
1921	7605	196691	216.3	116	5798	4
1929	15480	460820	723	1013	45170	81.5
1935	16569	497955	855.6	1156	57940	109.8
1939	17105	540367	714.4	1310	67722	122.9

This clearly brings out the overwhelming predominance of the credit societies, especially the agricultural credit societies and the comparatively poor development of other types, though the situation in this respect was gradually improving. We shall now proceed to study in greater detail the main features of the co-operative movement.

Primary Agricultural Credit Societies

A primary agricultural credit society could be formed by at least ten and at the most one hundred persons by applying for registration to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Province. The area of operation was usually a village to ensure mutual knowledge and the exercise of mutual control on the part of the members. The liability of the members was unlimited to inspire confidence in the minds of the outside creditors and to stimulate mutual control and supervision among the members. The working capital was derived from entrance fees paid by members, share capital, deposits by members and surplus assets in the reserve fund of the society. Capital was also secured from loans and deposits from the Government, from other societies and from the Central Co-operative Banks and the Provincial Co-operative Bank.[1]

The object of loans—Loans were given to members generally for three categories of objects viz., productive purposes,[2] unpro-

1. *Report of the Committee on Co-operation*, 1915, par. 47.
2. Productive loans fall into three classes, (i) Short-term loans for current agricultural operations, (ii) payment of government taxes, and (iii) long-term loans for making permanent improvements on land.

ductive purposes[1] and liquidation of past debts. Repayment of old debts, purchase of cattle, improvement of land and payment of land revenue[2] generally absorbed the greater part of the loans made. In 1934-35, these categories claimed 18.8, 18.3 and 15.1 per cent respectively of the total loans given by the societies to their members.[3] In regard to the liquidation of past debts, the policy followed was to enable members to be free from all obligations other than those to their society.

The Registrar, Co-operative Societies, reported in 1921 that the members of a co-operative society had reduced their debts by one thousand rupees per society per year.[4] It was further calculated that in the case of 246 societies, which completed the tenth year of their working in 1920, debt to the extent of Rs. 10.8 lakhs was paid off and 2,850 acres of land were redeemed. Besides, members had collected over Rs. 2 lakhs in shares and reserve.[5] It was estiimated that over 3,600 members of these societies had become free from debt.[6] The societies completing their tenth year in 1928 had reduced, during the period of their operation, open debt by Rs. 118 lakhs and mortgage debt by Rs. 41 lakhs.[7] The land redeemed was 34,487 acres and the number of members free from debt was 35,337 out of a total of 82,584.[8] Again, about 25 per cent of the members of 428 societies, which completed their twentieth year in 1935, were free from debt.[9] The object of the co-operative movement of relieving agricultural indebtedness was realised in another direction. Every year huge sums were loaned to the members at comparatively low rate of interest. Co-operation acted like a double-edged weapon. On the one hand it helped the cultivator to get rid of old debts and saved him from future liabilities

1. Loans for unproductive purposes, such as ceremonial expenses and, litigation, were theoretically not permissible, but they were necessary to prevent the needy peasant from falling into the clutches of the moneylender.
2. This looks alarming but actually a loan for such a purpose was contracted generally to postpone the sale of harvest till better prices were available. Sometimes the money so taken in the shape of loans was spent on unproductive purposes (*R.C.S.*, 1912, p. 12; 1933, pp. 28-30).
3. *Ibid.*, 1935.p 93.
4. *Ibid.* 1921,p. 20.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1920-21, p. 68.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *R.C.S.* 1928, p. 20.
8. *Ibid.*, The number of societies was 2,748. (*Ibid.*)
9. *Ibid.*, 1935, p. 3.

while, on the other, the interest received was added to the reserve, on which the finanancial capacity and degree of help that a society could offer to its constituents primarily depended. The agricultural credit societies loaned a sum of Rs. 111.5 lakhs to their members in 1939.[1]

Rate of interest on loans—The usual rate of interest charged by the societies was 12½ per cent, but societies which had the good fortune to create a fund sufficient for the needs of the members occasionally lowered their rate.[2] In 1925, there were about 500 societies which lent at 9 per cent, 15 at rates varying from 3½ to 8 per cent and 29 societies which gave loans wholly or partly free of interest.[3] In fact, the rate of interest depended on the financial capacity of an individual society and there were no hard and fast rules prescribed by the Government to this end. On the whole, the interest was much lower than charged by the professional moneylender.

Land mortgage banks—By their very nature, the ordinary co-operative societies could grant loans to their members for short periods only. But loans for sufficiently long periods were necessary to effect a complete and speedy release from the burden of indebtedness. Moreover, they were also essential for the agriculturists, big and small, in order to enable them to make costly but profitable improvements. The co-operative societies could not meet adequately either of these requirements, for they could not afford to lock up their funds for long terms. The only remedy lay in the institution of mortgage banks, raising their funds at a low rate of interest by the issue of debentures to the public and lending to individual landholders on the security of their property for a long term of years. A village mortgage society was impracticable, for it could not afford to pay for the skilled management which mortgage business demands.

The Punjab had the honour of giving the lead to the rest of the country in this matter and its first Co-operative Mortgage Bank was registered in 1920.[4] The number of such banks was,

1. *Ibid.*, 1939. p. 8.
2. *Ibid.*, 1935, p, 60.
3. *Ibid.*, 1925. p. 13.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1920-21. p. 68.

however, infinitesimal small as compared with the number of credit societies.

(a) Terms for loans etc.—The banks were financed by loans from the Government, by long term advances from the Punjab Co-operative Union and by issue of debentures of Rs.5 lakhs by the Provincial Co-operative Bank in 1926 with Government guarantee of interest.[1] The working capital of the mortgage banks in 1924 and 1939 was only about Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 13.4 lakhs resppectively.[3] They borrowed at the rate of 6½ or 7 per cent and charged their borrowers 8 or 9 per cent.[3] To begin with loans were made for 5 to 10 years, but after 1928 they were usually given for a period of 10 years though the maximum period for a loan was twenty years.[4] The maximum amount of a loan was generally Rs. 5,000.[5]

(b) Amount of business done—During the period 1920 to1926 there was only one Land Mortgage Bank functioning in the Province, viz., that at Jhang and helped the peasants in the redemption of the land they had mortgaged.[6] In 1926 there were 9 such banks and they financed their members in redeeming 3,377 acres of land at a cost of Rs. 4.32 lakhs and in the liquidation of old debts to the tune of Rs. 38,500. They also issued 38 loans amounting to Rs. 95,000 for agricultural improvement.[7] But unfortunately the movement soon came to a stand-still. Thus, whereas a sum of Rs. 7 lakhs was advanced in 1928, in 1931 it was only Rs. 1.51 lakh and in 1939, Rs. 8,300.[8] The problem was so immense that a few moribund institutions could not touch even its fringe.

A variety of causes were responsible for their general lack of success. The most important were lack of caution in granting loans and unfettered discretion enjoyed by the directors in sanctioning loans, which were often unwisely used.[9] Moreover, these banks had

1. *R.C.S.*, 1925, p. 14; 1927, pp. 20,23; 1929, p. 35.
2. *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 15; 1939, p. 21.
3. *Ibid.*, 1926, p. 17; 1929, p. 34; 1931, p. 34; 1932, p. 46.
4. *Ibid.*, 1928, pp. 29-30.
5. *Ibid.*, 1929, p. 34
6. *P.A.R.* 1920-21, pp. 68-69; *R.C.S.*, 1923, p. 24.
7. *R.C.S.*, 1926, p. 17.
8. *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 29; 1931, p. 47; 1939, p. 22.
9. *Ibid.*, 1929, pp. 36-37; 1932, p. 47.

been incepted when agricultural prosperity was at its peak. But arrears began to appear with the setting in of the world economic depression, which had a disastrous effect on the capacity of borrowers to meet their obligations.[1]

Agricultural Co-operative Non-credit Societies

In 1938-39 out of a total of 19,401 agricultural credit and non-credit societies, only 2,226 were non-credit.[2] The increase in their case was of 2,079 societies between 1920 and 1939 as against 17,105 in the case of credit societies.[3] The progress made by the non-credit movement was slow, but as compared with the credit societies the results were not so discouraging. The movement assumed the following forms—

Cattle-breeding and insurance societies—The importance of a good stock in an agricultural economy can hardly be exaggerated. The cattle breeding societies were, therefore, formed to encourage the breeding of improved stock. There were 313 Cattle-breeding, 25 Sheep-breeding and 14 Mule-breeding societies in 1939.[4]

The principle of co-operative insurance was sought to be applied to the cattle in 1918, when a society was started with 58 members and a working capital of Rs. 157.[5] The number of such societies rose to 8 in 1919.[6] After that there was a decrease in the number of animals insured and by the year 1925 the scheme was abandoned altogether.[7] The chief obstacles to success were the prevalence of virulent cattle epidemics like rinderpest and the difficulty of management and finance.[8] Another instance of co-operative activity regarding the cattle was the starting of 13 Milk Recording Societies in 1926.[9] But they never found favour with the people.[10]

1. Atta Ullah, *Co-operative movement in the Punjab.* 1937, pp. 300-312.
2. *R.C.S.*, 1939, Statement B, p. 4.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid* , p. 28.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1918-19, p. 44.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, (Ministry of Agriculture), No. 576-D, dated February 9, 1926.
8. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.* p. 228.
9. *R.C.S.*, 1926, p. 20.
10. *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 6.

Silt clearance and Cho reclamation societies—The accumulation of silt in the channels fed by canals posed a serious problem. When the channels got silted the current of the water was blocked and a good quantity of it was absorbed by the silt itself. Regular clearance of silt was, therefore, essential for efficient irrigation. Three societies were formed in 1921 for clearing the channels,[1] and this number rose to 26 in 1928.[2] The movement, however, did not find favour with the people and was almost dead by 1939.[3] The chief cause of its failure was the cultivators' disinterestedness and their inability to make a sustained effort.

A similar attempt was made to prevent the erosion caused by hill torrents round the Siwalik hills by organising a large number of anti-erosion and *cho* reclamation societies in Hoshiarpur district. As a result erosion was greatly checked by re-afforestation, *band* making, etc., in the hills and by grass-planting, tree-growing, terracing, etc., in the plains. The total number of such societies was 61 in 1938-39 with 2,460 members and they served a useful purpose.[4]

(iii) Better farming societies—The backwardness of agriculture and the necessity for its improvement led to the formation of better farming societies. Their objectives were (i) to encourage the adoption of better methods of agriculture (ii) to ensure the supply of better seed and improved agricultural implements, and (iii) to build up funds for loans to members for purchase of improved implements, manure and better seed.[5]

In addition to their usual functions, the societies in the districts of Ferozepur, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Hissar undertook digging of manure pits. The societies in Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Lyallpur and Muzaffargarh started growing vegetables and planting fruit trees. Demonstration of better methods of cultivation were also arranged by these societies in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture.[6]

1. *Ibid.*,1921, p. 29.
2. *Ibid*,, 1928, p. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, 1939, p. 30.
4. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1939 to July 31, 1944; p. 42.
5. *R.C.A., Evidence Vol. VIII* p. 161.
6. Fagan, Patrick, *Possibilities of Agricultural Development in the Punjab*, 1923, p. 17.

Consolidation of holdings societies—Another remarkable instance of co-operative activity was the work that was done for the consolidation of holdings in the Province.

The experiment was first started in 1920 when 20 societies with 690 members were registered.[1] Actual repartition could be done only in a few cases in that year. In the next year 7,571 acres of land were consolidated and the number of members and of societies also increased to 1,698 and 60 respectively.[2] After that year the progress was steady but continuous as indicated by the following table[3]—

Year	No. of societies	No. of members	Area consolidated (acres)
1922	137	3397	6983
1923	133	5225	5376
1924	154	7078	8120
1925	174	8412	10707
1926	237	10928	21258
1927	314	15387	38071
1928	428	20495	64699
1929	543	28305	48705
1930	654	35778	50105
1931	795	47948	72821
1932	911	55803	60348
1933	1011	67992	62062
1934	1097	78319	66148
1935	1167	84423	63534
1936	1210	105584	92689
1937	1270	119875	102295
1938	1360	141929	132313
1939	1477	160782	157211

1. *R.C.S.*, 1921, p. 26.
2. *Ibid.*
3. The table has been compiled from the annual *Reports on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab.*

A glance at the total number of acres consolidated shows that at this pace the work of consolidation could never have been completed. The causes of this slow progress were manifold. The work of consolidation was carried out purely on a voluntary basis.[1] Although officials of the Co-operative Department carried on a steady propaganda on the advantages of the scheme, their method of persuasion was by no means effective. Old men were reluctant to give up their ancestral fields and the occupancy tenants feared loss of their rights. In such circumstances, the work had to be slow and the marvel was that it was done at all. The co-operative agency had a limited achievement in this field.

Defective marketing of agricultural produce and commission shops— Another problem that engaged the attention of the pro-agriculturist administration in our period was that of defective marketing. There is no gain saying the fact that the cultivator could not realise a fair price for his produce. Farming was carried on in most cases by small peasant proprietors who had to depend on the money-lenders, because of their not being in possession of adequate finances for marketing the produce. A further difficulty was presented by an inadequate provision of roads and railway to enable the agriculturists to deal directly with the consumer. Other handicaps from which they suffered were ignorence, absence of properly regulated markets, inadequate storage facilities and the chaotic conditions of weights and measures.[2]

There was little wonder, then, that the cultivator was compelled to dispose of his produce at a disadvantage just when everybody was selling and the market was glutted.[3] There was a plethora of middlemen especially in the case of export staples.

1. "No one loses; every one receives no less land than he held before; no attempt is made to oust holders of petty plots; no compulsion is used, no restrictions are imposed -no one is asked to agree to the rearrangement until he has seen his new holding marked out on the ground" (*R.C.A.* p. 139).
2. "Of 2777 weights checked in Amritsar, Gujrat and Muzaffargarh districts 42 per cent were found to be incorrect. -One shopkeeper had a weight of four seers which was one-eighth of a seer too heavy. He had inserted lead into the bottom at its base, and admitted that he used it when purchasing wheat, cotton, and *gur* In the Lyallpur village some of the shopkeepers are said to keep two sets of scales and weights. one for buying and the other for selling". (*Report of the punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30*, I, pp. 219·20, 52-53.)
3. Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

Large firms often entered into contracts with the cultivators, to whom advances of money were made in anticipation of the delivery of the produce and the pre-arranged price was always lower than the market price.[1]

The provision of suitable marketing facilities was strongly recommended by the Committee on Co-operation in India, 1915.[2] As a result 3 co-operative commission shops with 210 members and a share capital of Rs. 29,700 were opened in 1920.[3] The object of these shops was to promote the economic interests of its members by the purchase on commission of seed, agricultural implements and other requirements of the members and the sale of their agricultural produce. It was the latter aspect of their activities to the promotion of which these shops chiefly addressed themselves.[4]

These commission shops performed a commendable task. In 1922, in Lyallpur district they sold their members' produce worth Rs. 4½ lakhs.[5] Their number rose to 6 in 1925 and the value of produce sold by them reached the high figure of Rs. 15.80 lakhs.[6] In 1929 their number increased to 24 and the value of produce sold to Rs. 47 lakhs.[7] Thereafter there was a sudden decline in their fortune from which they could not recover because of the economic depression of the early thirties. Their number in 1934 was 22 and the value of the produce sold in that year was Rs. 19 lakhs only.[8] In 1939 their number was 20 and the value of produce sold Rs. 26.6 lakhs.[9] The co-operative sale of agricultural produce, therefore, made very little headway in the Province. The failure of these shops was, according to Mr. F.W. Wace, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Punjab, due to the opposition of local traders, lack of loyality on the part of members, unbusinesslike methods of the managing committees and dishonesty and fraudulent practices on the part of the staff.[10]

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India*, 1915, par. 9.
3. *P.A.R.*, 1919-20, p. 69.
4. Atta Ullah, *op cit.*, p. 271.
5. *R.C.S.*, 1922, p. 16.
6. *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 19.
7. *Ibid.*, 1929, p. 31.
8. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1939 to July 31, 1944, p. 47.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. xxii

Non-agricultural Credit Co-operative Societies

Pari passu with the introduction of Co-operative efforts in the domain of agriculture, the Punjab Government made an attempt to extend the advantages of the movement to certain sections of the non-agricultural population. As early as the year 1915, the Maclagan Committee had recommended the starting of non-agricultural co-operative societies as agencies for ameliorating the lot of the non-agricultural and industrial workers.[1] However, the development of this type of co-operation in the towns was slow because the townsman though intellectually agile was averse to collective work which was so essential for the success of a credit society.[2]

The North-western Railway Employees Co-operative Credit Society was the earliest among the non-agricultural credit societies started in the Province.[3] Its members numbered 3,200 and it had a working capital of over Rs. 3.3 lakhs in 1922.[4] A decade later it had a membership of 14,207 and a working capital of about Rs. 33 lakhs.[5] Many more such societies were started among government employees, shopkeepers, labourers, sweepers, weavers, shoemakers, potters, contractors, pleaders and teachers, but the North-western Railway Employees Society was the biggest. Out of the total amount of Rs.55.96 lakhs advanced by all the non-agricultural credit societies in the Punjab to their members in 1936, the latter alone had advanced Rs. 26.41 lakhs to its members.[6] Loans given by all societies increased to Rs. 62.5 lakhs in 1938 and to Rs. 71.46 lakhs in 1939.[7] The societies lent at rates varying from 6 to 9 per cent. No difficulty was experienced in the recovery of loans, and the number of defaulters was very small. It shows that the percentage of interest charged on loans was not heavy.[8]

Non-agricultural Non-credit Co-operative Societies

As in the case of the agriculturists so in that of the artisans, not only credit but also other needs such as purchases of raw

1. *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India* 1915, par. 15.
2. *R.C.S.*, 1917, "Government Resolution dated 27.10.1917".
3. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-14.
4. *R.C.S.*, 1922, p. 20.
5. *Ibid.*, 1932, p. 54.
6. *Ibid.*, 1936, p. 35.
7. *Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 8, 35.
8. *Ibid.*,

materials and marketing of finished products had to be organised on a co-operative basis. Industrial societies were accordingly established at some places among weavers, dyers, leather workers, tailors, metal-smiths, wood-workers, glue-makers, book-binders and comb-makers.[1] But all, except the weavers' societies, had a very short span of life. A brief account of these latter is given below.

Weavers' societies—Of all the cottage industries in the Punjab, the handloom industry was the most widespread. It, therefore, offered an excellent field for co-operative endeavour. The Weavers' Societies were first started in 1911.[2] The movement, however, made very little headway and there were only 57 such societies in 1921.[3] Their number rose to 192 in 1931 and to 205 in 1939.[4] The most formidable obstacle to their development was the opposition offered by the middleman who was "often a man of means and influence" and who, when he felt that his existence was at stake, resorted to such mean methods as retarted the pace of development of the societies.[5] Counter methods were adopted by the co-operators, but notwithstanding their being backed up by the entire government co-operative machinery they failed to be effective.[6]

(a) Achievements of these societies—These societies arranged co-operative purchase of raw materials and implements for industrial requirements. Advances were generally made in kind and were recovered on the completion of the transaction. Cash advances were also given on the security of finished goods.

In order to facilitate the disposal of the goods manufactured by these societies, the Co-operative Department not only tried to secure orders for them, but also made a serious effort to popularise their products by showing samples of them at conferences, exihibitions and demonstrations. These measures unfortunately did not produce tangible results. The government, accordingly, took the

1. *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 34; 1934, pp. 41-6, 1936, p. 40.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 24.
3. *R.C.S.*, 1921, p. 31.
4. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 41; 1939, pp. 38-39.
5. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
6. *Ibid.*,

business of selling in its own hands and in 1929, established a Central Sales Depot at Lahore.[1] Two more such depots were opened in 1937-38 and 1938-39 at Simla and Murree respectively.[2] They, however, did not prove the success they promised. The total sale of the three depots was only Rs 29,554 in 1938-39.[3] The total sale, through all the channels, of finished goods manufactured by the societies was also not more than Rs. 5 lakhs.[4]

It is clear from the foregoing account that this branch of co-operation failed to gain sufficient strength and did not render as useful a service to the cottage worker as was envisaged at the outset. The causes responsible for the ineffectiveness and partial failure of these institutions were the same as were operative in the case of the co-operative marketing agencies.

Other forms of Co-operation

Consumer's societies—The consumers' movement, which has achieved such great success in some countries, made very little headway in the Punjab, especially in the rural areas. The domestic needs of the rural community were few and could be met mostly either out of local produce or at the village shop and the standard of living was so low that distributive Co-operation had hardly any scope even if we ignore other difficulties regarding management. The situation was only slightly better in the urban areas.

During the First World War certain necessaries of life were in short supply and large sections of the population were hard put at in obtaining them. To enable the people to get these articles in reasonable quantities and at reasonable price the Co-operative Department organised a number of supply shops on co-operative basis mainly with the object of providing the people with kerosine, cloth, seeds and foodstuffs.[5] They were first opened in 1918 and quickly became popular. They numbered 1,713 in 1920.[6] But the

1. R.C *S.*, 1930, p. 48.
2. *Ibid.*, 1938, p. 37; 1939, p. 41.
3. *Ibid.*, 1939, p 42.
4. *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 35; 1935. p. 42; 1936, p. 38; 1938, p. 38.
5. Strickland, *An Introduction of Co-operation in India*, 1922, p. 55.
6. *R.C.S.*, 1920, pp. 10-11, 28

economic condition after this year eased considerably and raison d' etre of these societies disappeared. There number, there began to fall rapidly and there were only 29 such societies in 1939.[1]

Arbitration societies—Litigation was a course in the Province and source of great economic loss as in other parts of the country. Temperament and ignorance alike made the peasant a firm believer in the efficacy of the direct method of settling the disputes which took the form of fatal fights and bloodshed. All this led to litigation with all its consequences. It was estimated that the cost of obtaining justice in law-courts of the Punjab amounted to no less than Rs. 12 crores annually, which was a sum four times the annual land revenue.[2] The Government tried to tackle this problem through co-operation by establishing Arbitration Societies.

(a) Genesis of the movement— The first experiment in this direction was made in Gurdaspur distrtict where 32 Credit Co-operative societies also assumed the role of arbitration agencies for the settlement of disputes among the members.[3] The success which attended the quasi-judicial activities of these societies highly impressed Mr. Darling. In 1917 he proposed to the Government to set up regular societies for this purpose.[4] Accordingly, by-laws were framed in regard to the nature of the disputes which were to fall within the purview of such societies. A member had the option of taking a dispute to a court of law either with the permission of the Managing Committee of the society or on the payment of a moderate fee in the absence of such a permission.[5]

Six Arbitration Societies with 774 members were started in 1920.[6] The movement rapidly gained strength and in the next two years 142 more such societies sprang up bringing the total membership to 16, 628.[7] During 1920-21, 400 disputes were settled by them

1. *Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 28, 37.
2. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
3. From the Senior Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, to the Revenue Secretary to the Government, Punjab, File No. 244, No. 928, dated Lahore, 27th October, 1914.
4. *R.C.S.*, 1917, pp. 16-17.
5. Punjab Government, *A Co-operative Hand-Book*, 1928.
6. *P.A.R.*, 1919-20, p. 70.
7. *R.C.S.*, 1922, p. 16.

and their decision were honoured in all case.[1] Next year as many as 757 cases were decided and their work was appreciated by the magistrates of the areas concerned.[2]

The legality of the by-laws declaring any decision outside the court of law as final began to be questioned and a summary order was, therefore, issued in 1922 by the Government to dissolve all Co-operative Arbitration Societies in the Province.[3] Nevertheless this notable cause was not suspended by the Co-operative Department altogether and it infused a new spirit into the movement by revising the by-laws which were approved by the legal authority of the Punjab Government. Now the object of a co-operative arbitration society was declared (a) to provide means for the equitable settlement of disputes and thereby save its members from the wasteful expenditure caused by false and necessary litigation, (b) to provide a means of defence for members against such litigation and (c) to secure, when necessary professional legal opinion for the assistance of the members. Every award given by the societies had to be confirmed by a civil court.[4]

The arbitration societies were revived along these lines and every possible step was taken to restore the confidence of the people in them The movement soon made headway and was as popular as it had been before. In 1927 there were 27 societies with 3,000 members.[5] Three years latter the number of societies rose to 49 and of members to 7822.[6] There were 99 societies with 15,386 members in 1934 and 116 and 19,704 respectively in 1939.[7] The number of disputes decided by the societies between 1927 and 1939 was 8,102.[8] This was not a mean achievement and was commended by all who realised the benefits accruing from avoidance of litigation.

The Societies settled disputes arising out of the abduction of women; cattle trespass and boundry disputes; misappropriation

1. *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 25-26.
2. *Ibid.*, 1922, p. 16.
3. *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, II, p. 29.
4. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-8.
5. *R C S.*, 1928; p 38.
6. *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 52.
7. *Ibid.*, 1934, p. 43; August 1, 1939 to July 31, 1944; p. 66.
8. The figure has been calculated from annual *Reports on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab.*

of crops, ornaments and clothes; burglary and theft; insults, hurts, breaches of promise, etc. The professional money-lenders also made use of the societies to settle their claims instead of resorting to the lengthy process of the civil courts.[1]

Thrift societies—"Meritorious is small expense" is what Emperor Asoka remarked in his Rock Edict III over 2,000 years ago.[2] The object of the Non-agricultural Thrift Societies, which were the first to be started, was to promote thrift by collecting regular savings and investing them to the best advantage. Members sometimes made compulsory deposits for special purposes, e.g. buying a shop or building a house. Despite a provision in the by-laws, loans were generally not allowed to the members.[3]

The first Thrift Society was started in 1921.[4] The number rose to 38 next year and the membership comprised *Patwaris*, District Board and Tahsil staff, petition writers and pleaders. The membership was slowly extended to policemen, schoolmaster, railway employees, factory-hands, office clerks, soldiers in regiments and military pensioners.[5] Although certain limitations impeded the very rapid growth of this form of co-operation, the results were very satisfactory as the following statistics will show[6]—

Year	No. of societies	No of members	Amount of savings in rupees
1923	72	1164	25,000
1928	874	15000	6,00,000
1932	1087	20563	12,87,000
1934	1195	22560	16,30,000
1936	1365	25795	17,98,056
1939	1541.	28454	18,15,984

1. *Ibid.*, 1922, pp. 16-17; 1929, p. 45.
2. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Asoka*, 1955; p 58.
3. Atta Ullah *op. cit.*, p. 283.
4. *R.C.S.*,1921, Statement C.
5. *Ibid.*, 1922, pp. 19-20; 1927, pp. 35-37.
6. The table has been compiled from the *Report of the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab.*

In 1925 it was decided to expand the scope of these societies so as to include agriculturists also. Such societies were first organised in Montgomery district. They received contributions in grain and on this account they were also known as Grain Thrift Societies.[1] The contribution was variable with the quality of the harvest. The proceeds of the grain so collected were deposited in a central bank and loans were made in cash to the members. They numbered 8 with a membership of 212 in 1939 and were mostly in Lahore, Sheikhupura, Montgomery and Multan districts.[2]

Identical with these societies were the Grain Banks and the Crop-Failure-Relief Societies organised in 1928. The former received contributions and made loans to their members in the form of grain and numbered 27 in 1928 and 92 in 1935.[3] The latter received contributions in grain but sold the proceeds so collected and gave loans in cash whenever the crops of their members failed to mature. They numbered 15 in 1928 and 91 in 1939.[4] Though the difficulties in collection, grading and in the case of Grain Banks distribution of grain were really formidable, the societies worked satisfactorily.[5] Another noteworthy but abortive effort was made to form Land-Revenue-Redemption Societies, the object of which was to build up a fund to yield an interest sufficient to pay land revenue owed by their members from year to year.[6] But lack of enterprise and evasion of contributions sealed the fate of this useful form of co-operation.

Adult education and compulsory education societies—Another remarkable but futile instance of co-operative enterprise was the work that was done for the eradication of illiteracy among the rural classes. Although collection of funds for starting primary schools was reported in many villages and sometimes credit societies subsidised new and existing schools, the much-needed steps was taken in 1920 when the Co-operative Department came forward with an ambitious scheme for the education of the adult

1. *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 27.
2. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1939 to July 31, 1944, p. 47.
3. *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 28; 1935, p. 38.
4. *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 28; 1939, p. 33.
5. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, p. 33
6. *R.C.S.*, 1928, p. 28.

cultivator.[1] This understanding though very brisk in the beginning gradually slowed down. The main obstacles were the inability of the adult to attend the school in the evening after the day's hard toil, disinterestedness in instruction and lack of enthusiasm on the part of the teachers. Thus, whereas, there were 3 schools for adults in 1920, their number rose to 100 next year and to 269 in 1926, the highest.[2] After that there was a gradual decline and there were only 12 such schools in 1932.[3] Similar was the fate of the attendance of scholars who numbered 1,783 in 1921 but only 318 in 1932.[4] By 1939 the movement was almost dead and there was only 1 society with 16 members in that year.[5]

The early success of the adult education scheme gave a false sense of pride to the Department and it tried to impart education compulsorily to the children of the cultivators. A Compulsory School Society was started at Hoshiarpur in 1923 with 25 parents as members.[6] The society bound the members, under a penalty of Rs. 50 for default, to send their children to school for a full primary course.[7] In 1924 the number of societies reached 45 and the number of member parents 2,630. This voluntary compulsion worked well and the registrar, Co-operative Societies, Punjab, reported in 1924 that "where schools have been closed for lack of pupils, the complaint is now for lack of accommodation".[8] But the task of maintaining regular attendance in the schools was by no means an easy one. In 1932, the imposition of heavy fines in Amritsar, resulted "in the local school being burnt and the books of the society being stolen".[9] But the most depressing cause was the attitude of the cultivator towards education. He was extremely unmindful of the benefits of education and made much of his own difficulty of working on his farm without the help of his children.[10] To meet this particular difficulty, the by-laws were so amended as to apply compulsion to only one child of school-going age in the family.[11]

1. *Ibid.*, 1920, pp. 7, 26.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 26; 1921, p. 29; 1926, p. 29.
3. *Ibid.*, 1932, p. 59.
4. *Ibid..*, 1921, p. 29; 1932, p. 59.
5. *Ibid.*, 1939, "Statement C",
6. *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 42.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 23.
9. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
10. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, p. 119.
11. *R.C.S.*, 1931, p. 45.

The Compulsory Education Co-operative Societies fared better than the schools for adults. The former numbered 79 in 1925; 158 (the highest) in 1927; 116 in 1930; 84 in 1934 but only 73 in 1939. The number of scholars also declined from about 6,700 in 1926 to 2,409 in 1934.[1] These statistics reveal partial failure of yet another praise-worthy effort of the co-operative principle to effect a lasting improvement in the rural life and outlook.

Better living societies—"Co-operation as it works breeds virtues. The intelligent working of the Co-operative Credit Societies soon made the co-operators realise the fundamental importance of developing all such moral and social virtues which besides making for collective improvement, have a very great bearing upon economic prosperity of individuals.[2] Many agricultural credit societies had of their own accord forbidden wasteful expenditure on social ceremonies and on unproductive objects, while a few formed by menials forbade drinking and gambling and a society at Lahore even fined its five members for engaging dancing girls on the occasion of a marriage.[3]

But it was in 1925 that model by-laws for special Better-Living Societies were framed and public feeling was sounded, as a cautious and steady pace was necessary to ensure the progress of the movement.[4] Next year, despite the Registrar's great caution, 59 such societies were set-up with over 2,000 members.[5] They passed resolutions about (a) restricting wasteful expenditure on ceremonies and the scale of entertainment at marriages and funerals, prohibiting dancing girls and fireworks at marriages, (b) forbidding the sale of daughters in marriages, (c) giving of false evidence, and (d) enjoining temperance and inoculation. All these resolutions meant a great departure from the age-honoured practices and for this reason the members were strongly advised to consult their womenfolk before adopting a resolution.[6]

(a) Methods adopted — It is customary to make promises to introduce reforms, but it is not easy to live up to them. Thus, fines

1. *Ibid.*, 1926, p. 29; 1934, p. 43.
2. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, p. 368.
3. *R.C.S.*, 1921, pp. 18-19; 1925, p. 23.
4. *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 23
5. *Ibid.*, 1926, p. 30.
6. *Ibid.*, 1926 p. 31,

had to be imposed for breach of pledges and in certain villages where some members showed disregard of a decision formerly arrived at they "were actually beaten".[1] This was all undesirable.

However, the movement conferred some enduring benefits. The wasteful expenditure on social ceremonies was reduced considerably in many villages. For example, the cost of marriage in a village in Montgomery district came down from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 300 as a direct result of the acceptance of the principle of better living.[2] Many societies were reported to have succeeded in persuading the villagers to keep their manure in pits and to refrain from making dung cakes. Inoculation against plague and smallpox, filling up of ponds and setting up of hand pumps to secure a good supply of pure drinking water formed a part of their activities.[3] Probably the most amusing but at the same time really progressive was a society formed by scavengers who pledged themselves to wash their clothes once a week and to clean their teeth once a day.[4]

The Better Living Societies though not many had a highly educative effect on its members, because they aimed at the cultivation of the sense of self-respect, the encouragement of self-help and mutual help and the improvement of the physical and moral conditions of the members.

Central Societies

So far only the various types of co-operation at the primary stage have been dealt with. The co-operative pyramid had higher tiers and the higher stages were devised to organise, supervise and finance the primary societies. This comprised the Unions, the Central Banks and the Provincial Co-operative Bank. The following statistics show the position of these three types of central societies in 1938-39.[5]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
2. *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 40.
3. *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 39.
4. *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 40; 1929, p 46; 1930, p. 53; 1933, p 50.
5. *Ibid.*, 1939, "Statement A".

	Number	Working capital (Rupees)
Unions	68	8,892,612
Central Banks	47	56,202,954
Provincial Bank	1	14,793,786

The membership of a Union was open only to primary societies and that of a Central Bank to individuals, primary societies and Unions, while membership of the Provincial Co-operative Banks was confined to primary societies, Unions and Central Banks.

Unions— Unions were federations of primary co-operative societies within a certain area and were managed by a committee representing the member societies. Unions, were of three kinds : (a) guaranteeing unions, (b) supervising unions, and (c) banking unions. Guaranteeing unions guaranteed loans given by the Central Banks to member societies. The supervising unions performed the function of supervision of primaries and also served as a link between them and the central financing institutions A banking union could supervise in addition to supply finances. Only the last type, the banking unions, were established in the Punjab.[1]

Central Co-operative Banks— Though the first Central Bank was founded in Jullundur in 1909, it had no legal status, because the Act, of 1904 did not recognise any such institution.[2] The Central Banks were organised after the passing of the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912, to facilitate the operations of registered co-operative societies by (i) carrying on banking and credit business (ii) the purchase and sale of agricultural implements and produce, (iii) the supervision and audit of the accounts of co-operative societies, (iv) provision of educational assistance to members of

1. Proceedings of the Lt. Governor, Punjab in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture. No. 24932. *d*ated November 13, 1919.
2. *P.A,R.*, 1908-9, p. 21.

such societies, and (v) measures designed to improve the work and extend the usefulness of such societies. A Co-operative Central Bank derived its working capital from four sources, viz., (i) share capital, (ii) reserve, (iii) deposits, and (iv) loans.[1] The Unions differed from the Central Banks in respect of their smaller area, usually confined to a radius of not more than ten miles and in admitting no individual share holders.[2]

The Punjab Provincial Co-operative Bank—The Bank was registered on December 16, 1924.[3] Its object was to facilitate the operation of numerous central financing institutions by (i) carrying on of banking and credit business (ii) the issue of debentures in order to afford financial assistance to co-operative institutions, and (iii) the supervisions of interlending between the Central Banks and Banking Unions.

In fact it was, the apex bank which financed, co-ordinated and controlled the working of the Central Banks. It served as a clearing house of the excesses and deficiencies of the working capital of the Central Banks. It did not deal directly with primary societies but through the Central Banks, Mortgage Banks and Banking Unions.

The working capital of the bank comprised (i) an unlimited number of shares, each of the value of Rs. 100, (ii) deposits from members and from the public, (iii) loans as sanctioned by the Registrar, (iv) the proceeds of debentures, and (v) accumulated profits.[4]

Review of the Co-operative movement in the Punjab—To record the development of a movement is one thing; to weigh its achievements is another and a more difficult task. The co-operative movement in the Punjab formed a subject of discussion and

1. From Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, to the Revenue Secretary to Government, Punjab, No. 788, dated October 23, 1915, Punjab Civil Secretariat. Simla.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *P.A.R.*, 1924-25, p. 137.
4. Punjab Government, *A Co-operative Hand-Book*, 1928, p. 4. This is a bare outline of the structure of cantral societies and sufficient for the purpose in hand. A detailed discussion of the actual working of these institutions will serve no useful purpose. Moreover, their working being based on complicated economic principles, is beyond the scope of our study.

criticism on many occasions. Yet among the many benefits the movement bestowed upon all sections of the community there were some that would probably be accepted by all investigators as significant. At these we may now glance.

There is no gain saying the fact that co-operation did not succeed in curing all the economic and social ills from which the Punjab was suffering. But at the same time it would be a gross exaggeration to say that it was altogether barren of results. In the first place, co-operation substituted a system under which credit was effectively controlled and debt restricted, for the money-lender's, demoralising system of dangerously facile credit. It is beyond doubt that in the villages co-operation successfully undermined the predominant position of the money-lender and compelled him to bring down his rates of interest.[1] In several places the money-lenders themselves joined the societies as members. In the matter of debt redemption although much remained to be done and although co-operation alone could not grapple with the colossal task of ridding the peasantry entirely of its burden of indebtedness, something tangible was achieved, especially by the establishment of land mortgage banks. As Mr. Darling emphatically puts it, the co-operative movement might be "regarded as a new form of communal life to protect the peasant from within and without his gates, in the place of the old communal life of the village, which prevented the cultivator from being exploited".[1] Moreover, by steadily developing the banking habit the movement made possible the utilization of the hoards that had been lying unused hitherto.[3] It also facilitated the work of the Agriculture Department in popularising the use of improved seeds, cheap manures and implements and, in general, brought within the reach of the peasant the ideal of "better farming, better business and better living".[4]

Societies started exclusively for non-agricultural purposes, though they did not gain much strength and were only on a small

1. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30* pp. 129-42.
2. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1932, p. 261.
3. *Resolution of the Government of India Reviewing the Co-operative Movement in India during the past ten years, June 1914*, pp. 3-4.
4. *A Selection of Resolutions and Circulars issued by the Government of India in Connection with the Co-operative Movement in India*, n. d. p. 112.

scale, performed a useful part in their respective field of activities. Cottage handloom industry received the full support and active assistance of the movement and every endeavour was made to ameliorate the condition of the artisan. Thus, slowly and steadily the co-operative movement was "working out an economic revolution, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. The gradual release of the massess from the thraldom of usury, the better use which the members now make of their credit facilities, the improvement of the indigenous system of money-lending, affording relief every year to an increasing number of people not directly connected with the movement — self-help — are some of the direct and tangible results of the movement".[1]

"But the economic results of co-operation are far less important then general effect on rural life.[2] Not the least important of the advantage of co-operation, in the widest sense of the term, were intellectual and moral and wherever co-operative societies were started they invariably yielded these advantages".[3] "It is difficult to give conclusive evidence of this (moral progress) as the signs of moral progress are too illusive to be pinned down in a statement of facts; but for all that, they are unmistakable to close observers of the movement. Litigation and extravagance, drunkenness and gambling are all at a disccount in a good co-operative society and in their place will be found industry, self-reliance and straight dealings, education and arbitration societies, thrift, self-help and mutual help".[4] What some societies achieved in the matter of cutting down expenditure on social ceremonies and the suspension of certain parts of the objectionable social usages was pregnant with great possibilities. The reforming influence of co-operation also improved the character and the general tone of morality and promoted the development of a feeling of "all for each and each for all" among the people. In short, the movement was gradully developing into a powerful engine for the proper and early revival of the old corporate life of the villages and to restore their vitality.[5] Every good society acted as an "oasis in the desert of intertia" and for this reason "apart from colonies (canal

1. Wolff, *Co-operation in India* p. 96.
2. Mukerjee, *Foundations of Indian Economics*, p. 430.
3. *R.C.S.*, 1924, p. 3.
4. Darling, *Punjab Peasant*, 1932, p. 250.
5. Wolff, *Co-operation in India*, p. 96.

colonies), it might almost be said, no co-operative society, no progress".[1]

It must, however, be admitted that all these benefits, moral as well as economic, were achieved on a very small scale and these results were associated only with the best societies, the number of which was not very large.[2] Much still remained to be done in the field of non-agricultural co-operation. Even agricultural co-operation was practically confined to the sphere of credit and here, too, its achievements were not very remarkable. Even an official body like the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, 1931, had to admit that "there is very little evidence about the reduction of total indebtedness through the agency of the co-operative credit societies, for they are not in a position to finance the agriculturist adequately for the discharge of old debts".[3] The Punjab Provincial Banking Committee, 1929-30, also pointed out that the credit provided by the co-operative organisation was still much too dear for the cultivator and it was, therefore, necessary to take further steps to effect a reduction in the rates of interest.[4]

There were also numerous defects in the actual working of the movement, such as unpunctuality of repayments, their fictitious character, excessive overdues, inefficient control, *Benami* loans, nepotism and red-tapism.[5] Further, the staff appointed by the Co-operative Department to disseminate the principles of co-operation was itself sometimes ignorant, not fully trained and, therefore, unfit for the consummation of the work entrusted to it.[6] The Royal Commission on Agriculture 1928, confirmed this and wrote,—"While societies have been registered freely, there has been a lack of patient and persistent education of the members in the principles and meaning of co-operation by teachers competent to perform their task efficiently under adequate supervision".[7] No wonder, then, that what a great majority of the members knew all about a co-operative society was that it was

1. Darling, *Punjab Peasant* 1925, p. 185.
2. *Review of Co-operative Movement in India*, 1939-46, Appendix A.
3. *Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1931, par. 60.
4. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, par. 246.
5. Hough, E.M., *Co-operative Movement in India*, 1932, pp. 226-40.
6. Atta Ullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-1.
7. *R.C.A.*, p. 51.

nothing else but a "Government Bank" and its only purpose was to advance loans on cheap rates.[1]

These were some of the defects which retarted the progress of co-operation in the Province. In the remedy of these various defects lay the only hope of making the movement more successful and widespread and it was even more necessary for the workers to gather courage and strength and to keep their faith bright in the principles of co-operation, for, as the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928, remarked, "If co-operation fails, there will fail the best hope of rural India".[2]

1. Atta Ullah *op, cit.*, p. 480.
2. *R.C.A.*, par. 374.

8

INDUSTRY

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a rapid decline of the indigenous industries, especially cotton spinning and weaving, dyeing and tanning, owing chiefly to the import of cheap machine-made goods from Britain.[1] Unfortunately this decline was not compensated by the growth of large scale factories because the British did not want India become a modern industrial country. "It was thought inevitable that India should remain predominantly agricultural, whilst the Government wished to avoid both the active encouragement of industries that (like the cotton mill industry) competed with powerful English interests, and increased State expenditure".[2]

Matters drifted in this way till the outbreak of the First World War, which proved an eye-opener in many ways and brought about a more vivid realisation of the danger of dependence on foreign supplies even for the necessaries of life. The need for a new constructive industrial policy was, thus, called for. Accordingly, the Government of India appointed the Indian Industrial Commission in 1916 to examine and report on the possibilities of further industrial development of India and to submit recommendations for a permanent policy of industrial stimulation. The Commission reported in 1918. It urged the Government to play an active part in country's industrial development and made suggestions about industrial education, research, organisation of technical and scientific services and industrial departments, industrial finance, fostering of cottage industries, provision of transport and marketing facilities, etc.[3] These recommendations were

1. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18*, 1918, p. 75; Dutt, R.C., *Economic History of India*, 1906, pp. vii, viii.
2. Anstey, Vera, *op cit.*, p. 210.
3. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, (Reprint). 1919, pp. 273-89.

accepted in principle by the Government, but little could be done immediately owing to the temporary dislocation due to the war and to post-war reorganisation and to the need for co-ordinating industrial policy with the political reforms of 1919.

After the passing of the Reform Act of 1919, Industry became a provincial subject. Unfortunately, the Punjab like other provinces was ill-equipped financially and technically for the onerous task of industrial development. It was, however, only after the old *laissezfaire* policy was definitely abandoned and a policy of discriminating protection[1] adopted by the Government of India in 1923 as a result of the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission appointed in 1921, that a new era of industrial development began in the Province. Thus, whereas, there were only 152 factories in the Punjab in 1901-2, their number rose to 296 in 1921; 673 in 1932-33 and 887 in 1939.[2]

The industries in the Punjab could be divided into two classes : (i) cottage industries, and (ii) organised or large-scale industries. In the case of the former the scale of operation was small, organisation limited and the supplies intended largely for meeting local needs, while the latter were carried on in workshops or factories with power-operated machinery, both for manufacture and trade.[3] We shall first discuss the latter.

Large-scale Industries

Cotton textile industry—The cotton textile industry was the principal manufacturing industry in the Punjab. The first cotton

1. The policy of the discriminating protection as adopted in India aimed at giving the necessary stimulus to industrial development, while minimising the burden on the community. This involved granting protection only to such industries as proved to be suitable, and insistence on the adoption of efficient methods as one of the necessary conditions of admission to the benefits of protection.
2. Figures culled from the annual *Reports on the Working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab.*
3. The organised industries are sometimes further subdivided into two categories; Small scale industries and large scale industries. The National Planning Committee divided Indian Industries into three classes, Cottage industries, Small scale (or medium sized) industries and Large scale industries. According to the Bombay Industrial and Economic Survey Committee, the number of workers in the small scale industries should not exceed 50 and the capital invested must be less than Rs. 30,000, e.g., motor repairing, oil pressing, hosiery, soap-making, rice and flour mills, etc., and the number of workers in the large scale industries should exceed 50 and the capital invested should be over Rs. 30,000, e.g., cotton mills, sugar factories, paper mills, etc., (*Report*, pars, 15-16).

mill was established in Delhi in 1889 and in spite of the removal of all duties on cotton textile imports between 1882 and 1894 and set-backs in the form of plague and drought at the end of the nineteenth century, many more spinning and weaving mills were erected. There were 93 cotton ginning and 5 cotton spinning and weaving mills in 1902 as against only one cotton-ginning factory at Multan in 1885.[1]

The products of the cotton textile industry were of two kinds viz., yarn and piece-goods. For a long time, the greater part of the yarn produced by the mills was either sold to the handlooms or exported to the United Provinces and only a very small part of it was woven in the mills.[2] But gradually the mills expanded their weaving departments and early in the present century the products of the mills wedged themselves between the imported and hand-made goods, obtaining a practical monopoly in the intermediate grades. Thus, the better quality mill goods competed with the imported ones and the inferior types with the hand-products.[3]

The industry received a considerable stimulus from the conditions created by the First World War. The patronage extended to the mills by the Government of India in respect of their military requirements in cotton goods in the eastern theatres of the war together with the shrinkage in the Lancashire imports into India due to the preoccupation of the Lancashire mills with war work, led to a considerable increase in home production. Existing mills worked at top speed and obtained high profits. A further stimulus, though short-lived, was provided by the Non-cooperation movement which was launched at the end of the war. Meanwhile, wages rose substantially and the cost of production reached a high level. Pari passu with this, Japanese competition was increasing. As a result, after enjoying prosperity for some years, the industry faced a crisis.[4]

(i) Some difficulties of the industry—There were a variety of causes obstructing the path of rapid development of the cotton

1. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 119, Punjab Government, *Monograph on Cotton Manufacturers in the Punjab*, 1885, p. 8.
2. Douie, James, *The Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir*, 1916, p. 156.
3. *Report of the Special Tariff Board (Cotton Textile)*, II, 1937, p. 357.
4. Srinivasaraghavan. T., *A Modern Economic History of England and India*, II, 1955. pp. 395-8.

textile industry in the Punjab. The locally grown cotton in the Province had a very short staple, its maximum length being 5/8 inch, so that it could not be spun to very fine counts.[1] Secondly, the Province was situated away from the great cotton market and, therefore, its mills had to keep large stocks of cotton for use.[2] On the contrary, it was more than neccssary to have great variety and abundance of raw material for mixing, substitution, etc.[3] This was why the cotton mill industry in the Punjab could not develop to much great dimensious as in some other provinces. Moreover, the indigenous industry had to face competition from foreign piece-goods, particularly those from Japan.[4] The difficulties of the indue-stry were further accentuated by the frequent changes in the curr-ency policy of the Government of India from 1893 onwards and the enhancement of the exchange ratio from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. in 1924.[5] The depreciation of the Japanese yen in 1923-25 and again in 1932 intensified Japanese competition in the Indian markets.[6] All these diffculties needed immediate solution if the industry was to make a satisfactory progress.

(ii) Protection to the industry—The first symptoms of depre-ssion in the industry were visible after the Non-cooperation Move-ment. The situation in 1925 deteriorated to such an extent that the Government had so come to the rescue of the industry and as a measure of relief removed the cotton excise duty with effect from December, 1925.[7] Though the removal of the duty redressed a genuine and long-standing grievance, it neither lessened the Japanese competition nor dispelled the depression in the industry. In 1926, therefore, the industry applied to the Government of India for protection and since then the question of protection was examined on three separate occasions by the Tariff Board and also came into prominence with the Indo-British Trade Agree-ment, 1939.

1. Latifi, A., *Industrial Punjab*, 1911, p. 26.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
4. Indian Tariff Board, *Evidence recorded during an enquiry regarding grant of protection to the cotton textile industry*, 1938, pp. 45-6; Row, M.R., *Truth About Japanese Competition*, n.d., pp. 24-29, 37-40.
5. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile)*, 1927, II, p. 415.
6. Allen, G.C., *A Short Economic History of Modern Japan (1867-1937)*, 1950, pp. 95, 130, 133.
7. India Government, *India in 1925-26*, p. 86.

The Tarrif Board appointed in 1927 recommended an increase in the existing import duty from 11 per cent to 15 per cent, bounty on the spinning of higher counts of yarn and exemption from import duty of cotton textile machinery and mill stores.[1] The Government of India, however, accepted only the last proposal, but as the position of the industry became critical within a few months, the Government of India had to sanction the levy of a protective duty on cotton yarn to the extent of 5 per cent *ad valorem* or 1½ anna per pound, whichever was higher, till march, 1930.[2] As the industry continued to suffer from foreign competition, the Government of India on the recommendation of Mr.G.S. Hardy, Collector of Customs, Calcutta, in 1930 raised the general *ad valorem* duty to 15 per cent and in order to restrict imports from Japan, levied on non-British goods, a further special protective duty of 5 per cent, to limit the sacrifice which the consumer was called upon to make without corresponding gain to the industry, which suffered more from Japanese than British competition.[3] In spite of the Government's assurance that the preference to British goods was wholly accidental, the suspicion lingered in the minds of the people that it was deliberate.[4]

Additional protection was granted in 1931, when the duties on British cotton piece-goods were increased to 25 per cent and on Non-British piece-goods to 31¼ per cent.

As a result of the second inquiry by the Indian Tariff Board, 1932, the duties on non-British goods were pushed up to the high limit of 6¾ annas per lb. on plain grey goods and 75 per cent *ad valorem* on piece-goods. As the enhanced duties were primarily intended to counter-act Japanese dumping due to the fall in the Japanese yen, Japan retaliated by reducing her off-take of Indian cotton. After long-drawn negotiations the Indo-Japanese treaty of 1934 was concluded, which resulted in the lowering of the duties to 5¼ annas per lb. and 50 per cent *ad valorem*. Japan was also given an import quota depending on her off-take of Indian cotton. This change in the tariff was made under the Indian Tariff (Textile

1. *India in 1927-28*, p. 201.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
3. Hardy, G.S., *Report on External Competition in Piece-goods*, 1929, par, 11.
4. *India in 1929-30*, pp. 4, 106, 111, 279-84.

Protection) Amendment Act, 1934 which was to extend to March 31, 1939. By this time an agreement known as the Lees-Mody Pact was concluded by the Bombay mill-owners with Lancashire industrialists and under it the duty on British goods was reduced. The Pact expired on December 31, 1935, and in 1936, on the recommendation of the Special Textile Tariff Board, 1955, the duties on Lancashire piece-goods were fixed at 20 per cent *ad valorem* and on plain grey goods 20 per cent *ad valorem* or 3½ annas per lb. whichever was higher.[1]

The duties on British piece-goods were again revised under the Indo-British Trade agreement signed on March 20, 1939. Accordingly, the Indian Tarrif (third amendment) Act, 1939, reduced the duties on British printed goods to 17½ per cent *ad valorem* and that on other piece-goods to 15 per cent *ad valorem*. The Act effected a conjunction between Britain's purchase of India's raw cotton and her sale of cotton goods to India. This new arrangement was bitterly criticised on the ground that it unduly favoured Lancashire and sacrificed the interests of the indigenous industry by appreciably curtailing the protection granted to it at a time when it was doing none too well.[2]

(iii) Effect of protection—The protection enabled the cotton mill industry in the Punjab to increase production and obtain a big share of the home market. Thus, between 1928 and 1939 the number of mills increased from 3 to 13, that of spindles from 3,700 to 86,748, that of looms from 561 to 2,252, the average daily number of persons employed from 1471 to 2,252, amount of yarn produced from 30.1 lakh lbs. to 157.2 lakh lbs. and the amount of piece-goods woven from 50.6 lakh yards to about 275 lakh yards.[3] The figures reveal that though the progress was satisfactory, it was slow.

(iv) Cause of slow progress and scope for further expansion—The protection to the industry was granted mainly to help it to

1. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding grant of protection to the cotton textile industry*, 1932, I, pp. 13-16; *Report of the Special Tariff Board on the grant of protection to the Indian Cotton Textile Industry*, 1936, pp. 109-24; *India in 1932-33*, pp. 132-3; 1933-34. pp 139-40.
2. *Council of State Debates*, 1939, I, dated March 30 1939, pp. 810-862. Adarkar B.N., *The History of the Indian Tariff, 1924-39*, pp. 46-77; *Report of the Millowners' Association, Bombay*, 1939, pp. 69, 238-42.
3. *S.A.B.I.*, 1920-21 to 1928-29, pp. 723-26; 1928-29 to 1939-40, pp. 620-26.

meet successfully the Japanese competition, but no measure was adopted to enable it to compete with Lancashire. Even in the case of the former in spite of the high tariff wall the industry was "struggling hard to maintain production and expand the markets for its products".[1] The enviable position attained by Japan was due to her better organisation of industry and efficient labour.[2]

There was a great scope for the expansion of the industry. The Province was one of the largest cotton-producing provinces in India, but it consumed much less of its total production. Thus, in 1938-39 it consumed only about 12½ per cent of the total cotton produced, the rest being exported.[3] In contrast to this, Bombay consumed about 13.1 million bales of cotton of 400 lbs. each. while it along with Sind produced only about 7.84 million bales.[4] On the other hand, the Punjab imported very large quantities of cotton yarn and piece-goods both Indian and foreign. For instance in 1938-39 the net imports of these articles amounted to no less than 4.32 lakh maunds.[5] The Province could have dispensed with imported cottons altogether by erecting more spinning and weaving mills and feeding them with its own cotton.

Woollen industry--The Punjab produced considerable quantities of raw wool, but much of it was exported because it was mostly of very poor quality, short-stapled and without felting qualities, so that it was only suitable for carding and the manufacture of coarse cloth.[6] The factories largely depended upon imported worsted yarn or woollen tops for their requirements. The only woollen mill in the Province, which undertook spinning as well as weaving, was at Dhariwal, in Gurdaspur district, established in 1882. Its annual output of manufactured goods was about 11,000 maunds.[7] There were also a number of wool weaving factories, but they did not undertake weaving all the year round. They manufactured woollen goods for winter requirements only,

1. *Report of the Fiscal Commission, 1949-50* p. 67.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Shah, K.T , *Industrialisation of the Punjab,* 1941, p. 205.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Agricultural and Trade Statistics of the Punjab, 1939-40,* "Statement No. V".
6. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p. 315.
7. Latifi, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

and generally worked from August to February. In the remaining part of the year they took to weaving of silk or cotton fabrics. Their total number was 20 in 1934.[1]

There were also a few hosiery factories mostly located at Ludhiana and manufacturing woollen hosiery during the months of July to November. They numbered 62 in 1939 as against 16 in 1934 and 3 in 1928.[2] The main varieties of goods produced by the woollen and hosiery factories were (i) blankets, *chaddars*, *alwars*, *shawls lohis*, (ii) woollen *saris*, and merino cloth, tweeds, flannels, suitings, shirtings, and (iii) sweaters, jerseys, socks, mufflers, scarves, cardigans and ladies' coats.[3]

(i) Progress of the industry—Though the Province was a large consumer of woollen goods, it had no large scale woollen industry. In contrast to this, there was a considerable number of cottage workers. The main obstacles to the growth of the industry were the low quality of the indigenous wool and competition with imported woollen goods. During the First World War the industry received considerable stimulus, but in the twenties it got into difficulties as a result of the world economic depression and also suffered from competition with Italy and Japan. The woollen industry in India, therefore, applied for protection.[4] The case was referred to the Tariff Board in 1934 for investigation The Board made certain recommendations for protecting the industry, but the Government of India did not accept its proposals.[5] The situation however, began to improve and by 1939 the industry had recovered from the depression completely.[6]

Nevertheless, as compared with the demand for woollen goods in the Province their production was very low and there was a great scope for the expansion of the industry. The province had to import large quantities of woollen goods both Indian and

1. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the woollen textile industry*, II 1936, p. 342.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 343; *Annual Report on the Working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab for 1939*, "Statement II-A".
3. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the woollen textile industry*, II, 1936, p. 348.
4. Labour Investigation Committee, Government of India, *Woollen Industry*, 1945, p. 1.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *S.A.B.I.*, 1920-21 to 1929-30, p. 3; 1929-30 to 1939-40. p. 734.

foreign every year to meet the home demand. In 1936-37 alone 154.47 lakh lbs. of woollen goods were imported, while the value of yarn imported was over Rs. 1 crore.[1] Therefore, if the woollen industry in the Punjab was to stand the full blast of foreign competition, it was necessary to improve the quality of raw wool and spin it in the Province instead of exporting it to other countries.

Sugar industry—The two articles of commerce produced in the Punjab from sugar-cane were *gur*[2] and sugar. The making of *gur* was carried on by the cultivator himself as a cottage industry and occupied an extremely important place in the economic life of the Province for the simple reason that the bulk of the cane grown was converted to this edible article as such or subsequently refined into sugar. But the methods of production were extremely wasteful. The experiments made by Dr. Barnes and Mr. Clarke in the Province revealed that "not less than one-fifth of the sucrose in the juice is lost or inverted by the indigenous methods of gur-making",[3] while the loss of sucrose is less in the case of a modern sugar factory.[4] The annual loss to the Province by producing *gur* instead of sugar was estimated at about Rs. 10.5 crores.[5]

The refined sugar industry was almost non-existent in the Punjab and the Indian Tariff Board remarked in 1931 that "although the Punjab actually grows about half a million acres of sugar-cane, the prospects so far as the white sugar industry is concerned are limited to a small proportion of that acreage",[6] There were 7 sugar factories, mostly refineries, in 1931 and all of them suffered from competition with sugar produced in the United Provinces and that imported for Java, Mauritius and Germany.[7] The other causes of unprogressiveness of the indigenous industry were low yield per acre of sugar-cane, absence of up-to-date methods of extracting juice, poor yield of molasses, difficulty of

1. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Agricultural and Trade Statistics, 1939-40*, "Statement No. V".
2. The juice was boiled down without removing the molasses and the product called *gur* was consumed as such. (Gandhi, M.P., *Problems of Sugar Industry in India*, 1945, pp. 137-9).
3. *Report of the Indian Sugar Committee*, 1920, p. 202.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Punjab Government, *Bulletin of the Joint Development Board*, 1931, p. 69.
6. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on Sugar Industry*, 1931. p. 16.
7. *Ibid.*, III, A., 1939, p. 332.

getting sufficient supplies of cane from areas near the factory and the heavy capital charges of the undertakings.[1]

(i) Protection to the sugar industry—Protection to the Indian sugar industry was granted in 1932. But even before that year the imported sugar had been subject to a high revenue duty. The rate of revenue duty was 5 per cent *ad valorem* from 1894-95 to 1915-16 and was raised to 10 per cent in 1916 ; 15 per cent in 1921, and 25 per cent in 1922. In 1925, the *ad-valorem* duty was converted into the specific duty and the rate was raised to Rs. 4-8-0 per cwt. In 1930, the duty was raised to Rs. 6 and in the next year to Rs. 7-4-0 plus a surcharge of 25 per cent on the duty on sugar. In 1937, the import duty was raised to Rs. 9-4-0.[2]

(ii) Central excise duty on sugar—It was unfortunate, however, that an excise duty had to be levied on factors-made sugar in April, 1934, in order to make up for the loss of central revenues arising from reduced imports of sugar and also to check too rapid development of the industry under the artificial stimulus of protection. The excise duty was fixed at Rs. 1-5-0 per cwt., thus, reducing the amount of protection from Rs. 9-1-0 to Rs. 7-1-0 per cwt. According to the Finance Act, 1937, the excise duty was raised to Rs. 2 per cwt. This reduced the amount of protection from Rs. 7-12-0 to Rs. 7-4-0 per cwt [3]

(iii) Effect of protection on the industry—Prior to protection there were 7 sugar factories in the Punjab. As a result of its grant in 1931-32 the number of sugar factories with an investment of Rs. 5,000 or over, besides the smaller plants, increased to 32 in 1933.[4] The area under sugar-cane also increased from 4.25 lakh acres in 1930-31 to 5.58 lakh acres in 1933.[5]

(iv) Effect of the excise duty on the industry—But this progress was suddenly arrested by the imposition of the excise duty

1. Latifi, *op. cit.*, p, 202; *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, V, (Evidence), 1919, p. 43-47.
2. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the continuation of protection to sugar industry*, 1949, pp. 1-3.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6; *Report of the Fiscal Commission, 1949-50*, p. 67.
4. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on Sugar Industry*, III, A., 1939, p. 332.
5. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Publication No. 52*, p. 67.

in 1934. The Saraswati Sugar Mills, Jagadhari, Ambala district, protested that the duty "had the effect of industrial infanticide".[1] All the small *rab*[2] open pans and centrifugals had to be closed down immediately.[3] Many a large firm had to pay the excise duty out of its capital accounts. The additional excise duty imposed in 1937 proved still more burdensome. It was found that most of the manufacturers were "unable to reserve anything even towards depreciation of plant and similar charges of the factories".[4] The result was that the number of sugar factories decreased to 4 in 1939.[5] Thus, the excise duty combined with the inexperience of the manufacturers and the rising price of *gur*, which was also refined into white sugar by some factories, impeded the progress of sugar industry in the Punjab.[6] The Province could not supply its needs in respect of sugar and had to import it in large quantities.

Match industry—With the sole exception of a match factory founded in 1895 in Ahmedabad (Bombay), there was no successful manufacture of matches on a commercial scale in India before 1921 and the major portion of India's requirement was met by imports from Sweden and Japan.[7] The growth of the match industry in India in an organised form dated from the year 1922, when a revenue duty of Rs. 1-8-0 per gross or more than 100 per cent *ad valorem* was imposed on imported matches.[8]

In the Punjab the first match factory, the Mahalakshmi Match Factory, was started as a result of the imposition of the

1. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on Sugar Industry*, II, 1938, p. 333.
2. *Rab* "differs from *gur* in being of a thinner consistency and which is mainly used for the manufacture of crude sugar known as *Khand*". (*Report of the Indian Sugar Committee*, 1920, *p.* 202).
3. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on Sugar Industry*, III, A., 1939, p. 330.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
5. *Annual Report on the Working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab* for 1939, "Statement II".
6. *Report on the Operations of Agriculture Department*, 1939, p. 5.
7. India Government, *Report on an enquiry into condition of labour in the Match Industry*, 1945, p. 1.
8. Duty for revenue purposes also existed prior to the year 1922 as follows : Until 1916, the duty on imported matches had been 5 per cent *ad valorem*. In March of that year it was increased to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and subsequently in March, 1921, was fixed at 12 annas per gross. (*Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of protection to Match Industry*, 1928, pp. 4-5).

duty at Shahdara (near Lahore) in 1925, and it manufactured 2,80, 883 gross of boxes in the first two years.[1] The factory made rapid progress and placed in its matches on the market at 3 pies a box containing 60 match sticks as compared with the 6 pies per box of Swedish manufacture.[2]

(i) Protection to the industry—In the meantime a most striking development was taking place on account of the large home market the industry commanded and the newly imposed import duty. This was the establishment of match factories in India by the gigantic Swedish Combine which controlled about seventy per cent of the total world demand. There was, in consequence, a keen agitation by the the India match manufacturers against the adverse repercussions of this foreign concern on the indigenous industry.[3] The match industry finding itself in a difficult position applied for protection in 1927. The Mahalakshmi Match Factory, the only match-making factory in the Province, while giving evidence before the Indian Tariff Board in 1928 remarked that "competition is keenest from Swedish made matches and those made by the Swedish Combine in India marked Wimco as also from Japan made matches".[4] Regarding the claim for protection, the Tariff Board observed that the prices of the matches made in India were regulated by internal competition, that the consumer got them as cheap as it was possible to get them and that the industry was able to resist world competition without the assistance of the Government. It recommended, however, that the current revenue import duty of Rs. 1-8-0 per gross should be converted into a protective duty for an indefinite period so as to give assurance to the industry that it would not be deprived suddenly of the protection it had enjoyed so far.[5] The Legislative Assembly passed the Match Industry Protection Bill in September, 1928, as recommended by the Tariff Board, by which a duty of Rs. 1-8-0 was levied on a gross of boxes each containing 100 matches. No time limit for the life of the Act was prescribed.[6] As a result of this the number of factories increased to 2 in 1933 and 4 in 1936.[7]

1. *Ibid.*, "Written Statement of Mahalakshmi Match Factory (Shahdara)", p. 561.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Report on an enquiry into condition of labour in Match Industry*, p. 1.
4. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Match Industry)* 1928, p. 564.
5. India Government, *India in 1928-29*, p. 178.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Report on an enquiry into condition of labour in Match Industry*, p. 38.

(ii) Central excise duty on matches and its effects—In the 1934 budget session of the Legislative Assembly an excise duty on matches manufactured in India was levied with effect from April 1, 1934, at the rate of Rs. 1 per gross of boxes each containing 40 matches or less, Rs. 1-8-0 if the number of matches was between 40 and 60 and Rs. 2 if the number exceeded 60 matches per box.[1]

The excise duty had an adverse effect on the industry which was already suffering from competition with the foreign concern established in India and also with imported matches.[2] The number of factories, therefore, decreased, and there were only 2 match-making factories in the Province in 1939.[3]

The Cement industry—The first cement factory was established in the Punjab at Wah near Hassan Abdal in Attock district in April, 1920. It was, however, not until three years later that manufacture was actually begun. The factory was designed to fulfil the demand of the Punjab Government for irrigation and other Government civil works for a period of seven years.[4] In the first six months of its working it produced 6,959 tons and in the next year, 32,276 tons of cement. Thereafter the output increased to 55,453 tons in 1931.[5] The number of factories also increased to 3 in 1933 employing 561 persons and to 6 in 1939, when it employed 835 persons.[6]

Though the industries possessed natural advantages in respect of raw materials it laboured under a considerable handicap with regard to facilities for getting cheap fuel. Otherwise the Punjab, unlike other provinces, did not suffer from foreign competition because of its distance from the ports combined with high railway freights.[7]

1. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, IV, pp. 4214-50.
2. *Report on the Working of the Industries Department, Punjab*, for 1935, p 3; 1937, p 4; 1938, p. 5.
3. *Report on an enquiry into condition of labour in Match Industry*, Appendix I, p. 38.
4. Indian Tariff Board, *Evidence recorded during the enquiry regarding grant of protection to the Cement Industry*, 1925, pp. 328, 345.
5. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 44.
6. *Annual Report on the Working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab*, for 1933, Statements II and III, 1939, Statements II and III.
7. Indian Tariff Board, (Cement Industry), *Evidence recorded*, pp. 332-3.

Glass manufacture—Two well-defined classess of this industry can be distinguished viz., (i) the indigenous cottage (bangle-making) industry and (ii) the factory industry. The indigenous industry in the Province was mainly concerned with the making of bangles and to a little extent glass-ware. The 'Silk' bangles imported from Japan were, however, a rival to the home-made article and the craft was "rapidly hastening to its end".[1] The factory industry, too, did not make much headway and remained in a state of infancy. Its production was mainly confined to the manufacture of hollow-ware such as globes for lanterns, tumblers, stoppers, jars, cylinders, etc.[2]

The first attempt to manufacture glass-ware dates back to the year 1892, when a bottle-making factory was started at Jhelum. The factory, however, suspended operations soon after on account of high cost of production. A few more abortive attempts were made to start glass factories on a small scale, but none of them could make a commercial profit except the Upper India Glass Works, Ambala City, which was established in 1904. The factory produced about one hundred maunds of glass in 24 hours.[3]

The industry received a fresh impetus during the First World War when an increase in the number of factories and their outturn took place. But after the termination of hostilities the industry again got into difficulties due to the revival of foreign competition, the severest being offered by Japan, the United Kingdom, Austria, and Belgium.[4] The Bhargava Glass Factory, Amritsar, in a written statement submitted to the Indian Tariff Board supplicated that the industry needed a high tariff wall against foreign competition to save it from a "very shattered state".[5]

(i) Protection to the industry— In response to the representation of the glass manufacturers in India, the Government of India

1. Latifi, *op. cit.*, p. 282
2. Indian Tariff Board. *Evidence recorded during an enquiry on the grant of protection to Glass Industry*, 1934, p. 158.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the continuance of protection to Glass Industry*, 1950, p. 7.
5. Indian Tariff Board, (Glass Industry), *Evidence recorded*, p. 194.

referred the claim of the glass industry for protection to the Tariff Board in October, 1931. That body in 1932 recommended protection to the industry for 10 years, but the Government rejected its recommendation on the plea that sufficient supplies of indigenous raw material were lacking and that the industry had to rely on imported soda ash essential in the manufacture of glass. However, by way of relief to the industry the Government granted a refund of the entire duty on soda ash of British or British Colonial origin and of the excess over 10 per cent in the case of other countries.[1]

Thus, the glass industry in the Punjab could not flourish due to foreign competition and other difficulties stated above. The factories struggled hard for mere survival and whatever success they achieved was due to their own initiative, courage and action. The total number of factories in 1939 was 3 and they employed 204 persons.[2]

Paper-making— Speaking about paper-making in the Punjab Mr. Latifi, an important I. C. S. officer who held successively a number of key posts in the Province, observed, "The indigenous paper industry of the Punjab, brought from China by the Moslems a thousand years ago, is on its death-bed and cannot be saved".[3] The hand-made paper was in great demand during the pre-British days in the Punjab, but its use was discontinued during the British rule at least for official purposes[4] The main cause, which led to its disuse, was the establishment of paper mills in the United Provinces and Bengal during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the influx of cheap wood-pulp paper from Europe.[5] By 1938, there were only 15 persons[6] at Sialkot engaged in this industry as compared with 1,091 in 1881 : 370 in 1890 and only 56 in 1907.[7] The reason for the lingering condition, not total extinction, of the industry is explained by the fact that hand-made

1. Resolution of the Government of India, Ministry of Commerce, No. 458-T (14) dated at Simla, June 22, 1955.
2. *Annual Report on the Working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab* for 1939, Statements II and III.
3. Latifi, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
4. *I G.O,I.*, VI, 1886, p. 617.
5. Latifi, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
6. Indian Tariff Board (Paper and paper pulp industries) *Written and Oral Evidence*, II, 1939, p. 38.
7. Punjab Government, *Monograph on Paper-making and Paper Mache in the Punjab*, 1907-8, p. 7.

paper was still prized as a favourite stuff for account-books by the shopkeepers and money-lenders.[1]

It is surprising that though the Province had favourable conditions for the manufacture of paper as regards raw materials, there was no paper mill in it until as late as 1929, when the first mill was started at Abdullapur (Jagadhari) by the Punjab Paper Mills Company, Ltd., Lahore, established in 1923. Unfortunately the mill after working for about 10 months went into liquidation in June, 1930.[2] The mill was restarted in April 1937, under the name of Shree Gopal Paper Mills. Ltd.[3] The machinery of the new mill was designed to manufacture 7,500 tons of paper per annum and also the requisite pulp needed, from grass rope cuttings, rags, etc. The total production of different types of paper from April to December, 1937, was 2,446 tons and the expenditure incurred on its production during the same period was Rs. 11,62,281.[4] The production increased to 6,831 tons in 1939.[5]

(i) **Protection to the industry**—The industry had been protected since 1925, when by the Bomboo Paper Industry (Protection) Act, a protective duty of 1 anna per lb. on all writing and printing paper was imposed until March 31,1932.[6] In 1932 protection was renewed for a further period of seven years and imported wood pulp was subjected to a duty of Rs. 45 per ton.[7] At the expiry of this period in 1939 protection was extended for a further period of three years, though the import duties were lowered. But the Punjab could not enjoy the benefits of protection since it had started regular production only in 1937. The industry, however, had a future before it because of a fairly large scope for its expension.[8]

Other organised industries [9]— Besides the important industries discussed in the foregoing pages, there were a few other

1. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
2. *Indian Tariff Board (Paper and paper pulp industries)*, I, 1932, p. 640.
3. *Report on the Working of the Industries Department, Punjab*, 1937, p. 5.
4. *Indian Tariff Board (Paper and paper pulp industries)*, I, (Evidence). 1939, pp. 431, 439.
5. *S.A.B.I.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, p. 624.
6. *India in 1925-26*, pp-297-8.
7. *India in 1931-29*, p. 150.
8. Shah, K.T. *Industrialisation of the Punjab*, 1941, p. 97.
9. For mining and tea industries see *Supra*, pp. 5, 9-12.

organised industries. One such was the foundry industry concentrated at Batala (Gurdaspur District), Nahan (Simla Hills) and Lyallpur. The foundries at these centres numbering 46 in 1939 manufactured sugar-cane crushers, oil presses, flour mills, chaff cutters, lathes and to a less extent iron ploughs, water pipes, water pumps and almond oil pressing machines.[1] Scientific instuments and equipment were manufactured at Ambala. A starch factory was set up at Abdullapur (Jagadhari) in 1939 and there was a rosin factory at Jallo (near Lahore). Numerous wood-sawing, oil and flour mills and cotton-ginning factories were working with power and were fully equipped with modern techniques of production. Reference may also be made to the licensed breweries and distilleries at Simla, Solan, Kasauli, Ghora Gali (Murree Hills), Rawalpindi, Dalhousie, Amritsar, Karnal and Sujanpur (Gurdaspur). Last but not the least was the chemical industry at Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Lahore.[2]

Cottage Industries

The Punjab had till the middle of the nineteenth century a number of flourishing cottage industries, whose products had earned great reputation. But these industries began to languish thereafter as a result of several unfavourable influences such as competition with machine-made goods and the spread of western standards of living among the educated. These factors did not, however, bring about the total extinction of the cottage worker and the Indian Industrial Commission, 1918, wrote that "one of the most striking features of Indian Industrial life is the vitality of the old domestic industries".[3]

Causes of the survival of cottage industries—The cottage industries survived because of a variety of factors. In the first place, the factory industry made only a very moderate advance in the Province. Secondly, the popular taste required a variety of goods which possibly could not be manufactured on a large scale by modern mechanical appliances.[4] Thirdly, in certain industries

1 Board of Economic Inquiry, *Iron Foundry Industry at Batala*, 1941, p. v.
2. This account has been compiled from Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers* and the annual *Reports on the Working of the Department of Industries, Punjab.*
3. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1918, p. 162.
4. Chitra, V. R., *Cottage Industries of India*, 1948, pp. 35-4.

such as the hand-loom the artisans had successfully adapted themselves to the new conditions and learnt to use superior raw materials and better tools.[1] Fourthly, though the self-sufficiency of the village was disappearing it had not become a thing of the past particularly where the railway had not yet penetrated. Consequently some of the artisans continued to occupy their old reorganised place in the village and served the needs of the village community as efficiently as ever before. Last but not the least factor which helped the cottage industries to show a wonderful power to withstand their extinction was the very character of the artisan. Though the cottage workers were well aware of the competition with machine-made goods, they were unwilling to give up their hereditary occupation and clung to it tenaciously for fear of the hard conditions of factory work.[2]

Place of cottage industry in a country's economy—The greatest advantage of cottage industries to a country is that they provide an occupation for the utilisation of the spare time of its population. Agriculture was the mainstay of the vast majority of the population in the Province, but work in it was seasonal and so possible for only a part of the year.[3] This meant a colossal waste of manpower. Moreover, many members of a family engaged in agriculture were tied to the land merely because there were no other outlets. They shared the income of the family without making a substantial contribution to it. The only practical method to meet such an evil was to draw off the surplus labour force from land and employ it in industry, both cottage and large scale.[4]

Cottage industries are important yet from another point of view. New industries, so long as they are in an experimental stage, are first tried on a small scale and it is only when their success has been demonstrated that they are organised on a large scale.[5] It, thus, comes about that even in the most advanced countries of the world, a number of small industries exist and flourish side by side

1. Mukhtar Singh, *Cottage and Small Scale Industries*, 1947, p. 122.
2. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1918, p. 162; Anstey, Vera. *op.cit.*, p. 228
3. According to Mr. Darling "the work done by the average cultivator does not represent more than 150 days' full labour in twelve months". (Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 1936, p. 370.)
4. Kapur, S. N., *Scope of Industrial Development in the Punjab*, n. d., pp. 5-7.
5. Mukerjee, *Foundations*, p. 360.

with large scale industries.[1] The important part played by small scale and cottage industries in the economic structure of Japan is too will known to be mentioned here.[2]

A brief description of the most important cottage industries is given below :

The cotton handloom industry—It was the premier cottage industry of the Province and its contribution to the total amount of cloth consumed in the province was very substantial. The handlooms mostly produced *Khaddar* which was much prized by the poorer classes, especially in the rural areas, because it was supposed to be very durable.[3] The other cotton fabrics manufactured were *khes*, *dhotis*, *chaddars*, shirtings, curtain cloth, *susi*, *lungis*, towels, dusters, etc. Finer fabrics of artistic excellence were also made by the weavers, but the demand for such fabrics was confined to a very small section of the population.[4] The position of the industry, however, was far from satisfactory during the period under review and was on the decline due to a number of causes. The most important among these was the coming in of the cheaper mill-made cottons both indigenous and foreign.

(i) Competition with mill-made cloth—Shortly after the establishment of British rule in the Punjab, Lancashire textile goods began to flood the markets in ever-increasing quantities and by the end of the nineteenth century the hand-spinning and handweaving of cotton had declined considerably. The *Paisa Akhbar*, a daily published at Lahore, of March 15, 1902 said that indiscriminate import and use of European-made cloth had brought about the ruin of the weavers.[5] The influx of foreigns piece-goods continued to affect adversely the fortune of the handloom workers throughout our period.[6]

So far as the cotton piece-goods produced in Indian mills were concerned there was no serious competition between them and the handloom industry till the First World War, because the

1. *Report of the Fiscal Commission*, 1949-50, pp. 101-2
2. *Ibid.*, Allen, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 33, 46, 83.
3. *Census 1901*, XVII, p 370.
4. Brij Naram, *India Before the Crisis*, 1935, p. 140; Latifi, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
4. *N. P R*, 1902, p. 203.
6. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Mr. Abdul H q on March 12, 1935.

mills did not take up weaving and merely concentrated on the supply of yarn to the cottage workers. Thus, the relation between the two was rather complementary rather than competitive.[1] But after that the situation altered entirely. The demand for Indian manufactured goods increased enormously during the period of the war because imports in to Indian markets were completely stopped. The result was that the mills began to use much of their yarn for weaving, leaving little for the handloom.[2] Another stimulant to the weaving departments of the Indian mills was provided by the Non-cooperation Movement, which immediately followed the termination of the war.[3] Unfortunately, the shortage of yarn prevented the handloom from taking full advantage of this opportunity.[4] Henceforward the handloom workers began perforce to depend on imported yarn for making finer and medium quality goods. The cost of production, therefore, increased considerably and the weaver was left with no chance of success when pitted against large-scale organisation manufacturing exactly identical articles at much lower costs.[5]

(ii) The effect of the tariff policy of the Government of India on handloom industry—The tariff policy of the Government exercised an adverse effect on the handloom industry. While the removal of the cotton excise duty from December, 1925, afforded some relief to the large scale industry, it created an immediate handicap for the hand-weaver.[6] There is no gainsaying the fact that the latter had no moral claim on the continuation of the excise duty for it had not been conceived as a measure of his protection and whatever benefit he enjoyed was purely incidental. In a written statement to the Indian Tariff Board, 1934, the Punjab Government said, "It would seem that the hand-weaving industry is as much endangered by the competition of Indian mills as by that of imported articles, and, therefore, increased tariff unaccompanied by a corresponding internal excise would not assist the handloom industry".[7] These remarks also indirectly point to the doubtful utility of the policy of protection against foreign cotton

1. India Government, *Report of the Fact Finding Committee* (*Handlooms and mills*). 1942, p. 7.
2. India Government, *Review of Trade of India* (1936-37), p. 43.
3. Peare, Arno, S., *Cotton Industry of India*. 1930, pp. 25-7.
4. *Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile)* I, 1934, p. 498.
5. *Ibid.*, II (Evidence), 1934, p. 355.
6. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee*, 1930, p. 292.
7. *Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile)*, II (Evidence), 1934, p. 74.

piece-goods, so far as the handloom industry was concerned. The benefit went to the large scale industry.

But if the check on the import of cotton piece-goods was of doubtful value to the handloom industry, the imposition of a protective duty in 1927 on all imported cotton yarn, which had been free since 1893, at 5 per cent *ad valorem* or 1½ anna per lb. placed a definite burden on it.[1] The result was that the weaver was left with a very small margin of profits and the condition of the industry deteriorated from had to worse.[2]

In 1930 Mr. Lionel Heath remarked, "The state of the handloom industry is at a far lower ebb" [3] Further deterioration was reported in 1932 by the Indian Tariff Board, which wrote that the average earning of the weaver was "seriously reduced" due to "the increase in the cost of yarn on account of the protective duty".[4] Again in 1936 the Board pointed out "that the Indian mill section of the industry has been placed in a better position to compete against the handloom industry which is definitely handicapped by the tariff on yarns, especially those required for the production of cloth with finer counts".[5]

(iii) **Taste for finer fabrics**—Another cause of the decline of the handloom industry was the change in the taste of the people for finer fabrics. The ordinary cloth prepared by the handweavers was defective in respect of its uniformity of texture and finish and the Director, Department of Industries, Punjab, remarked that there was a growing tendency on the part of the educated classes to abandon the cloth woven from hand-spun yarn in favour of that produced by the mills.[6] The Fact Finding Committee (Handlooms and mills), 1942, revealed that the yarn of above 20 counts used by the handlooms in 1939 was only 9.9 per cent of the total yarn consumed by them, which indirectly shows that

1. *India in 1927-28*, p. 202.
2. *Indian Tariff Board, (Cotton Textile)*, III (Evidence), 1937, p. 262.
3. Heath Lionel, *Review of the Conditions of Hand-weaving in the Punjab*, 1930, p. (d).
4. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of protection to the cotton textile industry*, 1932 p. 170
5. *Report of the Special Tariff Board* (Indian Cotton Textile Industry), 1936, p. 107.
6. *Report of the Fact Finding Committee*, p. 16.

no less than 90.1 per cent of the cotton-goods produced by the weaver suffered from competition with the mills.[1]

(iv) The extent and importance of the handloom industry— In the face of these difficulties, it was not possible for the handloom weaver to stand against the organised industry. Thus, while the population of the Punjab increased between 1867 and 1911 by 13 per cent, the handloom workers decreased by 69 per cent.[2] They numbered 0,14,797 in 1901[3] but only 2,68,254 in 1935.[4] Nevertheless the industry still formed one of the most important technical occupations in the Province and in the words of the Fact Finding Committee "In spite of the unsatisfactory condition of the handweavers—it is not correct to consider hand-weaving a decaying industry".[5] It had successfully borne the full brunt of modern economic transition and could perform the task of providing an adequate supply of clothing to the public at large and freedom and better living to its followers, only if it could have been possible to transform it from a relic of primitive system into a "decentralised modern economy".[6] That nothing was done in this direction and that the British wanted the Province to remain a mere producer of raw cotton for Lancashire mills was a hard and painfull fact.

Woollen handloom industry—The other important branch of handloom weaving was the woollen section. In addition to machine-made woollens, a considerable amount of handloom weaving of wool was also carried on.

The most important centres of the woollen handloom industry were Ludhiana, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bhera (Shahpur district), Amritsar, Hoshiapur, Panipat, Nurpur and Kulu, the last two in Kangra district. A great variety of goods was produced such as rugs, *shawls*, *namdas*, serges and pile carpets. The pil carpets manufactured at Amritsar and multan were famous and were exported to other countries.[7] Some of the wollen goods

1. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
2. Balkrishna, *Industrial Decline of India*, 1917, p. 188.
3. *P.A.R.* 1901-2, p. 117.
4. *Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile)*, II (Evidence), 1934, p. 355.
5. *Report of the Fact Finding Committee*, p. 201.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Shah K T., *Industrialisation of the Punjab*, 1941, p. 63.

were also embroidered with silk, and with gold and silver lace. In this class of work the Province enjoyed a great reputation in India and abroad.[1]

In addition to handlooms, there were 132 hosiery factories not using power and engaging 5,568 persons in 1934.[2] The centres for production of woollen hosiery goods were Sialkot, Lahore, Amritsar and Ludhiana. Among these, Ludhiana was the oldest and most important having 100 factories in 1934.[3] The value of goods manufactured at Ludhiana, for which centre alone the statistics are available, was Rs. 15 lakhs in 1930,[4] Rs. 40 lakhs in 1934,[5] Rs. 50 lakhs in 1936[6] and Rs. 60 lakhs in 1938.[7]

The woollen industry used all kinds of yarn, hand-spun, mill-spun and imported. The centres located in the rural areas mainly used hand-spun yarn, while those in the towns consumed mostly mill-made and imported yarn. The annual consumption of yarn by the weaving industry in 1934 was 15 lakh lbs. of hand-spun, 0.48 lakhs lbs. of mill-spun and 5 lakh lbs. of imported.[8]

The woollen handloom industry was, however, declining progressively, owing to the growing competition of machine-made woollens both indigenous and foreign. The Punjab Administration Report for 1901-2 remarked that "the imported piece-goods were affecting adversely the fortunes of the cottage workers[9] and the Census Report for 1911 observed that "the cheap imported woollen goods and those manufactured at Dhariwal (Gurdaspur district) are gradually replacing the crude indigenous products".[10] The Indian Tariff Board (woollen and textile industry) also pointed to the languishing state of industry and wrote, "The profits of the industry are everywhere on the

1. *D.G. Amritsar*, 1947, pp. 169-70; Chitra, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
2. Indian Tariff Board, *Report of the Woollen Textile Industry*, II, 1935, pp. 344-5.
3. 130. *Ibid.*
4. *Report on the working of Industries Department, Punjab*, for 1930, p. 7.
5. *Ibid.*, 1935, p. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, 1936, p. 7.
7. *Ibid.*, 1938, p. 7.
8. *Indian Tariff Board (Woollen Textile)* II, 1935, p. 349.
9. *P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 117.
10. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 500.

decline as the hand-weaver finds it increasingly difficult to compete with the cheap shoddy articles of Europe which beguile the simple customer by their excellent feel and finish".[1] Mr. Badenoch held the competition of imported piece-goods responsible for the decline of once flourishing *shawl* industry at Jalalpur Jattan (Gujrat district) and the *garbi loi* industry at Sialkot.[2]

The decline of the industry could also be inferred from the continuous fall in the number of persons engaged in it. They numbered 42,048 in 1867; 32,361 in 1901; 17,023 in 1911[3] and only 13,394 in 1934.[4]

Silk industry—The silk industry really consists of two separate industries, namely, sericulture or the growing and reeling of silk, and silk weaving. Though sub-mountainous parts of the Province were ideally suited to the health and growth of the silk-worms, sericulture were almost non-existent in the Punjab and whatever success it achieved was entirely due to the efforts of the departments of Agriculture and Industries, which distributed silk seed among the rearers, supplied mulberry seedlings and plants and encouraged reeling of cocoons.[5] But sericulture never assumed the form of a flourishing industry in the Province. The quantity of raw silk produced in 1938-39 was only 50 maunds which was absolutely inadiquate for the requirements of the silk weaver, who, accordingly, depended entirely on imports from China and Japan.[6] The unprogressiveness of the industry was also due to inadequate supply of mulberry leaves especially in the urban areas and to ignorance and apathy on the part of the rural classes, who could follow it most profitably as a subsidiary occupation.[7]

While sericulture was in a languishing condition, silk-weaving as a cottage industry was carried on with varying fortunes in

1. *Indian Tariff Board (Woollen Textile)*, II, 1935, p. 308
2. Badenoch, A.C., *Punjab Industries, (1911-17)*, 1917, p. 14. 140. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 500.
3. *Indian Tariff Board (Woollen Textile)*, II, 1935, p. 347.
4. Lefroy, Maxwell H., *Report on an inquiry into the Silk Industry*, I, 1917, p. 53; *R.C.A*, VIII, p. 211.
5. Indian Tariff Board, *Written evidence recorded during an inquiry on Sericulture Industry*, I, 1940, pp. 622, 632.
6. Indian Tariff Board, *Written evidence recorPed during an inquiry on Sericulture Industry*, I, 1935, p. 241.

different parts of the Province. There were 3,000 handlooms and about 7,000 person's engaged in silk-weaving in 1933, and the value of goods manufactured was about Rs. 25.90 lakhs.[1] The silk fabrics produced were almost wholly plain coloured. Netter silk was also made in the form of fringes, girdles and pyjama strings. Other silk goods manufactured were handkerchiefs, silk *huqa* tubes, buttons made of silk braids and silk ornaments.[2] The chief silk weaving centres in the Province were Amritsar, Jullundur, Multan, Khushab (Jhelum district) and Jalalpur Jattan.[3]

(i) **Decline of the industry**—Silk weaving was steadily losing ground owing to the growing competition of imported machine-made goods, want of efficient organisation, inadequate resources of the average weaver and his inadequate methods of production. Moreover, the silk cloth being a luxury article, the demand for it was limited. The change of fashion and the taste for European calicoes had also an adverse effect on it.[4]

Though the industry was sheltered in a large measure by the import duty on manufactured goods, which was twice as high as in the case of raw materials, the cheap rayon products from Japan had captured Indian markets. The weaver in the Punjab also adopted artificial silk to meet the Japanese manace, but the customs tariff policy of the Government of India unwittingly made his position very precarious. The duties imposed on artificial silk yarn and piece-goods under the Supplementary Finance Act, 1931, afforded some relief to the industry so far as piece-goods were concerned, but the enhancement of duty on yarn raised the cost of production, so that, what was given by one hand was taken back by the other. Again, the Indian Tariff (Textile Protection) Amendment Act, 1934, while giving effect to the decision of the Government of India on the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board, 1933, appointed to investigate the claims of the sericulture industry to protection, imposed protective duties on raw silk, silk yarn, piece-goods and mixtures as well

1. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of protection to the Sericulture Industry*, 1933, p. 101 ; *Written Evidence*. I 1940, p. 589.
2. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, pp. 315-16; Punjab Government, *Monograph on Silk Industry*, 1899, p. 21; Trevaskis, *op. cit.* II. p. 208.
3. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 501.

as fabrics of artificial silk and mixtures. In addition to this the duty on artificial silk yarn, which competed with silk yarn, was raised to 25 per cent *ad valorem* with an alternative minimum specific duty of 3 annas per lb. The Act, however, neither proved beneficial to the sericulture industry in the Punjab nor did it arrest the foreign competition. Representations were made by the silk weavers to get reduced the duties on raw silk and artificial silk, but in vain.[1] As a result, the silk weaving industry began to decline rapidly and many weavers gave up their hereditary occupation, while others, foreseeing the ruin that was overtaking them, abandoned their occupation without waiting for their position to become absolutely desperate.

Tanning and leather industry—The tanning and leather working trades occupied an important place in the industrial occupations of the people of the Punjab. According to the 1931 Census, 2,02,737 persons followed them as their principal occupations, while 13718 pursued these trades as a subsidiary occupation.[2] The Punjab, possessed a large supply of hides and skins and the quality was second to none in India.[3] Further, the Province abounded in tanning materials, such as *kikar* bark, myrobalan, etc.[4] Despite these advantages, there was no tanning industry in the Province and it had to export the hides and skins in the raw state. The export of tanned leather was only 14 per cent of the total raw hides and skins exported by the Province in 1938-39.[5]

The reasons for the backward state of the tanning industry were manifold. The methods followed were crude and wasteful and the destiny of the industry was in the hands of those who were illiterate and who were despised by the people as following a low occupation.[6] The better tanned leather prepared by modern

1. Indian Tariff Board, *Written Evidence on Sericulture Industry*, I, 1940, pp. 599, 607.
2. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of protection to Sericulture Industry*, 1933, p. 111.
   150. *Census 1931*, XVII, "Subsidiary tables III and IV".
3. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Tanning Industry in the Punjab*, 1939, p. iii.
4. Latifi, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-4.
5. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Agricultural and Trade Statistics*, 1939-40 "Statement V".
6. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, I, p. 301.

techniques both in other provinces and abroad was also proving ruinous to the cottage worker, who could not give a proper dressing to the leather that he tanned with his age-old methods which he was to reluctant to give up.[1]

In addition to defects in the indigenously tanned hides and skins, a growing preference for leather goods and stylish footwear in place of the old country shoes made of crude leather was proving injurious to the interests of the cottage industry.

Though most of the tanning on the old lines was done in rural areas to meet the local demand and for export, tanneries on a small scale and equipped to some extent with modern appliances were also started in the Punjab. The first such tannery was opened in 1908 at Rawalpindi.[2] Many more were set up thereafter and their total number in 1929 was 53, which increased to 155 in 1939.[3] There was no leather goods factory in the Provinces and whatever of shoe making there was, was the concern of the cottage worker, while the educated middle class depended on the shoes either imported from other provinces or from abroad.[4]

Other cottage industries—In addition to the industries described in the foregoing pages, there were numerous other small scale cottage industries carried on in different places and enjoying a local reputation. The most important of these were the sport goods industry of Sialkot; glue making of Rewari and Gurgaon; furniture of Kartarpur (Jullundur district) and Gujrat; iron safes and steel trunks of Gujranwala and Sialkot; locks of Rupar; cutlery and surgical instruments of Sialkot, Wazirabad, Nizamabad and Bhera; brass-metal ware industry of Jagadhari, Panipat, Rewari, Ferrukhnagar and Bhiwani; indigenous oil-crushing industry carried on throughout the Province and calico printing done in the towns.

Besides, there was a large variety of handicrafts which had been developed with remarkable skill from very early times. These

1. India Government, *Report of the Hides Cess Enquiry Committee*, 1930, I, pp. 34-67, 86-94.
2. Latifi, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
3. Labour Investigation Committee, Government of India, *Tanneries and leather goods factories*, 1946, p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*

arts and crafts met with varying fortunes, although they had attained a high state of perfection and were in a very flourishing condition until the end of the nineteenth century. Among these may be included jewellery of Amritsar, Patiala and Delhi; ivory carving of Hoshiarpur and Patiala; ivory goods of Leiah (Muzaffargarh district), Amritsar and Hoshiarpur; damascene work on steel of Kotli Loharan (Sialkot district); lacquer work of Pakpattan (Montgomery district); wood-carving of Bhera, Chiniot, Amritsar and Batala; glazed pottery of Multan and Amritsar and the *Phulkari* or embroidery work of the "village maidens in Hissar and other districts of eastern Punjab".[1]

Some difficulties of industries and methods of aiding them — One of the handicaps from which the cottage industries often suffered was the difficulty of obtaining cheap raw materials of good quality. Another was the poverty of the small artisan who lacked capital not only for the purchase of raw material and to meet the cost of production, but also to fill up the gap between production and final disposal of his goods. Capital was extremly unorganised in the rural areas and as a matter of fact not much of it was available. The position in the towns was in no way better in this regard. The cottage workers were mostly financed by the middleman who acted also as the buyer of their products. When the financier happened to be a money-lender the small producer, who was unable to offer good security, obtained funds at exorbitant rates. The Punjab Banking Enquiry Committee revealed that the Punjab weaver had to pay interest at 12½ to 37 per cent.[2] However, sometimes the middleman made advances without charging interest on the condition that all the products would be sold to him.[3]

Another weakness of the cottage industries was the absence of organised system of marketing of the goods produced by them. In rural areas the production was largely for local consumption and only the surplus was sold to petty shopkeepers for disposal in adjoining areas. The co-operative societies formed by weavers,

1. Douie, James, *The Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir*, 1916, p. 154. The account has been compiled from annual *Reports on the working of the Industries Department, Punjab.*
2. 160. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30*,pp. 30-4.
3. *Report of the Fact Finding Committee*, 1942. p. 86.

however, proved helpful to some extent in securing markets for the sale of finished products of the members through their own shops. But the normal method obtaining in the Province was that the middlemen who ran shops got their requirements manufactured by the artisan on piece-wage system and took over the produce for sale in and outside the Province. The piece-goods manufacturers in towns generally sold their produce through the agency of brokers, commission agents and travelling agents. Some of them manufactured goods to order and against contracts with the dealers. Some of them had their own shops. The hosiery manufacturers sold goods direct to dealers or through travelling agents, who were paid commission at rates varying from 3½ to 10 per cent.[1]

There were thus many gaps to be filled and strenuous efforts to be made in order to remove the numerous handicaps mentioned above. The task, however, was not an impossible one, especially if the Government could come forward and assume a more helpful attitude than hitherto. Let us now consider the activities and policy of the Punjab Government to arrest the deterioration of cottage industries and the methods it adopted to aid them.

The subject of 'industries' formed but a small part of the Department of Agriculture because such industries as then existed in the Punjab were on a small scale and were closely associated in one way or the other with agriculture. During the First World War, India's need for more home production to overcome the difficulties of import made the Government of India to appoint the Indian Industrial Commission in 1916. The report proposed the establishment of a considerable organisation for the encouragement of industries and in accordance with one of the recommendations a separate Department of Industries was established in the Province in 1920.[2] The functions of the Department as it gradually developed comprised provision of loans to industries needing financial assistance, establishment of demonstration or model factories, organisations of adequate marketing

1. Mukhtar Singh, *Cottage and Small Scale Industries*, 1947, p. 66.
2. *P.A R.*, 1919-20, p. 83.

facilities for specific purposes and conducting industrial research on specific problems.

Financial assistance was provided to industries under the Industrial Loans Act of 1923, later replaced by the Punjab State Aid to Industries Act, 1935. Under the former Act an aggregate of Rs. 9,26,725 was granted in loans to 240 applicants for the development of the cottage and small scale industries in which they were engaged.[1] The latter Act was more comprehensive in its scope. It came into force on March 7, 1936, and operated till the end of our period.[2] A sum of Rs. 1 lakh was distributed during 1936-37 under this Act.[3] The amount was increased to Rs. 2 lakhs next year[4] and a similar amount was loaned in 1938-39.[5] In view, however, of the great need for finance in the form of initial investment as well as working capital, which planned industry required, these sums were singularly inadequate. Nevertheless they afforded some measure of relief to the cottage workers.

In addition to giving financial assistance the Government established several demonstration factories to provide training and to educate small scale workers in the improved methods of production.[6] Peripatetic demonstration parties were also organised to give practical demonstration to cottage workers in their own homes in the use of modern plants and machinery. Special stress was laid in such demonstrations on the necessity of producing marketable designs. At local fairs and festivals the various articles produced by the Industrial Schools and professional handicraftsmen were exhibited to rouse interest of the public in the use and patronage of hand products. These efforts did not go unheeded and there are definite proofs available to prove that the cottage worker especially the textile weaver welcomed modern methods though their adoption was handicapped by inadequacy of finance.[7]

1. *Report on the Working of Industries Department, Punjab*, 1937, p. 17.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 1938, p. 23.
5. *Ibid.*, 1939, p. 20.
6. Heath, Lionel, *op. cit.*, p. 28,
7. 170, Indian Tariff Board, *Evidence recorded during an enquiry regarding grant of protection to Woollen Textile Industry*, II, 1936, pp. 356-7.

Probably there could be nothing more important for the revival and development of cottage industries than Government assistance in finding ready markets for the goods manufactured by the workers. Its necessity had been emphatically stressed by the Indian Industrial Commission.[1] It was not, however, until 1935 that the Industries Department realised the importance of this recommendation and set up a marketing organision for the whole of the Province, with a central depot at Amritsar and branches at Hoshiarpur and Multan to help handloom weavers in securing work on better wages.[2] It also provided improved designs likely to facilitate the sale of their goods. Hundreds of weavers were benefited by the orders secured through the marketing officers and the sale of goods through the agents appointed under this marketing sheme.[3]

The basis of all industrial progress in experiment. However efficient the organisation which is built up for the advancement of industry may be, it is merely a house built on shifting sands unless it is based on the solid foundation provided by research. The Government fully realised this and founded an Industrial Research Laboratory in 1931 to undertake experiments for ascertaining the possibilities of starting new industries or developing the existing ones based on the raw materials available in the Province.[4] A variety of raw materials such as clay pottery ; vegetable products for oils ; cereals like wheat, rice and maize for starch industry ; essential oil-bearing materials for toilet industries, and tannery waste for making glue were investigated into. The laboratory soon proved its usefulness and its scope was gradually widened. A class for training cottage workers in the manufacture of glue was started in 1937-38. A limited number of students was also trained in manufacture of various consumer goods.[5] A special Industrial Research Fund was also established to conduct research on manufacturing processes and problems connected with industrial production.[6]

1. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1918, p. 114.
2. *Report on the working of Industries Department Punjab*, 1936, p. 29.
3. *Ibid.*, 1937, p. 1; 1938, p. 42.
4. *Ibid.*, 1932. p. 12.
5. *Ibid.*, 1937, p. 19; 1938, p. 25; 1939, p. 24.
6. *Ibid.*, 1939, p. 1; 1940, p. 41.

The Government of India was also keenly interested in the promotion of cottage industries, especially cotton handloom industry. The sixth Inter-Provincial Industries Conference held in July, 1934, discussed schemes submitted by the various provincial governments for its development. The Government of India announced at the Conference that it had decided to spend about Rs. 5 lakhs every year for five years for the development of handloom industry. The grants to the provinces were allocated on the basis of their consumption of cotton yarn.[1] The share which fell to the Punjab was Rs. 17,000 in 1934-35; Rs. 38,000 in 1935-36; Rs. 45,600 in 1936-37 ; Rs. 54,730 in 1937-38 and Rs. 45,600 in 1938-39.[2] These grants were expended on the training of weavers in improved methods of production, the establishment of sales depots and the introduction of new designs and improved appliances.[3]

That the Government was genuinely interested in the industrialisation of the Province, could be inferred from the allocations made to the Industries Department. Thus, while its expenditure was only Rs. 6.33 lakhs in 1920-21,[4] it increased to Rs. 19.3 lakhs in 1938-39.[5] From the foregoing account it is clear that the Government performed a commendable task, but the ignorance and poverty of the small artisans were so colossal that a very effective organisation for directing him and a comprehensive scheme for assisting him still remained a desideratum.

Industrial Labour

"The worker has a vital role to play in the economic life of the contry. With this go certain rights and obligations. The worker must have, for instance, the means to keep himself in a state of health and efficiency. Also, he must be assured of a reasonable measure of security".[6]

The average daily number of factory workers employed in the Punjab during 1929 ; 1934 ; and 1939 were 49,875 ; 54,327 ; and

1. *State Action in Respect of Industries (1928-35)*, p. 20.
2. *Report of the Fact Finding Committee*, 1942, pp. 183-4.
3. *Report on the working of Industries Department, Punjab*, 1939, p. 46.
4. 180. Punjab Government, *Budget (Accounts)* for the year 1928-29, p. 11.
5. Punjab Government, *Budget (Accounts)* for the year 1940-41, p. 15.
6. Government of India, *The Five Year Plan—A Short Introduction*, 1951, p. 41.

78,302 respectively.[1] The labouring people who kept the wheels of industry moving came from a wide area and from social strata whose economic opportunities were very meagre. A part of the labour force came from other parts of India.[2]

In the beginning, the factory worker found his working conditions irksome and unpleasant. Sometimes of the machinery was dangerous, the work hard, the days terribly long, wages not attractive and the position very insecure.[3] Conditions, though far from ideal and congenial, were gradually changing during the period under review. As a result of measures adopted by the Government and stirring of public opinion, safety and sanitation were much improved. It was truly remarked that the factories were more healthful than the workers' homes. Hours of work were reduced, holidays became more regular and the treatment meted out to the workers was bettered. The employment of children and women was regulated and made more humane.[4]

Wages—The question of wages is one of the utmost significance to the worker, since the size of his wage determines whether he can enjoy a high standard of living or must content himself with a low one.

Until the beginning of the present century, the use of money whether for effecting purchases or remunerating services of the artisans was rare in the rural areas. After that there grew a distinct tendency of displacing with cash the allowance in grain paid at the harvest to the artisans and the menials. Thus, in the Punjab the districts in which grain wages were paid numbered 15 in 1909 and only 4 in 1912.[5]

Rural wages were less than those for similar crafts in the town. But the rural labourer or artisan got many things free,

1. India Government, *The Indian Labour Year-Book*, 1946, p. 10.
2. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 308.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, 1931, pp. 59-90 94-5; *Report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission*, 1908, I, pp. 10, 12-18: II (Evidence), pp. 401,404; *Indian Industrial Commission, Minutes of Evidence*, V, 1919, p. 322.
4. For a detailed account of the labour legislation in India see *Indian Labour Legislation* published by the Government of India in 1937 and the annual *Indian Labour Year-Book*.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1912-13, p. 9.

particularly the house to live in for which his urban brother had to pay.[1] This item alone more than accounted for the difference in wages. In the factories there were no hard and fast rules for the fixation of wages. The competitive rates along with the experience and skill of the worker were the deciding factors while fixing the initial wages of a worker. Once the bargain was struck, the wages were liable to increase or decrease according to the quality of the work turned out.[2]

The conditions of work and the scale of wages varied widely in different areas and industries. It is, therefore, difficult to get a definite idea of the general standard and cost of living of the workers in the Province as a whole. Before the First World War the wage earners as a class did not enjoy a very good position.[3] But the position changed during and after the war. The increased production in the factories required an adequate supply of labour. The scarcity of labour resulted in a rise in money wages.[4] But the benefit of this windfall was to some extent negatived by an increase in prices. Many labourers, therefore, continued to live on the 'poverty line'.[5] The economic position of the workers improved a little after the twenties of the present century on account of the fall in the prices of wheat and other food-grains due to the world economic depression, while their wages remained slightly below the previous level.[6]

Low standard of living —The standard of living of the worker fell far short of what was necessary for full efficiency.[7] It was both the cause and effect of inadequate wages. The budget of an average family was usually unbalanced. The excess of expenditure over income was invariably met by occasional loans.[8]

Indebtedness of the workers—As already pointed out the small peasant proprietor borrowed from the money-lender to

1. *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 122.
2. Punjab Government, *An Economic Survey of Industrial Labour in the Punjab*, 1952, p. 23.
3. 190. Ahmad, Mukhtar, *Factory Labour in the Punjab*, 1929, p. 48.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1917-18, p. 46; 1928-29, p, 56; 1919-20, p. 84; 1926-27, p. 76.
5. *Census 1921*, XV, p. 70.
6. *P.A.R.*, 1929-30, p. 71; 1931-32, p. 80; 1932-33, p. 70
7. Khan, Ghulam Bani, *Tarikh-i-Trade Union*, (Urdu), 1922, p. 30.
8. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, 1931, pp. 224-6.

tide over his social and economic difficulties. The artisans and labourers for the same reason borrowed for subsistence and for social expenses, especially for marriages. The industrial labourer borrowed from the employer, the clerk or the guard of the factory. Sometimes the lender was the fearsome Pathan who offered loans readily at exorbitant rates and recovered them at the point of the knife.[1] Whatever the sources for borrowing, it was a hard fact that the majority of the industrial workers remained in debt for the greater part of their working lives.[2]

Industrial disputes—Amicable relations between labour and management are the prerequisite of industrial progress A contented labour force is always an asset. Although the average wages were not high, the Punjabi labourer was satisfied with the conditions attaching to his work. This is amply borne out by the relative scarcity of strikes, lock-outs or other industrial disputes. Further, as there was no large scale industrialisation or localisation of industry in the Province employing large number of labourers, there was little incentive to foment working class discontent or stimulate class-consciousness.[3]

Before the First World War, strikes were almost unheard of in the Punjab because the workers lacked organisation and leadership. Though the workers, massed together as they were in industrial centres, came into close contact with one another, yet no large permanent class of wage earners entirely divorced from the means of production, and therefore, dependent upon wages, had yet arisen. The factory hands still looked on industrial life not as a permanent but merely as a passing phase. They regarded a return to their village homes as the only solace for the hardship of the industrial work.[4] It was, however, during the First World War and particularly at its end that the strike came to be regarded as a weapon of industrial warfare. The causes of these isolated and infrequent disputes as compared with other industrially advanced provinces were the rise of leaders, awakening among the masses and the nationalist movement. This state of

1 Braidsford, *Ain-i-Hindustan* (Urdu), n.d., p. 52.
2. *Indian Industrial Commission, Minutes of Evidence* V, 1919, p. 322.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour* 1931, p. 224.
4. Shan, K.T., Industrialisation of the Punjab 1941, p. 109.
5. Bari, *Machine aur Mazdoor*, (Urdu), n.d., p. 68.

things changed after the boom period and with the setting in of depression which compelled the employers to resist the demands which had been granted readily during the period of prosperity.[1] To prevent the position from deteriorating the Government of India passed the Trade Disputes Act, in 1929. It remained in force for a period of five years only in the first instance, but was made permanent in 1934. It provided for the setting up of external machinery for the settlement of disputes. It authorised the central governments in the case of central undertakings and provincial government in other cases to refer a dispute to a Court of Enquiry to inquire into the matter and report, or to a Board of Conciliation for bringing about a settlement. There was no separate organisation in the Province for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes and the Labour Officer also performed the duties of a Conciliation Officer.[2]

The Chief causes of industrial disputes were the demand for increased wages or bonus, the question of reinstatement of a dismissed employee, leave and hours of work.[3] More often that not these strikes were short and sporadic. Thus between 1929 and 1936 only 20 minor disputes involving 6,587 workers occurred in the Province. In 17 cases the demand was in regard to wages, in I it was about personnel, while 2 were of a miscellaneous nature. Out of the total number only 5 were successful, 10 partially successful and 5 unsuccessful.[4]

Trade unions—The labourer as an individual could not deal with organised capital and adequately protect himself, for the barrier between his employer and himself was almost insurmountable. The labourers, therefore, were forced to form unions to protect the interest of the members and to bring about a close and amicable relationship between themselves, their employers and society which might enable them to enjoy the fruits of general prosperity to which their labour had contributed.[5] But before proceeding further let us see what is meant by a trade union.

1. 200. Khan, Ghulam Bani, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
2. *Indian Labour Year-Book*, 1946, p. 140.
3. *Royal Commission on Labour in India* 1931, p. 333.
4. India Government, *Bulletin of Indian Industries & Labour*, 1937, 17.
5. Mamoria, C.B., *Labour Problems and Social Welfare*, 1958, p. 312.

Prior to the First World War trade unionism in India scarcely extended beyond the better paid railway employees and some classes of Government servants. The grave economic difficulties and the political turmoil immediately following the war led to the formation of a large number of labour organisations Most of these, however, disappeared when conditions returned to normalcy but some more genuine then the rest survived and in spite of checks and handicaps more were steadily added to them.[1] The Government of India soon realised the necessity of legislation for the registration and protection of Indian trade unions and passed the Trade Union Act, in 1926, which defined the legal position of the Indian trade union in definite and precise terms. It made the registration of the trade unions optional, but conferred certain privileges on the registered bodies as against those to remain unregistered.[2]

Trade unionism was on the whole very weak in the Punjab before the passage of this Act. The movement, however, gained in strength owing to the protective influence of the Act. Thus, in 1927-28 there were 6 such unions with a total membership of 5,799.[3] Their number rose to 33 in 1934-35 and 61 in 1938-39 in which year the membership of 24 unions alone was 44,833.[4]

These trade unions, however, could not undertake ambitious schemes for promoting the interests of the working class as a whole, either as co-operative associations or mutual insurance societies, owing to lack of funds, improper leadership and lack of a feeling of organisation among the workers themselves. Fortunately, they were not dominated by any political party, much less by the Communists, and if they even engaged in strikes, their sole aim was to secure a rise in wages. Their strikes were always short-lived and were called of by mutual agreement.[5]

1. Anstey, Vera, *op. cit.*, pp.314-15, Mamoria, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-36.
2. *The Civil Court Manual (Imperial Acts)*, III, pp. 5023-33.
3. *Report of the Working of the Indian Trade Union Act, 1926, in the Punjab during the year 1927-28*, p. *1*.
4. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, p. 2; 1738-39, p. 3.
5. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, p.3; 1934-35, p. 4; 1936-37, p. 3; 1938-39, p, 5; 1939-40 p. 8.

9

TRANSPORT AND TRADE

Transport

The importance of transport from the economic, military, administrative, cultural and social points of view cannot be overestimated. Transport has been rightly described as ' the circulatory system of a country's activities : the foundation of commerce, the social well-being and of a development of thought".[1]

The means of communication in India were very defective till as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. The railways had yet to come: and the few trunk roads constructed by Indian rulers, especially in northern India by the Mughals, were thoroughly inadequate even for the very moderate needs of the country in those days. Many of the so-called roads were mere tracks formed by village carts across the face of the country and wheeled traffic was for the most part impossible during the rainy season.[2] A veritable economic and social revolution was brought about by the modern improvements in communication and transport, dating from the time of Lord Dalhousie who initiated a vigorous public works policy. For the sake of convenience, the subject may be classified under four heads: (i) water transport, (ii) road transport, (iii) railways, and (iv) air transport.

Water Transport

The Indus and the lower reaches of the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Satluj were navigable all the year round or, to be more exact, for the greater part of the year.[3] Inland navigation was

1. Mukerjee, *Economic Problems*, I, p. 292.
2. Moreland, W. H., *India at the Death of Akbar*, 1920, pp. 166-67.
3. *D.G Lahore*; 1916, p. 3, 6; *D.G. Sialkot*, 1920, p. 4; *D. G. Shahpur*, 1917, p. 239; *D. G Jhelum*, 1904, p. 10.

largely resorted to in the old days and there was a considerable volume of river traffic. The construction of roads and railways, however, gradually lessoned their importance as the highways of inland trade and by the year 1906-7 they could compete only to some extent with the railways in the transport of heavy and bulky goods.[1] The Punjab Administration Report for 1903-4 rightly remarked that "the increased utilization of railway facilities sufficiently account for the continued decline of river traffic and can hardly be expected to be arrested".[2] The rivers were also rendered unfit for navigation by the gigantic system of irrigation cannals which sucked a large volume of water.

The Indian Industrial Commission pointed out in 1918 that "in the absence of a representative specially charged with their interests, (that is, those of the existing waterways) the vested interests of the railways have prevented the waterways in India from receiving the attention that has been given to them in other countries with such satisfactory results".[3] In pursuance of this policy, the Punjab Government contemplated a scheme of reviving the system of water transport on the rivers, particularly on the Indus, but nothing concrete was done and the scheme was finally shelved in 1922.[4]

In the 1930's the only river used for transportation was the Indus, from Kalabagh down to Sukhar. The goods, carried downstream, consisted entirely of agricultural commodities and those carried upstream comprised rice, yarn and cloth.[5] The total quantity of goods carried to Sukhar in 1935-36 was 6260 tons.[6] The only irrigation cannals in the Province used for traffic were the Western Jamuna Canal and the Sirhind Canal. The total length of these canals open for navigation was 263 miles in 1920-21,[7] 220 miles in 1929-30[8] and only 163 miles in 1939-40.[9] The

1. *P.A.R.*, 1906-7, p. 34.
2. *Ibid.*, 1903-4, p. 29.
3. *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18.* Reprint, par. 279.
4. Arora, F C., *Commerce by River in the Punjab*, 1930, p. 24.
5. Punjab Government, *Answers to the questionaire issued by the Famine Inquiry Commission as Annexure II to their letter No. F.C. (E) 10, dated 8.11.1944.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *S.A.B.I.*, 1911-12 to 1920-21, p. 599.
8. *Ibid.*, 1920-21 to 1929-30, p. 695.
9. *Ibid.*, 1929-30 to 1939-40, p. 563.

number of passengers carried was 25,094 in 1920-21[1] and 5,427 in 1929-30,[2] and the value of cargo carried by rafts was Rs. 118 lakhs in 1921-22;[3] Rs. 62 lakhs in 1928-29[4] and Rs. 73 lakhs in 1938-39.[5] The raft traffic consisted of logs (round and squared), sleepers, bamboos, reeds and firewood.[6]

Road Transport

The importance of good road communications in a Province like the Punjab with predominant agricultural interests and with its industries struggling to develop cannot be overemphasized.

The state of road transport about the middle of the last century was very unsatisfactory. The Department of Public Works was organised in 1854, and for 30 years it managed practically all the road work, but under the progressive policy of Lord Mayo and Lord Ripon with regard to local self-government, the maintenance of a number of roads was placed under the local bodies with fixed mileage grants.[7] But this arrangement did not prove satisfactory owing to the inadequacy of funds of the District Boards. The mileage of metalled roads in the Province was 1,036 in 1873 and rose to 1.381 in 1882 to 1,916 in 1901.[8]

Development since 1901—The greatest impediment to proper road development was the lack of finances. Adequate grants were not given to the Local Bodies to enable them to execute the construction of new roads or to maintain them properly. The result was that roads in their charge began to deteriorate.[9] The Government, too, did not spend large sums on road communications. Nevertheless, as the railway construction proceeded apace, it became increasingly necessary to build new roads to feed the

1. *Ibid.*, 1911-12 to 1920-21, p. 599.
2. *Ibid.*, 1920-21 to 1929-30, p. 695.
3. P.W.D. Irrigation Branch, *Administration Report for the year 1920-21*, Statement I.D.
4. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, Statement I.D.
5. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, Statement I.D.
6. *Ibid.*, 1941-42, p. 12.
7. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 156.
8. I.G.O.I., *Provincial Series*. 1, 1908, p. 91,
9. India Government, *Report of the Touring Sub-Commitee of the Road Development Committee* 1928, "Evidence of K.G. Mitchell", pp. 1, 8.

railways and keep the old ones in a good condition.[1] Until the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919, when the Public Works Department became a transferred subject, the expenditure by the Local Bodies on roads in their charge amounted on an average to Rs. 8 lakhs annually.[2] The expenditure by the Government was nlso not very high. It varied between Rs. 3 lakhs and Rs. 21 lakhs annually.[3] The major portion of these amounts was spent on the upkeep of old roads and a very small sum was available for the construction of new roads. After the introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the situtation underwent a change for the better.

A Provincial Board of Communication was constituted in December, 1919, to consider the question of development of communications whether by rail, road, water or air.[4] In the beginning the Board could not accomplish much, owing to financial stringency in the early Reforms period but in the succeeding period of comparative solvency, road development progressed gradually and satisfactorily.

In 1924 the Board of communications initiated a new road policy. Realising the financial difficulties of the District Boards, the roads were grouped into three classes. Under the new scheme, Class I roads comprised all the arterial roads in the Province[5] and their maintenance was entrusted to the Public Works Department. This scheme involved on eventual transfer to the Department of some 1,500 miles of roads of which about 500 miles were metalled.[6] Class II roads were of only secondary importance and were to be maintained jointly from the Provincial revenues and

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 156.
2. Calculated from *Reports on the working of District Boards in the Punjab*.
3. Calculated from *Punjab Administration Reports*.
4. *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 91.
5. Punjab Government, *Road Re-classification Scheme*, 1921, pp. 2-3. In addition to the Grand Trunk, and the Ludhiana-Ferozepur roads, they comprised the following :—
Lahore-Lyallpur, Jhang-Bhakkar; Sargodha-Khushab-Mianwali; Amritsar-Pathankote (to Mandi state border); Delhi-Alwar; Delhi-Hissar-Fazilka-Montgomery; Rawalpindi-Golara-Khushalgarh; Fatehjang-Mianwali; Muzaffargarh-Alipur, and Ferozepur-Fazilka. (Punjab Government, *Administration Report of the Buildings and Roads Branch of the P.W.D.* for 1923-24, p. 4).
6. *Administration Report of Buildings and Roads Branch*, 1923-24, p. 4.

local funds. The average proportion of provincial contribution was to be six annas in the rupee spent by local bodies on actual road maintenance—1,047 miles of metalled and 5,759 miles of unmetalled roads were classed under this head.[1] Class III roads constituted the local and unclassified roads and were to be maintained by the District Boards.[2]

This scheme led to an increased expenditure on new constructions and maintenance. The Government expenditure on the construction of metalled roads gradually increased from Rs. 3 lakhs in 1924-25[3] to Rs. 20 lakhs in 1938-39.[4] The expenditure on the maintenance of the existing metalled and unmetalled roads was also increased. The Government's contribution to local funds for the upkeep of Class II roads was Rs. 9 lakhs in 1925-26 and Rs. 14 lakhs in 1926-27.[5] Thereafter it was curtailed and stood at Rs. 8 lakhs in 1929-30.[6] and only Rs. 4 lakhs in 1938-39,[7] as a result of the policy of the Government to provincialise all the roads under the control of District Boards.[8] The expenditure of the District Boards from their own funds averaged about Rs. 10 lakhs annually.

As a result of the re-classification of roads and the increase though still insufficient expenditure, the condition of the roads improved a lot. Thus the length of the metalled roads (Class I and Class II) increased from 3,321 miles in 1924-25[9] to 3,898 miles in 1931-32[10] and to 4,536 miles in 1938-39.[11] Again, mileage of unmetalled roads in provincial charge increased from 963.3 in 1924-25[12] to 1,764.6 in 1938-39.[13]

1. *Road Re-classification Scheme*, p. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, *P.A R.*, 1923-24, p. 95.
3. *Administration Report of Buildings and Roads Branch*, 1933-34, p. 3.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
5. *Report on the Working of District Boards* for 1926-27, Form II.
6. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, Form II.
7. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, Form II.
8. *Administration Report of Buildings and Roads Branch*, 1934-35, "Proceedings of the Government in the Public Works Department, No. 209, G., dated 3.2.1936".
9. *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 19.
10. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, p. 50.
11. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, pp. 3, 72.
12. *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 3.
13. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p, 3,

The Indian Road Development Committee, 1927 — In the meantime the motor traffic had grown rapidly and had led to a demand for more and better roads. The Government of India, therefore, appointed Road Development Committee in November, 1927, consisting of fourteen members of the Central Legislature and presided over by Mr. M.R. Jayakar to consider (i) the desirability of developing the road system of India, (ii) the means by which such development could most suitably be financed and (iii) the co-ordination of road development and research and road construction by the formation of a Central Road Board, due regard being paid to the distribution of central and provincial functions.[1]

The Committee stated that "road development in India is passing beyond the financial capacity of Local Governments and Local bodies, and is becoming a national interest which may, to some extent, be a proper charge on central revenues".[2] The Central revenues benefited from the development of roads, not only through enhanced railway receipts, but also through customs and excise receipts from motors and motor spirit, which were rapidly expanding. The Committee remarked that a well-balanced scheme of motor taxation should include motor spirit, vehicle taxation and license fees for vehicles plying for hire and that the proceeds should be spent on road development. It was also suggested that a re-classification of roads should be made so as to transfer some of the local roads to the category of arterial roads and thus reduce the burden on local bodies and enable them to devote more attention to feeder roads and roads of purely local importance.[3]

It remains now to consider how far road development could be financed from loans. The Royal commission on Agriculture, 1928, had suggested that the policy of road development would be much better carried out if, instead of relying solely on current

1. India Government, *Report of the Indian Road Development Committee 1927-28*, "Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Committee".
2. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 32-3, 47, 86.

revenues, loans were raised for financing road programmes.[1] The Road Development Committee, however, held that the propriety of raising such loans must be decided by each provincial government for itself, according to its needs. They deprecated heavy loans on the plea that the loans might prove an incubus for other nation building activities of equal or greater importance. They, therefore, recommended that the loans should be for short periods and that there should be revenue clearly in immediate sight to cover not only the interest and sinking fund charges, but also the cost of maintaining the road when constructed and that construction from loans should perferably be confined to the more permanent parts of a project such as a bridge, the life of which can be estimated with approximate accuracy for the calculation of the sinking fund.[2] Accordingly, the Central Legislature passed a resolution in 1934, providing for the raising of loans for road Development and in special cases, for the maintenance of roads constructed from out of the Central Road Account created in 1930-31 or from loans as admissible charges on the said Account.[3] In 1935 the Punjab Government considered a loan scheme, involving a capital expenditure of Rs. 50 lakhs, the interest charges of which were to be debited to the provincial grant from the Central Road Account, but it was later abandoned.[4] No such scheme came up for consideration thereafter.

As regards the (iii) item under the terms of reference to the Committee, it did not recommend the appointment of a Central Road Board.

Central Road Account— The principal recommendation made by the Indian Road Development Committee was to introduce an increase in the import and excise duties on petrol from 4 to 6 annas per gallon and distribute the revenue so collected among the provinces.[5] The Government of India accepted this proposal and a convention was accordingly adopted in the Assembly in 1930.

1. *R.C.A.*, par. 306.
2. *Report of the Indian Road Development Committee*, pp. 46-7, 51, 56.
3. India Government, *India in 1933-34*, p. 111.
4. Punjab Government, *Administration Report of the Public Works Department Incorporating the Report of the Communications Board* for the year 1934-35, p. 5.
5. *Report of the Indian Road Development Committee*, p. 38.

The additional duty was imposed in the first instance for 5 years. The proceeds from this duty were to be accumulated in the Road Account and grants made out of it annually to the provinces in proportion to their consumption of petrol, while 10 per cent of the duty was to be kept in reserve by the Government of India for special grants for expensive works. A Standing Committee for Roads was to be constituted every year from out of the members of the Central Legislature for advising Government on all matters concerning roads as well as for recommending grants to be made to the provinces [1] The probationary period of five years came to an end in 1933-34. A new resolution governing the Road Account was, therefore, adopted by the Central Legislature in April, 1934, which put the account on a permanent basis. It increased the reserve at the disposal of the Government of India from 10 to 15 per cent so as to enable them to deal more liberally with the less developed provinces.[2]

A new road resolution regarding the allocation of grants from the Road Fund to the provinces was passed in February, 1937 by the Central Assembly. The principal feature of the resolution was that the Central Government was empowered to appropriate the whole or part of the sums which the Central Government might hold for expenditure in any province if the province delayed, without reasonable cause, in utilising its share in the Road Fund for the purpose of road development. But the most important charge was effected by the clause which authorised the Governor-General-in-Council to appropriate the quota of a province if it failed to take such steps as he might recommend for the regulation and control of motor vehicles. This provision gave rise to acute controversy and was resented by the provinces as amounting to unwarranted interference in their road policy by the Central Government in order to protect the budgetary position of the railways.[3] There was, however, not much fear of a clash between the Central and provincial governments, since the ingenious financial scheme of Sir Otto Niemyer had made the prosperity of railways an essential condition for assignment of a share of the income

1. India Government; *India in 1930-31*, pp. 267-8.
2. *India in 1933-34*, pp. 110-11.
3. *The Legislative Assembly Debates*, I, 1937, pp. 660-714.

tax by the Government of India to the provincial governments. The provinces were, therefore, interested in the solvency of the railways and in taking measures for not allowing motor transport seriously to damage railway earnings.[1]

(a) Financial position of the road development account—The revenue credited to the Account upto September 30, 1933, was about Rs. 460 lakhs.[2] After deducting 10 per cent for the reserve the balance available for distribution was Rs. 414 lakhs.[3] The Punjab Government's share amounted to Rs. 5.75 lakhs in 1931-32[4] Rs. 6.08 lakhs in 1932-33,[5] and Rs 6.69 lakhs in 1933-34.[6] The appropriations to the Road Fund were Rs. 159 lakhs in 1934-35 Rs. 129, lakhs in 1935-36, Rs. 140 lakhs in 1936-37, Rs. 141 lakhs in 1937-38 and Rs. 156 lakhs in 1938-39,[7] while the Punjab Government's share amounted to Rs. 7 lakhs,[8] Rs. 8 lakhs,[9] Rs. 7.5 lakhs,[10] Rs. 11 lakhs[11] and Rs. 18 lakhs,[12] respectively. These amounts, though not very substantial, were of the nature of a windfall and helped in relieving the financial burdens of the Punjab Government.

Rail Road Competition—The rapid growth of motor transport led to a very unhealthy competition with railways. The Mitchell Kirkness Report, 1932-33, revealed that about 1400 miles of metalled roads in the Punjab ran parallel to the railways and there were many bus serives on those roads running in direct competition

1. *Indian Financial Enquiry (Niemeyer Report)*, 1936, par. 31. Also see Chapter X.
2. *India in 1933-34*, p. 112.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Administration Report of the Public Works Department Incorporating the Report of the Communication Board* for 1931-32, p. 4.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
7. *Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India*, 1939-40.
8. *Administration Report of the Public Works Department Incorporating the Report of the Communications Board* for 1934-35, p. 4.
9. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 4.
10. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, p. 3.
11. *Ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 4.
12. *Ibid.*, 1938-39, p. 4.

with the railways.[1] The nature of rail road competition lay in this that major transport took away the more paying traffic from the railways by quoting lower rates and thus leaving to railways only the heavy loads which paid low freight. The result was a serious loss to the latter. It is not possible to arrive at a fair estimate of the loss of passanger revenue to the railway on account of this competition. Nevertheless, the Mitchell Kirkness Report observed that "there are some grounds for placing this at a figure of Rs. 33 lakhs for the North western lines serving the Punjab".[2] Apart from this, such a wasteful duplication left many areas without railways or motor transport. This point was well put by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928. thus: "The road system links up the cultivator's holding with the local markets and the nearest railway station, while the railway provides the connecting links between the area of production and consumers at a distance, and between the manufacturer in the town and the cultivators who purchases his ploughs, his fertilizers, or his cloth. Without good roads and sufficient roads, no railway can collect for transport enough produce to render its operations profitable, while the best of roads cannot place the producer of crops in touch with the consumer".[3] It was, therefore, urged to formulate a policy to ensure a harmonious development of two forms of transport.[4]

Transport co-ordination policy—While it was difficult to arrange for a policy of co-ordination in the circumstances, attempts were made to adjust the future programmes of road and railway extension in such a way that roads might serve rather as feeders of the railways than as competitors for such traffic as the railway was incapable of handling more efficiently and economically[5] and to avoid "the senseless and wasteful competition

1. Mitchell, K.G. and Kirkness, L.H., *Report on the present state of road and railway competition and the possibilities of their future co-ordination and development, and cognate matters in Governor's provinces*, 1933, p. 47 The percentage of motor roads parallel to railways was 36. (*Ibid.*, pp. 79-81).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
3. *R.C.A.*, par. 312
4. India Government, *Report on the Indian Railways for 1931-32*, I, p. 33.
5. *Report on the Road Development Committee*, "Railway Board's Memorandum to the Road Development Committee", p. 20.

between rail and motor traffic that is today taking place in many European countries".[1]

The Mitchell-Kirkness Report recommended for this purpose the creation of a Central Advisory Board of Communications in the provinces. They also suggested a better control of motor transport as one of the methods of making this competition fair.[2]

In pursuance of this, a Transport Advisory Council consisting of the Ministers in charge of roads in the provinces was formed in 1935.[3] Its function was to arrive at a considered road policy which might be generally acted upon by the provinces in the furtherance of coordinated development of road, rail and other forms of transport a purpose of the highest importance for the economic development of the country.[4] The creation by the Government of India of a new Department of Communications in November, 1937 (as recommended by the Acworth Committee, 1921, and later by the Road Development Committee, 1927) rendered easier the adoption of a policy of transport co-ordination in the country. The Department was put in charge of railway, roads, waterways, aviation and posts and telegraphs.[5]

The question of the co-ordination of rail and road transport was further examined by the Wedgwood Committee, 1937. The Committee found that the regulation of road transport by provincial governments was inadequate and the policy hitherto followed by them encouraged an unorganised and inefficient type of road transport whose competition was apt to cripple the railways with out providing a trustworthy service on the roads. The Committee therefore, recommended the safeguarding of the interests of railways by controlling, supervising and licensing motor vehicles. Stress was also laid on the importance of the railways participating

1. *R.C.A.*, par. 312.
2. Mitchell and Kirkness, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
3. India Government, *India in 1934-35* p. 75.
4. *Administration Report of the Buildings and Roads Branch*, 1934-35, p. 4.
5. *Acworth Committee Report*, pp. 38, 86; *Report of the Indian Road Development Committee*, pp. 49-50, 56.

in road transport. Finally, the Committee urged the importance of voluntary co-ordination between the railways and the more responsible elements in the road transport industry.[1]

Regulation of road motor traffic—As recommended by the Wedgwood Committee, and in consultation with the various provincial governments as well as the third Transport Advisory Council (1937), the Central Legislature enacted the Motor Vehicles Act in 1939.[2] It came into force on July 1, 1939.[3] Its two objects were the control and co-ordination of road traffic. It provided for the appointment of Regional Transport Authorities for the road regions into which each province was divided.[4] A Provinical Transport Authority was set up in each province to co-ordinate the work of the Regional Authorities. These Authorities controlled motor vehicles. Accordingly, motor vehicles could run only under the system of permits ;[5] the maximum number of passengers they could carry was fixed ;[6] they were to observe prescribed timings,[7] and the hours of working and conditions for the employees were also laid down.[8] In the case of public goods traffic, the principle adopted was that while the transport of perishable goods by road over short distances (in order to avoid the delay and damage caused by terminal trans-shipment) should not be interfered with, long-distance traffic should be left primarily to the railways. Thus, motor transport was made to function under proper regulation as the railways had already been done.

Although some of the features of the Motor Vehicles Act gave rise to controversy, it was not contentious in principle and could be rightly described as a highway code. There was a welcome and growing recognition of the necessity of evolving order

1. *Report of the Indian Railway Inquiry Committee*, 1937, pars. 135-167.
2. This Act suspended the earlier Act of 1914, which was found inadequate to deal with the rapid growth of motor transport. (*The Motor Vehicles Act, 1939*, Section 134 (1).
3. *Ibid.*, Section 1.
4. *Ibid.*, Section 44.
5. *Ibid.*, Section 42 (1).
6. *Ibid.*, Section 46-48.
7. *Ibid.*, Section 48.
8. *Ibid.*, Section 65 (1), (2), (3), (4). and (5).

out of chaos and of devising measures for the safety and convenience of the public and of the development of a coordinated system of transport.

Counter measures to meet the road competition were also adopted by the railway administration. The general policy in this respect was to afford to the public an equal or better service than road transport could give and at the same time to take full advantage of the additional business brought to railways by such motor transport as could act as a feeder or a distributor.[1] Among the methods of meeting this solution were time-table adjustments, cheap return tickets, quotations of special terms for marriage parties, special trains at concession rates, greater publicity of railway services, etc.[2] The Wedgwood Committee also recommended a series of counter measures for dealing with road competition. As regards passenger traffic, the Committee favoured faster passenger trains, better connections, more intensive services and improved amenities for lower-class passengers. They deprecated any wholesale reduction of fares to meet road competition. In regard to goods traffic, the Committee recommended faster goods trains, more expeditious handling of goods, simplification of red-tapism, etc. The railway administration translated these recommendations into practice when and where it was possible to do so.[3]

Means of transport—The bullock-cart and a light two-wheeled carriage pulled by a horse (variously known as *ekka* or *tonga* or *tum tum*) were the chief means of transport. The bullock-cart was a "heavy substantial vehicle without springs or tires and made by any village carpenter".[4] It could stand the roughest usage and the worst roads. It was used for carrying agricultural produce to the market and for other agricultural operations on the farm. The *ekka* was employed both for short and long distances and was more dignified than the bullock-cart. It could

1. India Government, *India in 1934-35*, p. 75.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Report of the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee*, pars. 169-89; also see *Railway Budget* (1938-39), pars. 8-10 and (1939-40), pars. 9-17.
4. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, p. 326.

carry from four to six passengers and could cover normally about 5 miles in an hour.[1]

Another means of transport was the bicycle whose use was growing steadily. It was very popular in the towns because it was cheap, convenient and useful. Its use was rapidly extending over rural areas where the means of public transport like buses were either non-existent or the facilities for such transport were insufficient.

In the beginning of the present century the motor vehicle as a means of transport was practically unknown. It entered the field after the termination of the First World War when a large number of military vehicles were rendered surplus. Thus whereas in 1914 there were only 413 motor vehicles[2] in the Punjab, their number rose to 13,372 by the end of 1939.[3] Nevertheless its activities were mainly confined to long distance traffic and to urban centres of industry and commerce, while the *tonga* and the bullock-cart practically monopolised short distance traffic in the rural areas.[4]

Main features of road system in the Punjab—The main road in the Punjab was a part of the most famous of the trunk roads in India known as the Grand Trunk Road which stretched right across the northern part of the country from Peshawar to Calcutta. It was metalled throughout its length and was improved by the construction of bridges over the rivers. In its passage through the Punjab it connected Peshawar with Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujranwala, Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal and Delhi. Metalled roads branched off from it for short distances throughout its length. The most important offshoots were the roads from Delhi to Gurgaon and Rohtak and to smaller places beyond them ; from Thanesar to Pehowa and Chachhrauli ; from Ambala to Kalka and Simla ; from Rajpura (near Ambala) to Patiala and Sangrur; from Ludhiana

1. *I.G.O.I.*, Indian Empire, I, 1907, p. 92.
2. *Bulletin of the Joint Development Board, Punjab*, 1931, p. 3.
3. India Government, *Review of the Trade of India*, 1939-40, p. 123.
4. Mukerjee, *Economic Problems*, I, p. 266.

to Malerkotla and Sangrur ; from Ludhiana to Ferozepur; from Jullundur to Hoshiarpur; from Amritsar to Pathankot; from Lahore to Ferozepur and to Sheikhupura; from Gujranwala to Hafizabad and to Sialkot ; from Wazirabad to Sialkot and thence to Jammu; and from Rawalpindi to Kashmir via Murree. Other isolated systems of metalled roads were from Multan to Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazikhan, Pathankot to Dalhousie and through the Kangra valley to Kangra, Dharamsala and Baijnath.

There was also a very large mileage of unmetalled roads which served as links between the interior of the rural tracts and the metalled roads . The most important of these were provided with bridges or ferries, but many were nothing more than village lanes, differing from each other only in the degree of their badness and usually impassable in the rains.[1] The communications between individual villages were in a hopeless condition and these so-called roads were mere tracks formed by village carts across the face of the land and became more or less drains during the rainy season.[2] In the hills the roads were scarce and there existed innumerable footpaths leading "from village to village and from glen to glen".[3] These tracks were generally very narrow, allowing passage for one person only.[4]

To sum up, the metalled and unmetalled roads in the Punjab were too few, both in regard to area and population. They were too meagre and in an unsatisfactory condition in the rural areas. The fact that the provision of good communications could have been the surest way of stimulating trade, agricultural and industrial production and of raising the standard of living of the people did not receive the attention it deserved.

Railway Transport

The development of railways was the concern of the Government of India. Therefore, there was no railways in the Punjab under provincial control.

1. Blunt, *Some Social and Economic Problems*, p. 28; Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 157.
2. *R.C.A.*, VIII, p. 110.
3. *D.G. Kangra* (Kulu and Saraj), 1917, p. 133.
4. Grove, F.St.J., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

The railway mileage in the Province was 23 in 1863.[1] It increased to 1,056 in 1881[2] and to 3,117 in 1901.[3] After that the progress was slow but sure. During the First World War the railway development suffered a set-back. Many trains were cancelled for civilian population, because it was thought necessary first to meet the necessities of the movements of troops.[4] Goods wagons were used to carry passengers on branch lines.[5] The goods lay in the godowns for weeks before they could be loaded.[6] While the railways were called upon to handle the increased traffic, it became extremely difficult to obtain railway material from England to maintain the existing lines in good condition.[7] Not only had the fresh extension of railways to be practically held up but even in 1917 the Satluj Valley Railway from Kasur to Lodhran with 208 miles of the track was dismantled to provide material for the construction of military railway in Mesopotamia.[8] The Acworth Committee, 1921, gave in the following terms a picture of the breakdown of the railway system under the stress of war conditions : "There are scores of bridges with girders unfit to carry train loads upto the modern requirements ; there are many miles of rails, hundreds of engines and thousands of wagons, whose rightful date of renewal is long past".[9] Thus the total length of the railways increased from 37,25.89 miles in 1910 to only 4181 78 miles in 1921.[10] It further rose to 6,160.34 miles in 1931 and to 61,92.64 miles in 1939.[11] The almost negligible increase between 1931 and 1939 was due to the economic depression which ushered in an era of railway deficits and retrenchment in expenditure on fresh extensions.

The Province was served by the famous North-western Railway, the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka railway which was a part of the

1. *Census 1911*, XIV, p. 55.
2. *Ibid.*
3. India Government, *History of Indian Railways constructed and in progress, corrected upto 31-3-1939*, p. 158.
4. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 313.
5. Dewett, *op. cit.*, p. 416.
6. *P.A.R*, 1919-20, p. 94.
7. Bhatnagar, N.L, *Transport in India and Abroad*, 1951, p. 136.
8. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 313.
9. Jathar and Beri, *op. cit.*, II, 1939, p. 172.
10. *History of Indian Railways constructed and in progress, corrected upto 31-3-1939*, p. 158.
11. *Ibid.*

East Indian Railway system, and the Kalka-Simla Railway completed in 1903 and which was placed under the charge of the North-western Railway with effect from January 1, 1907. The main line of the North-western Railway starting from Karachi entered the Punjab in the extreme south-west and ran up to Samasata in Bahawalpur state whence it divided and connected up with a system of lines running more or less parallel to the rivers and spreading out like the leaves of a fan till they reached another main line which ran along the northern boundry of the Province from Attock via Rawalpindi and Lahore to Ferozepur and thence to Delhi. From Lahore to Delhi there were two main lines, one via Ferozepur and Bhatinda and the other following the course of the Grand Trunk Road through Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ambala and thence through part of the United Provinces. These two main lines had numerous cross-sections and were also connected with other railways, such as the East Indian Railway from Delhi to Kalka via Ambala ; and the Bombay, Baroda and Central Indian Railway from Delhi to Rewari and thence to Bhatinda via Sirsa and Hissar. These various lines and branches formed a complete network over the central and south-eastern parts of the Province.[1]

The only portions where railway service was inadequate were the Himalayan tract in the north-east (in which the only lines were the Kalka-Simla and Pathankot-Jogindernagar), Dera Ghazikhan district and the eastern part of the Bahawalpur State. The extension of railways in the Punjab was deeply influenced by the presence of rivers and the difficulties and expenditure attendant upon their bridging prevented the construction of lines running from north-west to south-east. "The result is an irregular pattern, but seventy years of planning and construction—have given the province a network which leaves very few places more than 25 miles from a line".[2]

Railway traffic—The Railways provided a quicker means of communication and soon became the arteries of commerce. The trade of the Province with other parts of India as well as with

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 314,
2. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, p. 109.

foreign countries through the ports of Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta was mainly carried by the railways. The rapidity with which the people could travel made them very familiar to this form of transport.[1] The development of passanger traffic continued progressively till 1930, when the world-wide economic depression set in.

About 30 million persons travelled by the railway serving the Punjab in 1905.[2] The number increased to 40 million in 1908-9,[3] to about 65 million during the period of the First World War and to 89 million in 1929-30.[4] The figure for the year 1930-31 showed a decrease of about 4 million and in the next year the number of passengers dropped to 58 million.[5] This falling off was due to the economic depression which continued to affect the railway traffic till the close of the period under study.

Social and economic effects of railways—The advantages of railways as a means of annihilating distance from the national, social and cultural points of view are too obvious to be dwelt upon here. We have already discussed the effects of improved means of communication and transport on the isolation and self-sufficiency of the village, caste-organisation, joint-family system, the immobility of labour and the conservatism of the people.[6]

The economic effects of the railways were more important. The railways gave a powerful impetus to the general economic advance of the Province. They effected an equalisation of prices throughout the Province, created new avenues of employment and made possible a more even distribution of the population. They banished the dread spectre of famines since famine relief necessarily depended on an efficient railway system. Furthermore, the railways promoted agriculture by securing fair prices for the agricultural produce and by extending its market. The prosperity of the wheat producing Canal Colonies was entirely due to the

1. *Report of the Indian Road Development Committee*, p. 18.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1905-6, p. 38.
3. *Ibid.*, 1908-9, p. 30.
4. *Census 1931*, XVII, p. 51.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Supra*, pp. 35-39, 41-52.

railways. They stimulated trade and commerce and their effect on the forests also was beneficial. The demand for railway sleepers in an expanding railway system greatly encouraged the timber trade.

To find fault with the modern means of communication such as the railways would have the appearance of a paradox and a logical absurdity. But even a paradox often contains a fair share of truth. It is fact that the railways had not been an unmixed boon. They could have provided a great fillip to Indian manufactures. But there soon followed a peculiar conglomeration of circumstances. The railways, instead of promoting indigenous industry, paved the way for free trade and competition with foreign countries already far advanced in industry.[1] Thus the immediate effect of the railways was the development of European and chiefly British instead of Indian industries on a large scale. The result of all this was a one-sided economic development of the Province, under which its exports consisted almost entirely of raw materials and its imports of manufactured articles.[2]

Air Transport

Civil aviation made rapid progress after the First World War, particularly in western countries and initiated a far-reaching revolution in the transport system of the world.

In keeeping with the trend in other countries the Government of India hammered out a plan in 1920 for operating air service between Bombay and Calcutta, and Calcutta and Rangoon.[3] The civil aviation works were, however, actually inaugurated by the

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-53.
2. The social and economic effects of railways have been compiled from *Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, 1898, pp. 359-60; *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 76-77; *R.C.A.*, p. 10; *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission* 1918, "Note of Dissent of Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya", pp. 255-6, India Government, *Report on the inquiry into the rise in prices in India*, I, 1914, pp. 78-79, Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114, Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare*, 1936, p. 109; Sarkar, J.N., *Economics of British India*, 1917, p. 47; Soni, H.R., *Indian Transport*, 1935, pp. 1, 22-23; Weld, W.E., *India's Demand for Transport*, 1920, pp. 82, 96, 99; Bhatnagar, *op. cit*', pp. 95, 145; Mukerjee, *Economic Problems*, I, p. 293; *N.P,R.*, January-December, 1926, p. 607.
3. Planning Commission, G.O.I., *Second Five Year Plan*, 1956, p. 487.

Government in 1924-25.[1] Private enterprise also came forward and numerous air routes were established in India. The Punjab, however, did not have any air service as late as 1934 when the Indian National Airways established an air service between Karachi and Lahore, linking with Imperial Airways[2] service at Karachi. This arrangement was made on the basis of an air-mail contract with the Government for the carriage of such mails as the public offered for carriage by air and the rate of remuneration to the company was fixed at a level covered by the air surcharge collected by the Posts and Telegraphs Department.[3] In 1934-35 the service completed 211 scheduled flights and carried 28,317 lbs. of mails and freight. However, only two passengers were flown during the period.[4]

In 1938 the Government of India entered into 15 years' contract with Indian National Airways for the carriage of mail on their routes under the Empire-Air-Mail seheme.[5] Accordingly, the Karachi-Lahore service under this arrangement commenced operation in February, 1938. It offered an excellent opportunity for the proper development of passenger as well as freight traffic. The frequency on the Karachi-Lahore route was increased to five times a week and a thrice weekly service between Lahore and Delhi was established. In 1938-39 the Indian National Airways carried 43,00,00 lbs. of mails, 68 lbs. of freight and 93 passengers.[6]

Thus the development no doubt had been slow and the importance of aviation in business did not yet appear to be appreciated but the prospects of air transport were more bright than gloomy.[7]

Trade

The history of the trade of the Punjab until 1901 does not fall within the prescribed limits of our enquiry. Therefore, it may

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 487-88.
2. It was a regular weekly service between England and Karachi, (G.O.I., *Report of the Air Transport Inquiry Committee*, 1950, p. 5).
3. India Government, *India in 1934-35*. p. 82.
4. Gidwani, B.S., *History of Air Transport in India*, 1954, p. 72.
5. Under the Empire Air Mail Service the whole letter mail between the empire countries on the U.K.-Australia and U.K.-African routes was to be conveyed by air, no surcharge being levied for the purpose. (*Report of the Air Transport Inquiry Committee*, pp. 4-5).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
7. *Indian Year Book*, (1940-41) pp. 598-605.

be dismissed with a brief notice. During the Sikh rule the Province had little trade with trans-frontier countries and had, practically, no trade with other parts of India under the British. The roads were defective and insufficient. Above all, the exceptionally heavy tolls and duties exacted by the Sikh rulers from the merchants passing through their territory retarded instead of stimulating commerce. The establishment of the British rule in the Province supplied the much-needed security of life and property for the development of trade. The roads and the railways built by the British improved the means of communication which, in their turn, opened up the routes far and wide for trade. The numerous customs, barriers and transit duties which had so long impeded trade were swept away. Thus whereas the value of imports and exports (rail and river-borne) of the Punjab with other provinces and states of India (excluding Kashmir and Ladakh) was Rs. 1,597 lakhs in 1881-82, it rose to Rs. 1,614 lakhs in 1890-91 and to Rs. 2,291 lakhs in 1900-1.[1]

For the sake of convenient treatment of the subject, the trade of the Province may be divided into two parts, (i) internal trade and (ii) external or trans-frontier trade.

Internal Trade

The main trade of the Punjab was carried on by rail and river with other parts of India or with foreign countries through the parts of Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta.[2]

The total value of imports and exports of the Province was Rs. 1,548 lakhs and Rs. 1,551 lakhs respectively in 1901-2.[3] A decade later the former rose to Rs. 3,001 lakhs and the latter to Rs. 2,763 lakhs.[4] The figures for 1920-21 were Rs. 6,142 lakhs and Rs. 3,946 lakhs, respectively.[5] Both the imports and exports tended to vary and the balance of trade was first on the one side and then on the other. The total trade of

1. *I.G.O.I., Provincial Series*, I, 1908, p. 156.
2. Road borne trade was not registered in connection with the internal trade of the Punjab. (*P.A.R*, 1911-12, p. 40).
3. *Ibid.*, 1902-3, p. 57.
4. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 124.
5. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 315.

the Province (excluding Delhi) from 1911-12 to 1918-19, showed an adverse balance (excess of imports of merchandise over exports) of Rs. 419 lakhs.[1] In the year 1919-20, and 1920-21, the balance of trade was against the Province to the extent of Rs. 882 lakhs and Rs. 2,196 lakhs respectively.[2] The figures relating to the value of imports and exports after the year 1920-21 are not available.[3]

The steady increase in imports indicated a gradual increase in prosperity and a rise in the general standard of living. The imports doubled in ten years and quadrupled in twenty years, while the increase in the population for whom they were meant was only about 3 per cent. The reasons for the failure of exports to keep pace with imports were that the former consisted almost entirely of agricultural produce dependent in amount on the vagaries of the season and the strict governmental control on exports, which was institued during the First World War to check the soaring prices of foodgrains. "Every single article that has any considerable net export is a direct produce of the soil, and the bitterest opponent of Malthusian principles would hesitate to maintain that a trade which doubles itself every ten years can be made up entriely of agricultural produce on the export side".[4] The remarkable growth in the case of export trade was mainly the result of the vast extension of cultivation and irrigation, but this process was bound to be limited.[5] It was, therefore, necessary to replace the imports with home manufactures.

Composition of trade— The following schedule shows the value of average annual net imports and exports of the important articles for the period 1911-21.[6]

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. The compilation and publication of the statistics relating to the internal trade were suspended by the Punjab Government. Their publication was resumed by the Government of India in 1934 but placed the Punjab with Delhi and North-West Frontier Province. This makes comparison with the earlier statistics quite useless. However, from 1937-38 onwards the Punjab was represented as a separate block. The statistics compiled after 1934 give the quantity of trade and not its value in contrast to the earlier statistics which gave both.
4. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 317.
5. *Supra*, pp. 195, 234-5, 236,
6. Compiled from *Inland Trade* (*Rail and River-borne of India*, 21st Issue, Table III; 1913-14, Table III, 1920-21, Table III.

Net imports in Lakhs of Rupees			Net exports in Lakhs of Rupees		
Cotton goods	...	1,059	Wheat	...	877
Sugar	...	446	Raw cotton	...	494
Metals	...	261	Gram & Pulse	...	492
Coal and coke	...	139	Oil seeds	...	112
Jute	...	136	Hides & skins	...	74
Oils	...	85	Wool	...	38
Woollen goods	...	78			
Apparel	...	51			
Dyes and tans	...	29			
Drugs	...	25			
Tea	...	12			

The figures relating to the value of exports and imports for the years 1937-38 and 1938 39 are not available. The figures given in *the Accounts Relating to Inland (Rail and River-borne) Trade of India* are in weight only. These accounts shows that no mojor change occurred in the composition of the import and export trade of the Province. For the sake of convenience and ready reference some of the most important articles of trade are given below. The figures are the average for the years 1937-40.[1]

Net Imports in Lakhs of Maunds			Net Exports in Lakhs of Maunds		
Coal and coke	...	453	Wheat	...	148
Dyes and tans	...	74	Wheat flour	...	29
Sug r	...	70	Gram & pulse	...	50
Metals	...	25	Salt	..	15
Cotton goods	...	13	Oil seeds	...	9
Tea & Coffee	...	11	Bones	...	6
Oils	...	10	Hides & skins	...	2
Tobacco	...	1	Cotton	...	11 (lakh) (bales) (of 400) (lbs.) (each.)
			Cattle	1,11,204 heads	

1. *Accounts Relating to the Inland Trade (Rail and River-borne) of India*, for 1937-38, 1938-39 and 1939-40, "General Tables".

Direction of trade—Both in imports and exports the port of Karachi dominated the situation. Next to it were, in order of precedence, the United Provinces, Bombay, Rajputana, Sind, Bengal and Kashmir on the export side and the United Provinces, Bombay, Calcutta, Kashmir, Rajputana and Sind on the import side.[1]

Principal trade centres—In an account of the trade centres of the Province, mention may first be made of Delhi which served as a clearing house for the Punjab particularly in cotton, silk and woollen piece-goods. Lahore and Lyallpur were the chief trading centres for the agricultural produce and Amritsar had not only a large entrepot trade but also did a large volume of business in hides and skins.[2] Wool was chiefly exported from Fazilka, Abohar, and Muktsar (all in Ferozepur district), Kaithal (Karnal district), Sirsa (Hissar district) and Raikot (Ludhiana district).[3] Of these, Fazilka was one of the leading wool centres in India.[4]

External Trade

The trans-frontier countries with which the Province had trading connections were Afghanistan, Central Asia, Chinese-Tibet, Kashmir and Ladakh. The external trade was very small as compared with the internal trade of the Province, because its land-frontier offered great difficulties for commerce owing to obstacles such as dense and impenetrable forests and inaccessible mountains.[5] Sometimes the trader's flocks were lost in the snow and "many traders lost their fingers and feet from snow bites".[6]

Trade routes— The trade with Afghanistan, which was registered at Kharr border police post, in Dera Ghazikhan district, followed two routes—one through Musakhel and Zhob valley and the other through Loralai, Peshin and Chaman.[7] For the trade

1. *Ibid.*, 1934-35 to 1938-39.
2. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, I, pp. 71, 73, 74
3. Punjab Government, *Report of the Od Committee*, 1940, p. 320.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Punjab Government, *Report on the External Land Trade of the Punjab*, 1907-8, p. 2; *P.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 127.
6. *Report on the External Land Trade*, 1922-25, p. 5.
7. *P.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 30.

with Ladakh and through it with Central Asia, there were two routes. The first passed through Sultanpur in Kulu and over the Baralacha and Lachalang passes to Leh (capital of Ladakh), while the second proceeded to Leh via Nachar in Simla district and the Bhabeh or the Baralacha pass.[1] The trade on the former route was registered at Sultanpur and on the latter route at Nachar.[2] The trade with Chinese Tibet was carried on by four routes. The first ran from Nachar (via Sungnam Chango and Shelkar Chango) to Tashigoang whence it connected with Gartok. The second reached Gartok via Poo and Shipki or Lingo Morang. The third and the fourth ran from Kulu to Rudok, the one through Ladakh and for a good part of the way along the Leh route, while the other through the Spiti valley.[3] The trade with Chinese Tibet was registered at Sultanpur, but from 1916 onwards it was registered at Kaylang.[4] The trade with Kashmir was registered at various trading posts situated in the districts of Sialkot, Gujrat, Jhelum and Rawalpindi, all of which bordered the state.[5] It should, however, be pointed out that the routes mentioned above were "not altogether accurate",[6] because in most cases they passed through regions that had not been surveyed in detail.[7]

Articles of import and export--Of the merchandise imported from Afghanistan no less than 62 per cent comprised fruits, vegetables and nuts. The other articles of import were *ghi*, hides and skins, raw wool and drugs. The principal merchandise imported into the Province from Ladakh and Central Asia consisted of raw silk, raw wool and *charas*, while that from Tibet consisted of raw wool and borax. The imports from Kashmir consisted of fruits, *ghi*, raw silk, stone and marble, and timber. The principal commodities exported from the Punjab were cotton goods (foreign and Indian), cotton yarn, silk, goods, leather manufactures grain and pulse, sugar, hardware and cutlery, tea, salt, tobacco, etc.[8]

1. *Report on the External Land Trade*, 1908-9, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, 1909-10, p. 4.
4. *P.A.R.*, 1916-17, p. 42.
5. *Report on the External Land Trade*, 1906-7, p. 1; 1907-8, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, 1908-9, p. 1.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Review of the Trade of India*, 1939-40, p. 197.

Distribution and quantum of Trade—About 95 per cent of the external trade of the Punjab was with Kashmir. From January 1907 it was, however, excluded from the returns of the external trade of the Province and was represented as a separate block under the system of internal trade.[1] The result was that the volume of external trade diminished considerably after 1907.

Between 1901 and 1904 the annual total value of imports and exports of the trans-frontier trade was Rs. 110 lakhs and Rs. 92 lakhs respectively, out of which Kashmir alone accounted for Rs. 101 lakhs and Rs. 89 lakhs, respectively.[2] Again, between 1904 and 1907 the figures for the annual value of total imports and exports were Rs. 139 lakhs and Rs. 84 lakhs, out of which Kashmir's share was no less than Rs. 129 lakhs and Rs. 81 lakhs, respectively.[3] Next to Kashmir came, in the order of precedence, Ladakh and Central Asia, Chinese. Tibet and Afghanistan. The course of the trade with these countries from 1907 to 1925, when the registration of external trade and publication of the statistics were discontinued by an order of the Punjab Government.[4] is summed up in the following table[5];—

Average annual for the years	Imports in Rupees	Exports in Rupees
1907-10	13,42,262	4,79,526
1910-13	17,70,401	8,21,178
1913-16	43,84,511	49,69,174
1916-19	58,09,923	88,13,486
1919-22	67,46,163	1,24,42,004
1922-25	84,51,335	74,73,692

These figures (though insignificant in comparison with the internal trade of the Province) reveal a steady progress of both imports and exports. The figures also show that the balance of

1. *Report on the External Land Trade*, 907-8, p. 1.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1906-7, p. 36.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Order published in *Report on the External Land Trade*, 1922-25.
5. The table has been compiled from *Report on the External Land Trade*, 1913-14 to 1915-16, p. 1; 1922-25, p. 1.

trade was tending to turn in favour of the Province. The progress was likely to be quicker with further improvements in trans-frontier communications. It would have been to the advantage of the Province to develop this branch of trade to the utmost possible extent, especially as with the progress of the manufacturing industries, the importance of capturing trans-frontier markets was becoming greater than ever before.

10

FINANCE

Finance

The success of a constructive social and economic policy of a government depends upon its financial resources and expenditure. A brief account must, therefore, be given of the structure and development of financial system in the Punjab and of their effect on its general economic development.

History of Financial Decentralisation

Before 1871 all financial powers were in the hands of the Government of India, which controlled the smallest details of the provincial expenditure. This caused much inconvenience and killed incentive to economy in provincial administration. In 1871, Lord Mayo introduced the system of 'Provincial Settlements' under which certain heads of expenditure local in character such as police, education, roads and civil works, registration, medical services (in part), and jails, were transferred to the provinces. For the management of these departments the provinces were given in addition to the departmental receipts, annual fixed lump sum grants, the deficiency being made good by local taxation, if necessary. In 1877 practically all the remaining heads of expenditure that were provincial in character, such as land revenue, excise, stamps, general administration, law and justice were transferred to the provinces. In addition to the departmental receipts and

the old lump sum grants, certain heads of revenue such as excise, stamps, law and justice, were made over to the provincial governments.[1]

In 1882 Lord Ripon introduced certain improvements in the Provincial Settlements, which he made liable to revision every five years. He abolished the system of the fixed lump sum grants entirely and grouped all the revenues under three heads-Imperial, Provincial and Divided.[2] Further, instead of giving fixed grants to the Punjab to make up its deficits, 40.17 per cent of the land revenue was made over to it, which otherwise was an imperial source of revenue. A settlement on these lines was made in 1887 and again in 1892.[3] The last settlement was made in 1897 and was afterwards extended to 1904-5. It had to be modified in details as a result of the constitutions of the North-west Frontier Province in 1901, but the general terms remained the same. According to this settlement the Provincial share of revenue from land was fixed at two-fifths from stamps at three-fourths and from excise, registration, forests and assessed taxes at one-half.[4] Under this contract the Provincial revenues and expenditure were estimated at Rs. 187.70 lakhs and Rs. 188.91 lakhs respectively. To meet the deficit amounting to Rs. 1.21 lakhs the Government of India gave an assignment of Rs, 2.48 lakhs from the land revenue over and above the fixed provincial share of the Province. The deficit was thus considered to have been changed into a surplus of Rs. 1.27 lakh. But the famine, which commenced in November, 1896, and the plague, which broke out early in 1897, led to diminished receipts and a large outlay, resulting in a complete collapse of the Provincial finances, which had to be supported by special grants from imperial funds. Famine cost Rs. 54.70 lakhs and plague Rs. 6.58 lakhs during the quinquennium 1897-1901. The financial position, however, stabilised after the year 1900-1 and

1. Starchey, Sir John and Richard, *Finances and Public Works of India*, 1882 pp. 134, 136-7; Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 66.
2. (i) Imperial Heads:— Opium, Salt, Customs, Commercial undertakings, etc.
   (ii) Provincial Heads:— Civil Departments, Provincial Works and Provincial Rates,
   (iii) Divided Heads: Excise, Assessed taxes, Stamps, Forests, Registration, etc.
3. *I.G.O.I.*, XX, 1909, pp. 340-41.
4. *Ibid*. P.A.R., 1901-2, p. 148.

in 1903-4 the income and expenditure under the Provincial head of accounts was Rs. 230.60 lakhs and Rs. 323.85 lakhs respectively.

Quasi-permanent Settlement (1904)—The main object of the quinquennial settlements was to give the provinces a new incentive to increase their revenue and to introduce an element of greater financial stability for them. In actual practice, however, the provincial settlements caused much controversy and wranglings. The Government of India "repudiated the idea that provincial expenditure had any relation to provincial revenues"[2] and at the end of each five-year settlement it snatched away the balances built up by the provinces.[3] Thus the periodical revisions "encouraged extravagance rather than economy, and introduced an element of insecurity in place of stability".[4]

To remove the uncertainty and want of continuity of financial policy which characterised the quinquennial Provincial Settlements, Lord Curzon made the settlements quasi-permanent in 1904, that is, liable to revision only if there was a substantive change in the original conditions or in the event of emergencies like war and famine.[5]

Under this system the revenues assigned to the Punjab Government were definitely fixed and the scheme came into force in April, 1905. Broadly speaking, the Government of India received the whole of revenue derived from opium, salt, customs, mint, railways, posts and telegraphs, the military receipts and the tributes from Indian states. The revenue derived from and expenditure on Provincial rates, minor irrigation works, navigation and interest on provincial borrowings were placed under Provincial charge in addition to the heads already transferred to the Province in 1871. The share of the divided heads between the Punjab and the Government of India was fixed as follows[6]—

1. *P.A.R.*, 1904-5, p. 42.
2. *Report of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee*, 1924 I, p. 372.
3. India Government, *Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India*, 1911-12, p. 145.
4. Misra, B.R., *Indian Provincial, Finance 1919-39*, 1942, p. 46.
5. Proceedings of the Home (Public) Department, Government of India; December, 1904, Proceeding 34 (A).
9. *Ibid.*, Statement A and B.

Head of Revenue	Provincial share	
	Revenue	Expenditure
Land Revenue	Three-eights	The-whole
Stamps	One-half	One-half
Excise	One-half	One-half
Assessed taxes	One-half	One-half
Forests	One-half	One-half
Major Irrigation works	Three eights	Three-eights

The bulk of the Provincial revenues was thus derived from the divided heads. But as the expenditure of the provincial governments generally exceeded their revenues, the difference was made good by three methods viz., (i) a fixed assignment as formerly under the land revenue head, (ii) lumpsum grants for undertaking works of public utility, and (iii) special grants. The financial position of the Punjab is shown below upto the year 1911-12, when the quasi-permanent settlement was made permanent[1]:—

Year	Opening balance Rs. in lakhs	Income Rs. in lakhs	Expenditure Rs. in lakhs	Closing balance Rs. in lakhs
1904-5	32.00	269.86	221.92	+ 79.94
1905-6	79.94	273.08	301.04	+ 51.98
1906-7	60.67	311.04	318.55	+ 54.06
1907-8	54.06	309.21	333.30	+ 29.97
1908-9	30.51	323.02	339.70	+ 14.74
1909-10	14.75	352.15	339.14	+ 27.75
1910-11	27.75	391.12	349.13	+ 69.74

1. The table has been compiled, from *P.A.R.*, 1906-7, p. 47; 1908-9, p. 37; 1909-10, p. 37; 1910-11, p.40. The opening balance for 1906-7 differs from the closing balance on March 31, 1906, on account of the transfer of Rs. 8.69 lakhs, the balance of the Patwari Fund from Local to Provincial. (*Ibid.*, 1907-8, p. 41.) Similarly, the opening balance for 1908-9 and 1909-10 includes Rs. 0.54 lakhs and Rs. 1278 respectively on account of the provintialisation of the Copy Agency Fund (*Ibid.*, 1909-10 p. 37).

Permanent settlement (1912)—The question of financial relations between the central and provincial governments was reviewed in 1909 by the Decentralization Commission appointed two years earlier, but it did not recommend any radical reform in the prevalent system. The whole position, however, came under the review of Lord Hardinge's government, and the quasi-permanent settlement of 1904 was declared permanent in 1912. The following modifications in the allocation of resources were made in the existing settlement. The share in the land revenue and irrigation receipts assigned to the Punjab was raised from three-eights to one-half, and in raising in like manner the share of the liability of the Punjab for irrigation charges the Government of India guaranteed to the Province a net annual income from irrigation of Rs. 41 lakhs in place of the previous one of Rs. 30¾ lakhs.[1] The transactions other than on capital account connected with the larger irrigation works were divided between the Imperial and Provincial account The forest income and expenditure formerly divided between the two governments became wholly a Provincial head.[2] This revision of the settlement greatly eased the financial stringency and in the very first year the Punjab Government gained Rs. 10 lakhs by the arrangement.[3] This settlement operated till the Reforms of 1919 came into force in 1921-22, when provincial finance entered on an entirely new phase. The financial position of the Punjab during the period is shown below[4]:—

Year	In thousands of rupees					
	Gross Income			Gross Expenditure		
	Imperial	Provincial	Total	Imperial	Provincial	Total
1912-13	36410	50970	87380	11350	43550	54900
1913-14	40971	46143	87114	11925	46835	58760
1914-15	45376	47606	88969	12291	49476	61767
1915-16	45725	48852	89812	13475	47718	61193
1916-17	51082	51755	102837	13035	45878	58913
1917-18	41756	55030	96876	12417	47853	60270
1918-19	43859	57285	101144	10118	49879	59997
1919-20	50487	66087	116574	12975	59391	72366
1920-21	51944	67558	119502	14604	71120	85724

1. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 33.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p.153.
4. The table has been compiled from the annual *Administration Reports of the Punjab.*

Though the permanent settlement was an improvement on the former quasi-permanent settlement, it also had some drawbacks.

In the first place, provincial financial administration was subject to strict control and supervision by the Central Government and was bound by a large number of specific restrictions on expenditure. Secondly the provincial governments had no independent powers of taxation and borrowing and hence were not in a position to pursue their own policy of development.[1]

Financial relations under the Reforms of 1919—After the introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms the fiscal relations of the Punjab with the Central Government were radically changed. As the new policy of progressive realisation of responsible government was to be first introduced in the provinces and as financial autonomy in the provincial domain was recognised to be the keytnote of the Reforms, it was deemed necessary to abolish the old system of divided heads of revenue, in order to give effect to the new principle as follows :—

The source of revenue assigned to the provinces included land revenue, irrigation, excise, stamps registeration, forests and receipts from provincial departments, while customs, receipts from railways, salt, opium, posts and telegraphs and tributes from the Indian states were the principal central heads of revenue. The provinces were also given certain powers of borrowing and of imposing fresh taxation and a share in the income tax revenue collected under the Indian Income Tax Act, 1918, within their jurisdiction. The share so collected was to be three pies in each rupee of the increase in the assessable income over and above the income taxed in 1920-21.[2]

Provincial contributions—The abolition of the divided heads of revenue and the provincialisation of some heads like land revenue and stamps resulted in a deficit of Rs. 9.5 crores in the central budget, while the provincial governments gained Rs. 18.5 crores in additional annual revenue.[3]

1. *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 33.
2. *The Government of India Act*, 1919, Section 45A.
3. *Report of the Financial Relations Committee* (Meston) 1920, p. 6.

The authors of the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, proposed to meet this deficit by means of contributions from the provinces.[1] On the basis of the budgetary figures for 1917-18 the deficit in the central budget was estimated at Rs. 1,363 lakhs, and the gross financial surplus for all the provinces (after deducting normal expenditure of all the provinces) was estimated at Rs. 1,564 lakhs.[2] This left a net surplus of Rs. 201 lakhs available for contribution by the provinces.[3] Hence the conclusion was reached that each provincial governments should contribute 87 per cent of the difference between the gross provincial revenue and the gross provincial expenditure. Under this scheme, the Punjab Government was required to contribute Rs. 218 lakhs to the Central funds (87 per cent of the difference between gross revenue of Rs. 864 lakhs and gross expenditure of Rs. 614 lakhs).[4]

The scheme was strongly criticised by all the provincial governments on the score that the method of assessing the provincial contributions was highly unfair and arbitrary.[5] A Committee was, therefore, appointed in 1920 under the chairmanship of Lord Meston to consider this and other allied questions and its recommendations are known as the Meston Award.

1. *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1918*, p.p. 133-5; The alternative proposals examined by the authors were as follows, "One way of meeting it would be to maintain the basis of the present settlements, but to allot to the Government of India a certain proportion of growing revenue instead of its share of the divided heads. But this device would stereotype all the existing inequalities between the provinces which by reason of the permanent settlement in some of them are considerable; while it would also introduce an element of great uncertainity into the Indian Government's finance. A second suggestion was that we should take an all-round contribution on a *per capita* basis. But this expedient also would not obviate very undesirable inequality of provincial resources and of provincial needs. A third plan was to take an all-round percentage contribution based on gross provincial revenue. This is open, *inter alia* to the objection that it would leave several of the provinces with large deficits. Fourthly, we considered, bu t rejected, the proposal that provinces which had a surplus should temporarily help others as being cumbrous and impracticable". (*Ibid.* p. 133).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
3. i.e.; 13 per cent of the gross available surplus.
4. *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, p. 134.
5. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

The Meston Award— The authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms had taken into account both revenue and expenditure while fixing normal expenditure, though they had accepted the normal revenue figures, the Committee fixed the provincial contributions on a new principle, namely that of the increased spending power of each province under the new allocation of resources. The Committee, however, in applying this principle had regard to two broad considerations. First, that each province must be left with a certain reasonable working surplus. Secondly, that in no case should the contribution be such as to force the province to levy new taxes.[1]

In view of the two proceding limiting factors the initial contributions proposed by the committee were in some measure arbitrary because any equitable standard such as capacity to pay was subordinated to the existing financial position of each province. The following assessments which were later accepted by the Joint Select Committee were recommended.[2]

	Initial Contributions in Lakhs of Rupees		
Name of the Province	Increased spending power under new distribution of revenue	Contributions recommended by the Committee	Increased spending power to be left after contributions were paid
Madras	576	348	228
Bombay	93	56	37
Bengal	104	63	41
United provinces	397	240	157
Punjab	**289**	**175**	**114**
Burma	246	64	182
Bihar & Orissa	51	Nil	51
Central Provinces	52	22	30
Assam	42	15	27
Total	1,850	983[3]	867

1. *Report of the Financial Relations Committee*, pp. 5,6-7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
3. This was the deficit estimated by the Committee in the central budget for the year 1921-22. (*Ibid.*, p. 5)

Standard contributions— These initial contributions, which were to be only transitional, were far from ideally equitable. This was fully realised by the Committee, and it endeavoured to place the standard contributions on a more satisfactory, equitable and sound basis. It emphatically remarked that "to do equity between the provinces it is necessary that the total contribution of each province to the purse of the Government of India should be proportionate to its capacity to contribute".[1]

To put this principle into practice the Committee was faced with two major considerations. First, what was the total contribution of a province to the revenues of the central government ? Secondly, and this was a more puzzling consideration, what was the capacity of a province to contribute ? As regards the first riddle, the Committee observed that "the total contribution of a province to the purse of the Government of India will consist in future of its direct contribution towards the deficit, together with its indirect contribution (as at present) though the channels of customs, income tax, duties on salt, etc".[2] With regard to the second question the committee remarked that "the capacity of a province to contribute is its taxable capacity, which is the sum of the income of the tax payers or the average income of its tax payers multiplied by their numbers".[3]

An evaluation of the indirect contributions involved an exact mathematical calculation for which complete statistical information was not forthcoming and whatever information was available was not of much use.[4] Therefore, the Committee had to apply the concept of taxable capacity for fixing the contributions. The taxable capacity of a province was determined by its agricultural and industrial wealth and its possible future economic development.[5]

1. *Ibid.*, p.10.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
5. *Ibid.*, 11.

So, after careful examination of the problem from all angles the Committee recommended the following fixed ratio of standard contribution which each province was to pay to meet the deficit in the budget of the Government of India.[1]

Name of the Province	Percentage contribution to deficit
Madras	17
Bombay	13
Bengal	19
United Provinces	18
Punjab	**9**
Burma	6½
Bihar & Orissa	10
Central Provinces	5
Assam	2½

The Committee, in order to avoid sudden dislocation in provincial budgets, suggested an interval of seven years to let the provinces adjust their budgets to the new conditions. The initial, intermediate and ultimate ratios of contributions in the case of the Punjab were to be as follows[2] :—

Year	Ist	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
	18	16½	15	13½	12	10½	6

These recommendations of the Meston Committee with certain modification suggested by the Joint Parliamentary Committee were embodied in the Devolution Rules issued under the Government of India Act, 1919. The Meston Settlement was criticised in very strong terms both by the public and the provincial governments. The Punjab Government denounced it on the score that it was hard hit on account of the heavy contribution and that its remaining revenues did not leave enough surplus to develop its potential industrial activities.[3]

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
3. *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, III (Report of the Punjab Provincial Committee), pp. 435-6.

The early financial stringency in the Punjab—It had been hoped that the substantial initial surpluses, which the Punjab Government was to get according to the calculations of the Meston Committee, would enable ministers, when they took charge of transferred departments in 1920, to develop "nation building" objects, such as education and health entrusted to them without the imposition of additional taxation, at any rate in the earlier years.[1] But things turned out to be otherwise. Circumstances, over which neither the Government of India nor the provincial governments had any control, rendered the realisation of these hopes impossible. India, like every other country that had taken part in the First World War, was at the time of the introduction of the Reforms passing through an acute financial crisis. It had for several years concentrated its energies on the persecution of the war, and developments in all civil departments had been suspended or curtailed. There was, consequently, much reconstructive work to be done during the first few years after the termination of the war Salaries had also to be increased to meet the increased cost of living, while the instability of the currency and the fluctuations in prices were factors which impeded industrial and commercial development and seriously disturbed the financial situation. The Punjab Administration Report for 1920-21 stated that "the years 1914-15 to 1918-19 were years of enforced economy on account of war conditions".[2] The consequences of this combination of adverse circumstances become clear from the fact that in spite of having Rs. 140 lakhs in hand as cash balance and a net annual further gain of Rs. 59 lakhs, the first financial year after the introduction of the Reforms (1921-22) ended with a deficit of Rs. 205 lakhs of which Rs. 140 lakhs were met from the balance and the remaining Rs. 65 lakhs from an advance from the Government of India.[3] Next year (1922-23) there was again a deficit of Rs. 28 lakhs.[4] Thereafter, the financial position stablished but again in 1928-29, after five years of surplus budgets, there occurred a deficit of Rs. 58 lakhs. This was due to the world-wide economic depression which continued to affect the provincial budget upto the year 1932-33 when there

1. *Report of the Financial Relations Committee*, p. 5.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1920-21, p. 117.
3. *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 53.
4. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, pp. 94-5.

was a deficit of only Rs. 4 lakhs.[1] The total deficit during the five years amounted to Rs. 275 lakhs.[2] This was met from balance, extraordinary receipts comprising sale of waste land and Government estates and a loan of Rs. 28½ lakhs taken from the Government of India in 1931-32.[3] From 1933-34 onwards, however, the financial position again showed improvement.[4]

Abolition of contributions—The Central Government was also in financial difficulties in the years following the introduction of the Reforms. For five years in succession (1917-22) there was a deficit budget. The total accumulated deficit at the close of 1922-23 was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 100 crores, in spite of heavy taxation. In 1923-24 there was again of Rs. 4 5 crores which was largely met by increasing the salt duty.

In 1924 the Reforms Enquiry Committee, after referring to the grievances of the various provinces, recommended a revision of the Meston Settlement as soon as circumstances permitted.[5] When, therefore, the finances of the Central Government improved in 1925-26, substantial remissions were granted to the various provinces. Further improvement in the finances again made the extension of some relief possible in 1926-27. In 1927-28, the entire amount of the outstanding contributions was remitted and finally relinquished in 1928-29.

The contributions of the Punjab to the Central Government from 1921-22 to 1926-27 are shown below[6] —

1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
In Thousands of Rupees					
17,500	17,500	17,500	17,500	11,384	8,573

Division of financial resources between the centre and the provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935—The reforms of 1919 had given some measure of self-government to provinces

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, p. 98.
4. Punjab Government *Budget* for the years 1920-21 to 1938-39, "Accounts".
5. *Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee*, 1924, par. 53.
6. *S.A.B.I.*, 1920-21 to 1929-30, p. 284.

The Punjab was not entitled to a share in the jute tax as it did not grow that crop and it was also not given the annual cash subvention allowed to other provinces. The only benefit the Province derived as a result of Sir Niemeyer's recommendations was the consolidation and reduction of the debt amounting to Rs. 1.7 lakh, and Rs. 48 lakhs as share from income tax which was to accure in full after 10 years on the assumption that the amount surrendered by the Government of India was to be Rs. 6 crores (i. e. at 8 per cent as fixed by Sir Otto Niemeyer).[1]

Provincial grievances—As was to be expected, the publication of the Niemeyer Report raised an almost universal storm of protest in India. All the provinces, except Bengal which had been liberally treated, attacked the plan as a matter of course and complained against the unfair treatment in lengthy despatches addressed to the Secretary of State.

The Punjab Government made out a very strong case. It contended that the comparative stability of its revenues during the preceding three years was attributable to four main causes ; (i) a high standard of taxation, (ii) drastic retrenchment, (iii) the strictest control over new expenditure, (iv) favourable harvests.[2] The injustice done to the Punjab will become more evident if we consider the fact that out of the immediate relief amounting to Rs. 822 lakhs to be given by the Government of India to the provinces, the Punjab got Rs. 1.7 lakh or one-fifth of one per cent only. Again, out of a total relief to be given to the provinces which was estimated at Rs. 1,422 lakhs at the end of the ten years, the Punjab was to get only Rs. 49.7 lakhs or 3.5 per cent of the total.[3]

So for as immediate relief was concerned the position was actually worse than that because the Government of India were to withdraw an assignment of Rs. 7 lakhs which the Punjab received

1. India Government, *Correspondence Between the Local Governments, the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Recommendations of the Niemeyer Report*, 1936, p. 13.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 13
3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

previously on account of compensation for loss of excise duty on Punjab liquers consumed in Delhi and the N.W.F.P.[1] "Allowing for this, the proposals mean that not only will the Punjab start under the new constitution with no outside relief whatever, but to the extent of five lakhs will be helping Central Revenues. In contrast with this, every province in India will get immediate relief varying from the enormous sum of Rs. 243 lakhs in the case of Bengal, to Rs. 21 lakhs, in the case of the Central Provinces".[3] The Punjab Government put forward a few proposals to remedy this state of affairs, but the Secretary of State set aside all the claims remarking that "while I sympathise with much that Punjab Government says, I cannot refrain from observing that the case of that province--appears to have been somewhat exaggerated—that province alone of all provinces in India should receive no immediate assistance, except to a trifling degree through debt scheme. But I am not satisfied that these are sufficient grounds for giving special relief to that province which Sir Otto Niemeyer has not recommended".[3]

The protests and representations made by other provincial governments were also not heeded and Sir Otto Niemeyer's conclusions were accepted and April 1, 1937, was fixed as the date for the inauguration of provincial autonomy.

Working of the Niemeyer scheme—Though Sir Otto Niemeyer did not expect the provincial governments to obtain any share in the income tax until after five years from the inauguration of provincial autonomy, the realisation of the Railway surplus in 1937-38, together with the suspension of railway liablities and the improved revenue position of the Central Government enabled the assignment of income tax to the provinces under the Niemeyer Award to be begun with effect from the financial year 1937-38. On the basis of the revised estimates the amounts payable to the provinces were as fallows : Rs. 138 lakhs in 1937-38 ; Rs. 150 lakhs in 1938-39 and Rs. 279 lakhs in 1939-40. The share of the Punjab out of this was Rs. 10 lakhs, Rs. 12 lakhs and Rs. 22.32 lakhs respectively.[4]

1. *Ibid.*
2 *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4.. *S,A.B.I.*, 1929-1930 to 1938-39, pp, 294-99.

Concluding remarks—Under the Act of 1935 the Province came to possess an executive and a legislature having exclusive authority in a precisely defined sphere, within which it was now broadly free from the control of the Central Government and Legislature. Within the provincial administration, the abolition of the distinction between "reserved" and "transferred" subjects made the provincial ministers now generally responsible over the whole field of provincial government. This represents a fundamental departure from the reforms of 1919, under which the provincial government exercised a devolved and not an original authority. In the sphere of social administration as of economic development the provincial autonomy gave much greater power and responsibility, and also held out on opportunity for the promotion of 'nation building' subjects.

Sources of Revenue of the Punjab Government

In order to understand the financial position and policy of the Punjab Government and the effects of that policy on the life of the people, it is necessary to analyse the nature of the financial resources and expenditure of the Government. The major heads of revenue comprised land revenue, irrigation, income tax, forests, excise, and miscellaneous taxes and duties. Out of these forests and irrigation have already been dealt with in Chapter I and Chapter VI respectively. The rest are discussed in the following pages.

Land Revenue—Land revenue was of outstanding importance not only because it occupied a very prominent position as a source of revenue to the Government, but also because of the part played by it in the general administration of the country, the controversies that have raged around the principles underlying land settlement and assessment, and because it is the chief means by which agricultural classes contributed towards the expenses of Government".[1]

Until 1860 the land revenue demand was 2/3, 1/2, 1/3, or 1/4 of the estimated gross produce depending on the fertility of the soils.

1. Anstey, Vera, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

But no allowance was made for the cost of production.[1] In 1860 the Government fixed its maximum demand at one-half of the "net assets" which term was defined as "the average (annual) surplus which the estate may yield after deduction of the expenses of cultivation, including profits of stock and wages of labour".[2] By the end of the nineteenth century the rate charged was in many areas less than the maximum limit laid down, but great differences were still to be found from district to district.[3] So for everything in this regard had been done by executive instruction, but in 1928 a limit was fixed by statute at one quarter of the net assets and the rate of enhancement at resettlements was also limited.[4]

The peasantry was thus afforded a large measure of relief. But the critics of the British rule failing to find with the rates of assessment attacked the Government's method of arriving at the net assets. The net assets of a tract represented what the land of the tract might ordinarily be expected to fetch in rent *less* all costs of production incurred by the tenant equivalent to that rent. In other words net assets and normal rent *less* these costs were synonymous terms, and so defined could be called landlord's net assets.[5] But the costs of production were not calculated in detail, nor was it easy to do so. The share of the produce going to the tenant was roughly regarded as the cost of production. This was also considered equivalent to what the landlord might have incurred in earning his share. The landlord's net assets thus estimated were also regarded as the peasant proprietor's net assets. Professor Brij Narain, an eminent Punjabi economist, contended that the former's net assets were higher than the latter's who was thus a constant loser. On the contrary, the official view tried to prove by statistical data based on the farms managed by the Department of Agriculture that the landlord's net assets were not higher than the owner-cultivator's.[6] Professor Narain alleged that the figures had been cooked and had no value at all. As regards his criticism the whole issue hinged upon the question of rates of wages in

1. Punjab Government, *Report of the Punjab Land Revenue Committee*, 1938,pp. 1-2.
2. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 141.
3. *Report of the Punjab Land Revenue Committee*, p. 2.
4. *Punjab Land Revenue Act, 1928*, Section 48-B.
5. *Report of the Punjab Land Revenue Committee*, p. 31.
6. See Board of Economic Inquiry, *Farm Accounts in the Punjab*, 1926-27 to 1936-37.

calculating the cost of production. The Government farm allowed Rs. 120 per adult worker per annum.[1] Professor Narain, while agreeing with this figure for the years of economic depression, fixed the wage at Rs. 225 for pre-depression period or 87 per cent higher than Rs. 120, because the predepression prices were 87 per cent higher than they were during the depression.[2] But his assumption was unjustified because although wages are sensitive to prices they proverbially lag behind.[3] Thus so far as actual accounts of the Government farms were concerned he could not controvert his opponents. But he was justified in two respects. First, these accounts related to conditions in certain areas and could not be regarded as representative of the whole of the Province. Secondly, the actual rents charged by the landlords must have been much higher than true rental values, as there was an excessive demand for land.[4]

(i) **Term of settlement**—The first regular settlement was made by the British after the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) in the districts south of the river Beas and the term of the settlement was fixed at thirty years. But after the annexation of the Province to the British Indian empire in 1849 the districts to the north of the Beas were settled for a period of ten and then twenty years. Gradually twenty to thirty years was regarded as a fairly suitable period except in the new canal colony areas where a shorter period was perforce needed in view of their undeveloped state.[5] During the reforms period a very strong demand in favour of a longer period manifested itself in the Punjab Lagislative Council and in 1928 the term of settlement was fixed by statute, for all but undeveloped tracts, at forty years.[6]

(ii) **Fixed and fluctuating land revenue**—Land revenue was fixed as well as fluctuating. In the former case, which was of

1. *Report of the Punjab Land Revenue Committee*, p. 39.
2. Brij Narain, *Agricultural Worker and the Punjab Land Revenue Committee*, n.d. p. 10.
3. *Report of the Punjab Land Revenue Committee*, p. 15.
4. Institute of Agrarian Reforms, *Land Revenue Reform in the Punjab*, n.d., p. 10.
5. Punjab Government, *Punjab Settlement Manual*, 1930, pars. 45 to 86 C.
6. *Ibid.*, par. 86 C.

course the normal one, it did not very during the whole period of the settlement except in accordance with the elaborate rules governing progressive assessments, suspensions and remissions due to natural calamities, etc. Under the fluctuating system, which was introduced in the 1870's, the assessment varied with the condition of crops. If there were no crops, there was no assessment and if they failed to mature to a certain standard, the demand was reduced. The system suited best those tracts where harvest conditions were very uncertain. Experience revealed that the system was especially useful to the canal-irrigated tracts, particularly in new colonies which were still under development. Wider extension of canal irrigation, therefore, led to a wide extension of the fluctuating system of land revenue.[1] In 1938 it yielded Rs. 243.4 Lakhs as compared with Rs. 215.97 lakhs yielded by the fixed system of land revenue.[2]

(iii) The Sliding Scale System—In the twenties of the present century there occurred great agitation among the peasantry to get reduced the land revenue and in certain places to refuse payment altogether. This was partly due to the Indian National congress's programme of provoking the cultivators to refuse payment and partly due to the disastrous fall in the prices of agricultural products and the consequent inability of the cultivator to pay his dues, especially in those districts which had been reassessed during the boom years following the termination of the First World War.[3] The feelings of the cultivators were faithfully reflected by resolutions in the Punjab Legislative Council demanding immediate help to the cultivators. Women sold their ornaments to enable their men folk to fulfil the pressing demand of the Gonernment assessment and to meet expenditure on other household necessaries.[4] The situation thus justified a close examination and immediate attention.[4] The Government made a real and honest attempt by granting remissions and suspensions and in 1930 31 alone over Rs. 1 crore were remitted.[5] As a result

1. *Ibid.* pars. 51, 59-62, 72, 463-80.
2. *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab for 1938-39*, pp. 7-8.
3. *P.A.R.*, 1930-31, "General Summary", pp. 10-11.
4. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Sir Henry Craik (Finance Member) on 8-3-1931,
5. *P.A.R.*, 1930-31, p. 70.

the agitation "by mid summer, settled down in most places".[1] Thus the effect of the trouble was removed and the cause which was responsible for this was removed by the introduction of Sliding Scale System.

As matters stood, it was decided to continue temporary relief to the cultivators of those districts which had been assessed when the prices were high, while for the districts which were due for reassessment, a new system called the 'Sliding Scale System' was introduced for meeting all fluctuations of prices. The system was first introduced in Montgomery and Layallpur districts in 1930. This is no place at which to describe the machinery of the whole system. Suffice it to say that the object of the system was to "enable Government to pitch its demand high enough to take into account the possibility of prices rising to the average level of the last twenty or thirty years, and mean while to adjust this demand at each harvest to current prices".[2] The effect of the working of the Sliding Scale System in Layallpur district is shown below, the figures being for 1937.[3]

Settlement demand as it would have been if the district had not been reassessed in 1935-37	Actual demand	Percentage remitted in terms of column 1 and 2
1	2	3
Rs. 69 lakhs	Rs. 61 lakhs	11

The result will become clear if we take into account that the new settlement represented an increase of about 20 per cent on the old.[4]

(iv) Punjab Land Revenue Committee—Another direction in which the burden of the peasantry could be lightened was considered by the Punjab Land Revenue Committee. This Committee was appointed in 1937 under Mr. M.L. Darling, Financial

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Report of the Punjab Land Revenue Committee*, p 4.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

Commissioner of the Punjab, to report, among other things, on the suitability of any practical scheme by which the principles of income tax assessment could be applied to the assessment of land revenue. The Report of the committee was published in 1938.

The Committee first examined the proposal suggested by certain people for the complete exemption of uneconomic holdings from land revenue.[1] The step was, however, not recommended by the Committee on the score that it would mean encouragement to further sub-division and fragmentation and also some loss to the Government without any material benefit to the cultivator because past experience had shown that increased spending power was swallowed up by an increase of population.[2]

The Committee recommended that in future settlements the assessment of an owner paying not more than Rs. 25 should be reduced by a quarter, and temporary relief should be given in the shape of reduced land revenue for five years to all cultivators who till the land themselves and pay less than Rs. 25 as land revenue.[3]

The Committee also devised a system of temporary surcharge on the larger owners for five years only in the first instance on the following lines[4]—

Those paying land revenue over	Annas in a Rupee	Per cent increase
(a) Rs. 250, but not more than Rs. 500	1	6¼
(b) Rs. 500, but not more than Rs. 1,000	2	12½
(c) Rs. 1,000, but not more than Rs. 5,000	3	18¾
(d) Over Rs. 5,000	4	25

1. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 123 (9).
3. *Ibid.*, pars. 134-42, 145.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

The proposal of the Committee were, however, not endorsed by experienced administators like Mr. H. Calvert and others who strongly advised the Government to maintain the status quo.[1] The Government, too, did not aceept the recommendations.

(v) Taxation of agricultural incomes— The advantages of taxing agricultural incomes are quite obvious. They tend to distribute tax burden equally between different classes, agricultural and non-agricultural, and can be a great instrument of minimising the inequality of tax burdens between the cultivating classes and landlords. In view of this, the most important gap in the financial system was exemption of agricultural income from income tax. Although the Government of India Act, 1935, had empowered the provinces to impose this tax, if they so desired, such a course was never adopted in the Punjab.

(vi) Total land revenue—The followlng figures shows the amount of income derived from land revenue.[2] The abrupt fall after 1929-30 was due to the economic depression, which effected the land revenue of the Punjab till the year 1932-33.

Year	Total Land Revenue in Rupees	Year	Total Land Revenue in Rupees
1901-02	2.62 crores	1934-35	4.95 crores
1904-05	2.88 ,,	1935-36	5.35 ,,
1910-11	3.19 ,,	1936-37	5.34 ,,
1920-21	4.90 ,,	1937-38	5.31 ,,
1925-26	5.21 ,,	1938-39	5.05 ,,
1927-28	5.21 ,,		
1929-30	5.24 ,,		
1930-31	4.64 ,,		
1931-32	4.77 ,,		
1932-33	4.84 ,,		
1933-34	5.13 ,,		

1. *Ibid.*, "Written Statement of H. Calvert", pp. 205-6
2. Board of Economic Inquiry, *Agricultural Statistics*, 1901-2 to 1935-36, p. 10; 1936-37, p. 8; 1939-40, p. 11.

Income Tax—Another important source of revenue was the tax on incomes other than agricultural. How it was shared between the central and the provincial governments has already been discussed Here we shall only confine our study to the structure of the system.

Income tax had a long and chequered history. It was first imposed in India in 1860 to meet the financial deficit caused by the Great Revolt in 1857 and was levied at the rate of four per cent on all incomes of Rs. 500 and above. Many changes were made from time to time in the system and under the Income Tax Act of 1886 a tax was imposed on all incomes derived from sources other than the agriculture. Under the Act a tax of 4 pies in the rupee was levied on all annual incomes between Rs 500 and Rs. 2,000 derived from salaries and interest on securities, while on incomes over Rs. 2,000 and on all profits of companies the tax was 5 pies, there being no further gradation of the tax. Similar incomes derived from other sources were taxed at practically the same rates, charities and religious endowments being exempted.[1]

In 1903 the minimum taxable income was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000.[2] In 1916 the rate at which income tax was to be paid was made progressive on incomes exceeding Rs. 5,000, the rate ranging from six pies to one anna in the rupee.[3] In 1917-18 a graduated super tax was levied in addition to the income tax on incomes above Rs. 50,000. In 1919 the free minimum income was raised from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 and Excess War profits tax was levied for one year on incomes exceeding Rs. 30,000 save agricultural incomes, incomes of professional classes and of public servents.[4] The scale of progression both in the case of ordinary income tax and super tax was raised in 1921 and again in 1922 and 1930. In 1931 the free minimum income was lowered to Rs. 1,000 The rates on smaller incomes and in surcharges were reduced in 1935-36, but the free minimum income was again raised to Rs. 2,000 in 1936. This system was known as the 'step' system in contrast with the 'slab' system, which was introduced in 1939.

1. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 97.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *P.A.R.*, 1917-17, p. 55.
4. *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 113.

Under the former, tax was charged at the same rate on the whole income, while under the latter progressive rates were applied to successive slabes of income.

The rates of income tax under the 'slab' system in the case of every individual, Hindu Undivided Family, unregistered firm and other associations of individual were,

	Rate per rupee
(a) On the first Rs. 1,500 of total income	Nil
On the next Rs. 3,500 ,, ,, ,,	9 pies
On the next Rs. 5,000 ,, ,, ,,	1 anna 3 pies
On the next Rs. 5,000 ,, ,, ,,	2 annas
On the balance of total income	2 annas 6 pies

and

(b) in the case of companies and registered firms, whatever their total income, the rate was two annas and six pies in the rupee.

The rates of super tax for assessees other than companies were as follows :—

	Rate per rupee
(a) On the first Rs. 25,000	Nil
On the next Rs. 10,000	1 anna
On the next Rs. 20,000	2 annas
On the next Rs. 70,000	3 annas
On the next Rs. 75,000	4 annas
On the next Rs. 15,0000	5 annas
On the next Rs. 15,0000	6 annas
On the balance of income	7 annas

and

(b) the rate was 1 anna in the rupee in the case of every company on the whole of its total income.[1]

The 'slab' system, thus tended to adjust the various catagories of income tax payers so as to charge more from the wealthy minority while giving relief to the small man.

1. *Central Budget* for 1939-40, pp. 51-2.

The amount of revenue collected from taxes on income in various years is given below.[1] The fluctuations were due to the share assigned to the Punjab from time to time. In 1920-21 the revenue derived from income tax was exceptionally high, owing to the post-war boom, but thereafter it declined as a result of the economic depression.

year	Rupees	year	Rupees
1901-02	14.3 lakhs	1925-26	38.2 lakhs
1905-06	12.3 ,,	1930-31	20.1 ,,
1910-11	15.6 ,,	1931-to 1936	Not available
1916-17	24.6 ,,	1937-38	10 lakhs
1920-21	65.8 ,,	1938-39	12 ,,
		1939-40	22.32 ,,

Excise—Another important source of income was excise. The excise revenue in the Punjab was derived from the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, hemp and drugs.[2] It was levied in the form of a duty on manufacture and fees on sale licenses. The major portion of the excise revenue was derived from 'country spirit' (spirit made locally in imitation of foreign liquor).

(i) Excise policy of the Government— In 1901-2 the gross excise revenue was Rs. 25 lakhs and gross expenditure Rs. 82,667.[3] The revenue rose by leaps and bounds and the net income from excise was Rs. 116 lakhs in 1921-22.[4] Whether this astounding increase of net revenue is to be looked upon as an index of growing drunkenness was a matter of bitter controversy. It was commonly held that the Government fostered liquor traffic for the sake of of revenue.[5] The Government on the other hand explained it as being mainly the result of higher rates of excise duties and a strict control, though it was also suggested that some of the

1. Compiled from the annual *Punjab Administration Reports* and *S.A.B.I.* 1929-30 to 1939-40.
2. The revenue from opium and imported spirit was included in the central budget. (*P.A.R.*, 1901-2, p. 140).
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-1.
4. Punjab Government, *Budget* for the year 1925-26, p. 8.
5. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 302-3.

increase was due to the expansion of population and greater prosperity of the people, especially agricultural classes, among whom the habit of drinking was most rampant.[1] During the period of economic depression, the excise revenue fell considerably and was only Rs. 92 lakhs in 1932-33.[2] Thereafter it again rose gradually.[3] The annual income from excise on an average between the years 1925 and 1935 was Rs. 109 lakhs and it formed 10 per cent of the total provincial revenue. The revenue from the excise in 1937-38 and 1938-39 was Rs. 107 lakhs and 101 lakhs respectively.[4]

Nevertheless, the Government was well aware of the significance of the contribution of excise revenue to the provincial finances and always wanted to drive the maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption taking care at the same time not to encourage illicit distillation.[5] Discouragement of drunkenness formed a definite part of the policy of the Punjab Government after the Reforms of 1919 and one of the most effective methods adopted to check consumption was to increase the still head duty per gallon on country spirit. The fee for vend was also increased. The total tax both in the form of duty and vend fees on country spirit which had been Rs. 4 in 1908-9 had risen to Rs. 6.56 in 1939.[6] The problem was also attacked by reducing the number of country spirit shops from 1250 in 1901-2 to 741 in 1938-39.[7]

There was also a fall in both absolute and average consumption of country spirit. Thus in 1912 and 1939 the absolute consumption was 4.19 lakh gallons and 3.99 gallons respectively and the average consumption for 100 of the population, 2.14 gallons and 1.4 gallons respectively.[8]

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1. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, dated March 8, 1934.
2. *S.A.B I.*, 1923-24 to 1932-33, p. 291.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Punjab Government, *Budget* for the year 1939-40, p. 16; 1940-41, p. 12.
5. *P.A.R.*, 1921-22, II. p. 58.
6. *Ibid.*, 1908-9, p. 35; *Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab*, 1938-39, p. 5.
7. *Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab*, 1901-2, p. 5; 1938-39, p. 5.
8. *Ibid.*, 1912-13, pp. 4-5; 1938-39, p. 5.

(ii) Hemp Drugs— The policy of the Government outlined above was also applied to the hemp drugs i.e. *ganja*, *charas* and *bhang*. Thus whereas the average taxation per seer on all discription of hemp drugs in the Punjab in 1913-14 was Rs. 6.3, it was raised in 1934-35 to Rs. 46.66 or by more than 700 per cent.[1]

The case for total prohibition of liquor consumption— "In examining the principles of the liquor excise policy of a government two views are commonly met with: those which advocate total prohibition, and, secondly, those which support modified prohibition so that the licensed vendor may not be replaced by illicit distillers and smugglers".[2] This was the exact position in the Punjab. The first view was held by some of the leaders of the Non-cooperation movement, who wanted to intensify anti-government activity.[3] This agitation against liquor first started in 1921 as a result of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-cooperation programme and was "promoted in the main by picketing, intimidation personal appeal, and on occasion, by restraint with violence".[4] The movement spread like wild fire in all the districts of the Punjab and was at its zenith early in 1922.[5] But soon the enthusiasm called down because the programme of prohibition was incompatible with the general backwardness of the rural population among whom the habit was more common.

The second view was held by the Government who aimed at securing the highest among of revenue from the lowest amount of consumption. What steps were taken in this direction and the degree of success attained have already been noticed. Only one point viz., that of total prohibition remains to be considered. The first difficulty of the Government to take this step was the question of the heavy loss of revenue and excessive expenditure on

1. Government of India, *Memorandum on Excise (Hemp Drugs)*, *Administration of India* for 1934-35, "Statement (i)".
2. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
3. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, II, p. 301; India Government, *India in 1922-23*, p. 228.
4. Treveskis, *op. cit.* II, p. 302. "Cases of personal intimidation occurred at Lyallpur, where one Ganesh was paraded in public on a donkey with blackened face and a garland of shoes". (*Ibid*).
5. *India in 1921-22*, p. 225.

preventive establishment to put down smuggling and illicitdistillation.[1]

Other sources of revenue—

Stamps—Stamp revenue was derived from judicial and commercial stamps. The former represented fees on plaints and other documents in civil and criminal courts, while the latter represented duties on commercial transactions recorded in writing such as conveyances regarding the transfer of property, lands, bills of exchange and the like.[2] The revenue from stamps was Rs. 38.38 lakhs in 1901-2.[3] It gradually rose to Rs. 81.73 lakhs in 1920-21 and to Rs. 121.03 lakhs in 1928-29.[4] It received a set back in 1929-30 owing to the general economic depression and continued to decline progressively, being Rs. 92.16 lakhs in 1935-36,[5] and Rs. 78.12 lakhs in 1938-39.[6] Apart from economic depression, the decrease was also due to fall in litigation following the introduction of debt legislation in the Province.[7]

(ii) **Registration**—The revenue from this head was akin to revenue obtained from judicial stamps and was derived from registration fees charged according to the value of the documents registered. Registration was compulsory in the case of documents relating to gifts and transactions in immovable property, and optional in the case of others. The revenue from this source was Rs. 23.20 lakhs in 1904.5,[8] Rs. 56.10 lakhs in 1920-21,[9] Rs. 83.80 lakhs in 1930-31[10] and Rs. 91.60 lakhs in 1937-38.[11]

(iii) **Other taxes and duties**—The revenue from this source was very small. Though under the Reforms of 1919 the Province

1. *Report on the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee*, 1924-25, I, pp. 185-8.
2. *P.A.R.*, 1923-24, p. 44; 1924-25, p. 70.
3. *S.A.B.I.*, 8th Issue, p. 210.
4. *Ibid.*, 1911-12 to 1920-21. pp. 156-7; 1928-29 to 1920-21, pp. 248-9,
5. Punjab Government, *Budget* for the year 1936-37, p. 12.
6. *Ibid.*, 1940-41, p. 12.
7. *Supra*, pp. 200-206.
8. *P.A.R.*, 1904-5, p. 41.
9. *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 106.
10. Punjab Government, *Budget* for the year, 1933-4, p. 10.
11. *Ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 12.

was empowered to impose "scheduled taxes", the source was not much utilized. For instance, succession or death duties could have been a lucrative source of income, but their imposition was not resorted to, though the Punjab Sources of Revenue Committee, 1931, had recommended its levy.[1] Another example is afforded by the Entertainment Tax. The imposition of this tax was advocated by the Indian Taxation Enqiry Committee[2] and latter by the Punjab Sources of Revenue Committee,[3] but the matter was deferred till 1936, when the duty was finally levied. In 1938-39 it yielded Rs. 18.28 lakhs.[4] The total receipts from "other taxes and duties," comprising receipts under the Punjab Tobacco Vend Fees, Electricity duties, etc., were Rs. 15,000 in 1934-35,[5] Rs. 1,16,000 in 1936-37,[6] Rs. 2,61,000 in 1937-38[7] and Rs. 2,81,000 in 1938-39.[8]

Growth of revenue—The following table shows the growth in the revenue receipts of the Punjab from 1921-22 to 1938-39.[9]

(*In lakhs of Rupees*)

Year	Amount	Year	Amount
1921-22	864	1930-31	1010
1922-23	1033	1931-32	961
1923-24	1022	1932-33	987
1924-25	1086	1933-34	1038
1925-26	1139	1934-35	1050
1926-27	1087	1935-36	1038
1927-28	1090	1936-37	1101
1928-29	1043	1937-38	1168
1929-30	1054	1938-39	1116

1. Punjab Government, *Report on the Punjab Sources of Revenue Committee*, 1931, pp. 11-13, 69, 81.
2. *Report of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee*, 1924-25, I, pp. 218-19.
3. *Report of the Punjab Sources of Revenue Committee*, pp 59, 61-3.
4. Punjab Government, *Budget* for the year, 1940-41, p. 41.
5. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, p. 12.
6. *Ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 12.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, 1940-41, p. 12
9. The table has been compiled from *Punjab Government Budget*, 1921-1939.

The figures show a striking growth in revenue receipts since the inauguration of the Montford Reforms. The low figures for the years 1931-34 were due to economic depression and to some extent were inevitable.

Expenditure of the Punjab Government

The major items of expenditure were police, law and justice, jails, general administration, expenses with regard to collection of revenue, pensions, furlough allowances, etc., and beneficent departments such as education, medical relief and public health, agriculture, irrigation and Public works, industry, co-operation, etc.

Growth of expenditure—The following table shows the growth of expenditure of the Punjab Government during the years 1921-22 to 1938-39.[1]

(*In lakhs of Rupees*)

Year	Amount	Year	Amount
1921-22	1,069	1930-31	1,098
1922-23	1,061	1931-32	1,029
1923-24	979	1932-33	991
1924-25	971	1933-34	1,004
1925-26	1,026	1934-35	1,007
1926-27	1,085	1935-36	1,040
1927-28	1,068	1936-37	1,070
1928-29	1,101	1937-38	1,136
1929-30	1,111	1938-39	1,161

Although every effort was made to restrict the growth of expenditure, this did not bear much fruit because retrenchment had its own limitations and could be carried to only a certain extent without sacrificing the efficiency in administration.[2] An increase in public expenditure in itself need not necessarily be a matter for regret and alarm, for unless money is freely spent on beneficent departments, the social and economic uplift of the people cannot be achieved. In regard to increase in expenditure

1. *Ibid.*
2. *P.A.R.* 1930-31, p. 12; 1931-32, pp. 13-14; 1932-33, p. 4

Mr.Gokhale had pointed out that "Everything depends in this matter on the nature of the purposes for which the increase has been incurred and the results produced by such outlay of public money. While increased expenditure in other countries, under popular control—has helped to bring increased strength and security to the nations, and increased enlightenment and prosperity to the people, our continually increasing expenditure has, under autocratic management, defective constitutional control and inherent defects of alien domination only helped to bring about constantly increasing exploitation of our resources, has retarded our national progress".[1]

Expenditure on beneficent departments—In 1921-22, the first year of the Reforms, the expenditure on beneficent departments was Rs 169 lakhs[2] and rose to Rs. 270 lakhs in 1927-28[3] and to Rs. 321 lakhs in 1929-30 [4] Thereafter it diminished due to economic depression which made the reduction of expenditure to some extent inevitable in view of the reduced revenue receipts. Thus, it fell to Rs. 309 lakhs in 1930-31[5] and to Rs. 257 lakhs in 1932-33.[6] Thereafter, it again expanded and stood at Rs. 267 lakhs in 1933-34,[7] Rs. 287 lakhs in 1936-37[8] and the record figure of Rs. 322 lakhs in 1938-39[9] giving an increase of 47.5 percent on the figure for 1921-22. But this expenditure, though it may appear to be excessive in itself, was only 27.7 percent of the total disbursement of the Punjab in 1938-39 when the expenditure on these departments was the highest, showing thereby that these departments were not adequately financed for launching ambitious schemes of economic advancement This fact was more than once echoed in the Legislative Council and later in the Legislative Assembly of the Province.

Expenditure on civil administration—In contrast to this, the expenditure on civil administration was enormous. It was Rs. 289

1. *Welby Commission, 1897*, "Written evidence of Mr. G.K. Gokhale".
2. Punjab Government, *Budget* for the year 1925-26, p. 9.
3. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, p. 13.
4. *Ibid.* 1933-34, p. 13.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.* 1935-36, p. 13.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 15.
9. *Ibid.*, 1940-41, p. 15.

lakhs in 1921-22[1] and rose to Rs. 303 lakhs in 1926-27[2] and Rs. 344 lakhs in 1930-31.[3] Thereafter, it had to be curtailed in view of the decreased revenue receipts and the recommendations of the Punjab Retrenchment Committee. It stood at Rs. 305 lakhs in 1932-33.[4] Since by then the provincial finances had again stabilised the expenditure on civil administration was increased to Rs. 308 lakhs in 1933-34,[5] to Rs. 320 lakhs in 1936-37,[6] and to Rs. 331 lakhs in 1938-39.[7] Thus it exceeded the expenditure on beneficent departments by only about Rs. 9 lakhs in 1938-39.

The enormous increase in the expenditure on civil administration during the period 1921-22 to 1930-31 and even afterwards was a never-ending subject of scathing criticism and hot discussion in the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of the Province. It is true that when the question of economy and retrenchment came before the Government, the beneficent departments were made the scapegoats and the axe of retrenchment fell on them invariably.[8] In defence of this policy, as already pointed out, it may be said that for an efficient administration there are definite limits which can be trespassed only at the sacrifice of certain amount of efficiency.

1. *Ibid.*, 1925-26, p. 9.
2. *Ibid.*, 1928-29, p. 9.
3. *Ibid.*, 1933-34, p. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 11.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 13.
7. *Ibid.*, 1940-41, p. 13.
8. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Speech of Mr. Zafrullah Khan on March 7, 1931; Punjab Government, *Report of the Retrenchment Committee*, 1931, pp. 9-51, 59.

GLOSSARY

Acre
A measure of land equal to 4840 square yards.

Ak
Calotropus procera.

Akali
A member of militant sect of the Sikhs. Literally meaning "an immortal".

Akhrot
Walnut.

Alwar
A kind of woollen cloth.

Anjuman
A Society.

Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam
Society for the protection of Islam.

Anjuman-i Islamia
Society of Islam.

Anna
The sixteenth part of a rupee.

Avatar or Avtar
Descent of deity to earth in incarnate form; incarnation, manifestation.

Bai't
Homage paid to a king or to a religious leader.

Baithak
A room in the home for the reception of guests; a sitting room.

Bajra
Spiked millet.

Bakain
Melia azedarachta.

Bakar Id
A Muslim festival celebrated in commemoration of Abraham's offering to sacrifice his son.

Band
An embankment of any kind, small or large.

Bar
An arid tract.

Barani
Dependent on rain; unirrigated.

Bari-bandi
A system under which canal water is distributed from a water-course amongst the villagers for irrigation purposes.

Batai
The system of farming where the rent is a certain proportion of the produce.

Benami
Fictitious.

Ber
Zizyphus jujuba.

Bhand
A mimic.

Bhang
Dried leaves of the hemp plant.

Bhangi
A sweeper

Bhut
A ghost.

Bidi or Biri
A type of cigarette in which tobacco is wrapped in a dry leaf

Blue Pine
Pinus wallichiana.

Boli
Two lines of rhyming verse.

Burqa
A cotton cloak laid from top to toe and there are tiny holes in front of the eyes so that the wearer can see others without being seen herself.

Chaddar
A large sheet ef cloth, used as a bed-cover or worn as a shawl.

Chamar
A tanner and leather-worker.

Charas
A resinous substance exuded by Indian hemp (*Bhang*) after spontaneous rupture of the bark just before the maturing of flowers. It was smoked as a narcotic.

Charel
A female ghost.

Chari
Great millet.

Charkha
A country-made Indian spinning-wheel.

Chauka
Kitchen.

Chaupal
Village meeting place, usually a simple building on a raised plinth with a similarly raised platform outside.

Chauser
A kind of game played with dice.

Chhimba
A washerman.

Chil or Chir pine
Pinus roxburgi.

Cho
Sandy bed of a hill torrent, generally dry except during monsoon.

Choli
A bodice.

Chuhra
A scavenger.

Chunariya or Chuni
A long scarf used by women as a head-dress.

Crore
Ten millions, one hundred lakhs.

Dai
A midwife.

Dain
A witch.

Dal
Pulse boiled with spice.

Damdupat
An ancient Hindu rule under which the interest on a loan cannot exceed the principal.

Darayi
Plain coloured silk cloth.

Daru
Pomegranate.

Darzi
A tailor.

Dasi
A slave girl.

Deodar
Cedrus Deodara.

Deohri
Porch.

Dhobi
A washerman.

Dhola
See Boli.

Dhoti
A piece of cloth tied round the waist and hanging down to the knees with the ends passed between the legs and fastened at the back.

Dhrek
Melia azedarachta.

Diwali
The Indian festival of lights celebrated in commemoration of return of Lord Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, from his exile and usually falling towards the end of October or beginning of November.

Doab
A territory lying between two rivers which join.

Dopatta
A long scarf used by women as a head-dress.

Dussehra
A Hindu festival commemorating the victory of Lord Rama over the forces of Ravana, celebrated by the burning of effigies of the latter, generally falling in October.

Ekka
A small one-horse Indian vehicle.

Faqir
A mendicant; a religious minded person devoted to mediation.

Farash
Tamarix articulata.

Fatwa
Decision given by Muslim judicial authority.

Gaddi
A tribe of shepherds belonging to Kangra district.

Ganja
Young female flowers of Indian hemp (*Bhang*). It was smoked as a narcotic.

Garloi
A coarse cotton cloth.

Ghagra
Cotton skirt worn by unmarried women.

Ghee
Clarified butter.

Gotra
A sub-division of a caste; a sub-caste.

Granth
Literally a book, here used for the sacred book of the Sikhs.

Gujri
A milkmaid.

Gur
Unrefined Indian sugar, jaggery.

Guru
A preceptor; the Sikhs had a hierarchy of ten Gurus beginning with Guru Nanak and ending with Guru Gobind Singh.

Gurudwara
A place of worship of the Sikhs.

Harijan
Literally a devotee of God, now applied to a member of the depressed classes in India.

Holi
A Hindu festival celebrated by the singing of songs and throwing of colour, etc., on each other, generally falling in March.

Hukka or Huqa
An Indian pipe and its apparatus by which tobacco is smoked through water.

Id-ul-Zuha
A Muslim festival observed in the month of Zilhij, of the Muslim calendar.

Imli
Tamarind

Jagir
An estate attached to a shrine.

Jal
Salvadora oleoides.

Janamashatmi
The eighth day of the dark half of the fifth month of the Hindu calendar, on which Lord Krishna was born.

Jand
Prosopis spicigera.

Jat Pat Torak Mandal
Organisation for the abolition of caste system.

Jehad
Religious war of Mohammedans against unbelievers.

Jin
A spirit, lower than angles, able to appear in human and animal forms, and having supernatural power over men.

Jowar or Juar
Great millet.

Julaha
A weaver.

Kallar
Alkaline incrustation on soil, also alkaline soil.

Kamin
A village menial.

Karil
Capparis aphylla.

Karma
One's past deeds.

Katik
A month of the Hindu calendar comprising 1/2 October and 1/2 November.

Khaddar
Coarse cloth manufactured from the home-spun yarn.

Khair
Acacia catechu, useful to tanners.

Khalifa
A Caliph; particularly applied to a successor of Muhammad, here applied to the successor of Ahmad, the head of the Ahmadiya community.

Kharif
Monsoon or summer crop.

Khes
A kind of digured cloth, diaper damask.

Kikar
Acacia aribica.

Kikli
A dance performed in pairs by young girls. Before beginning the dance the two participants stand face to face with the feet close to each other's and their bodies inclined back. Standing in this pose the arms of the dancers are streched to the maximum and their hands are interlocked firmly. The dance is performed when the pairs maintaining this pose, wheel round and round in a fast movement at the same spot with the feet serving as pivotal points.

Kirpan
A sword.

Kumbh vivah
Marriage with a pot.

Kurta
A shirt.

Lac
A resinous incrustation formed on the bark of twigs of certain trees.

Lakh
A hundred thousand (100,000).

Lohar
A blacksmith.

Lohi
A coarse woollen blanket.

Lungi
A turban of cotton with silk borders.

Mahant
A head priest of a gurudwara.

Majhla
A sheet of cotton cloth wrapped round the loins, reaching the ankles.

Malan
A female gardner.

Malba
Fund out of which village expenses are defrayed.

Marla
1/60th of an acre.

Mash
Phaseolus radiatus.

Maulvi
A Muslim prelate.

Maund
A measure of weight of 82.2/7 lbs. and divided into 40 seers.

Mochi
A leather-worker.

Mohalla
Sub-division of a town or a big village, corresponding to the "quarter" of an English town.

Moth
Phaseolus acontifolius.

Mukhtar
An Attroney-General.

Mullaha
A Muslim prelate.

Musal
A wooden pestle.

Nai
A barber.

Namada
A coloured felt.

Naqara
A kettle-drum.

Naqqal
A mimic.

Nat
An acrobat.

Neem
Melia azedirachta.

Nikah
The marriage verse read at a Muslim marriage

Nikah Sani
Second marriage.

Orhni
A long scarf used bywomen as a head dress.

Panchayat
(Council of five), Council of Elders, heads of families, formerly the managing body in any landlord (joint) village now applied to any body of arbitrators.

Panches
The members of a Panchayat.

Pashmina
A kind of fine wool; woollen goods.

Pathan
A Muslim tribe of great importance in the North-West Frontier Province, though not very numerous in the Punjab.

Patni
Wife.

Pattu
A coarse woollen cloth woven in the hills; a coarse woollen blanket.

Patwari
A village revenue accountant and recorder of rights in land.

Penja
A caste whose trade is to gin cotton.

Phulahi
Acacia modesta.

Pice
One fourth of an anna.

Pie
One twelfth of an anna.

Pir
A Muslim saint.

Purdah
Literally a veil; metaphysically, seclusion of women.

Puri
A thin unleavened cake of wheat flour fried in clarified butter.

Qawali
Singing and playing, here a devotional song.

Quran
Sacred book of the Muslims, collection of Mohammed's oral revelations written in Arabic.

Rab
Partly boiled and concentrated cane juice fit for making sugar.

Rabi
Winter crops.

Ram Naumi
The ninth day of the bright half of Chaitra, of the Hindu Calendar, on which Lord Rama the hero of Ramayana, was born.

Randee
A woman of ill-fame; a prostitute.

Reh
See Kallar.

Rupee
The unit of Indian currency and untill 1957 divided into sixteen annas, sixty-four pice and one hundred and ninety-two pies. The contraction to denote rupee is "Rs." placed before the figure.

Sabha
A society.

Sag
Boiled greens, made of the leaves of rape, gram, etc.

Samaj
A Society.

San hemp
A lenguminous fibre (Crosalari juncea).

Sarangi
A stringed instrument played with a bow.

Sard Khana
A cool room.

Sari
Dress worn by Hindu ladies like a narrow shawl, but long enough to envelop the whole figure and make any other dress unnecessary.

Sarson
Indian colza.

Sati
Voluntary burning of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre.

Sawaraj or Swaraj
Self-government, independence.

Seer
1/40th of a maund.

Senji
Indian clover.

Shalwar
Loose baggy trousers worn by women.

Shar's
An equity; the precepts of Muhammad.

Sharbat
Water (nearly) saturated with sugar, this combined with flavouring as beverage.

Shariat
The canon law of Islam.

Shastras
The sacred Hindu writings.

Shawl
Rectangular garment, often square to be folded into tringle, chiefly worn by women as outer covering for shoulders.

Shisham
Dalbergia sisoo.

Silver fir
Abies webbiana.

Spruce
Picea morinda.

Susi
A smooth cloth with coloured stripes used for women's trousers.

Swadeshi (movement)
Swadeshi means "own country". The movement was one advocating the use as far as possible, of Indian goods only, and for developing manufacturers in India, to make this possible.

Tahmad
See Majhla.

Tara Mira
Rochet (Bruca sativa).

Teli
An oil-presser.

Thikri Pehra
A system under which villagers perform the duties of watchmen.

Til
Sesamum indicum.

Tonga
See Ekka.

Toria
Indian rape.

Tulsi
Holi Basil.

Tum tum
A horse-carriage.

Upanishad
Each of a series of Sanskrit philosophical treatises forming a division of the Vedas.

Varuna
Colour, class.

Vasant Panchmi
A seasonal festival of India marking the decline of severe winter and heralding the advent of spring, falling generally towards the end of the January or the beginning of February.

Vedas
Ancient Hindu scriptures written in old form of Sanskrit.

Veer or Vira
Brother.

Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha
Society for promoting widow remarriage.

Vishnu Purana
The chief Purans (Sanskrit sacred poems) are 18, grouped, into 3 divisions : (i) Rajsa exalting Brahma, (ii) Sattvika exalting Vishnu and (iii) Tamasa exalting Siva. (By some Puranas are divided into 4, and by others into 6 groups)

Zanana
The part of the house reserved for women in the Muslim families.

APPENDIX

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE PUNJAB

The Punjab was annexed to the British Indian empire on March 30, 1849. The districts of Hazara, Peshawar and Kohat, the Bannu and Marwat tahsils of Bannu district, and the Tank, Kulachi and Dera Ismail Khan tahsils of Dera Ismail Khan district, with a total area of 13,077 square miles, were separated from the Punjab on October 25, 1901, and constituted into the North-West Frontier Province. With the transfer of the headquaters of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, the Delhi enclave consisting of the tahsil of Delhi, together with a small portion of the Balabhgarh tahsil of the old Delhi district, was separated from the Punjab and constituted into a separate Delhi Province on April 1, 1912.

The Punjab included two classes of territory—that belonging to the British Crown and that in the possession of the Feudatory Chiefs of the Punjab.

The British Punjab was divided into five main areas, each administered by a Commissioner. These areas were further divided into districts. There were 29 such districts in the Province. The following were the administrative divisions with the districts under each division before the partition of the Punjab in 1947—

Ambala Division	Jullundur Division	Lahore Division
1. Hissar	1. Kangra	1. Lahore
2. Rohtak	2. Hoshiarpur	2. Amritsar
3. Gurgaon	3. Jullundur	3. Gurdaspur
4. Karnal	4. Ludhiana	4. Sialkot
5. Ambala	5. Ferozepur	5. Gujranwala
6. Simla		6. Sheikhupura

Multan Division	Rawalpindi Division
1. Montgomery	1. Gujrat
2. Lyallpur	2. Shahpur
3. Jhang	3. Jhelum
4. Multan	4. Rawalpindi
5. Muzaffargarh	5. Attock
6. Dera Ghazikhan	6. Mianwali

The princely States had an area of 37,699 square miles. The States varied in size and importance from the principalities of Patiala and Bhawalpur, with areas of 5,412 and 15,000 square miles respectively, to the tiny State of Bija with an area of 4 square miles only. The following Punjab States had political relation with the Punjab Government—

1. Dujana
2. Pataudi
3. Kalsia
4. Simla Hill States (19 separate States grouped under this head).

The following Punjab States had political relations with the Government of India through the Agent to the Governor-General :

1. Loharu
2. Sirmoor
3. Bilaspur
4. Mandi
5. Suket
6. Kapurthala
7. Malerkotla
8. Faridkot
9. Chamba
10. Patiala
11. Jind
12. Nabha
13. Bahawalpur

} Also known as Phulkian States

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