

MUSLIM MYSTICS OF THE PUNJAB AND THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT¹

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Muslim mystics² of the Punjab participated in the Pakistan movement prominently at grass-root level during the last phase of the Movement. This research seeks what role mystics had played in reorganization of the Muslim League in the Unionist led province-the Punjab, what strategies had been adopted by them to popularize the cause of Pakistan among masses and how they proved themselves as powerful force during 1946 elections and in 1947? The research finds that the Muslim mystics of the Punjab adopted various methods such as reorganization of the Muslim League, large-scale mass contact campaign, establishment of the local organizations and *madrasahs*, publication of local newspapers, led a large-scale election campaign, issued a lot of *fatawas* (verdicts) etc. They utilized their deep influence particularly among rural masses and generally among urban Muslims of the province to achieve Pakistan. This study also examines the extent that mystics were faithful to the cause of Pakistan. This paper is an attempt to refute an existing concept that a large number of mystics became part of the Pakistan movement in reaction to Deobandi³ influence. Ian Talbot believes that mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* (caretaker of the shrines of sufis) developed the belief that in case of establishment of Pakistan, their position would be stronger in the society and they would be immune to *Deobandi* criticism.⁴ The research discovers that the most of the mystics of *Chishtiyah* order and to some extent, *Naqshbandiyah* order, in Punjab, had already adopted anti-colonial stance and with the passage of time, they openly stood beside the Muslim League for the separate homeland.

This paper has been produced on the basis of the primary and secondary source material including Shamsul Hasan Collection, Quaid-i-Azam Papers, *Transfer of Power Papers*, *The Indian Annual Register* besides biographies and autobiographies of the mystics and secondary sources including newspapers, local history books, written in indigenous language, besides other books and research articles. It is further mentioned that the paper deals with the mystics, not with the Ulama, who openly fought against the British expansionism in 1857 and against Christian missionaries.⁵ Mystics were peace-loving, tolerant, non-political and spread message of love and their reaction to British colonial expansion was mostly passive. It was on the call of the Muslim League, generally, that they became active in politics.

The mystics, mystical-traditions, *khanqahs* (monasteries and shrines) and *sajjadah-nashins* (the incumbent successors of the original mystics) had a great impact on Muslim society in North West India. Islam, in reality, had spread in this region with large-scale efforts of sufis including Baba Fariduddin Masud Ganj-i-Shakar of Pak Pattan,⁶ Hazrat Abu'l Hasan Ali bin Usman Hujwiri known as Data Ganj Bakhsh of Lahore, Abu Muhammad Bahauddin known as Shaikh Bahawal Haq Zakariyya of Multan, Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bokhari of Uch and many others. The Sufi orders⁷ had given Islam its structure in the region, apart from the state.⁸ The shrines of saints, which were of two kinds; one with local influence and second with wider influence, had deep roots in the society. People had close affiliation with both kinds of shrines of saints on account of their belief that the blessings of a mystic is embodied in the space he has been buried.⁹

A large scale network of shrines, loosely linked with the Sufi-orders, had been widely spread in the colonial Punjab, particularly dense in south western Punjab.¹⁰ A shrine was center of religious activities for Muslims. Before establishment of the colonial rule, the *sajjadah-nashins* were, in one or the other way, intermediaries between Muslim masses and the rulers. Initially, the British tried to dissociate the state's official connections with the religious institutions and did not support the mosques, temples or shrines directly. At the same time, some mystics like Suleman Taunsvi prevented his followers from serving the British government. He found it better to die of hunger than to serve the British.¹¹ Shamsuddin Siyalvi had also similar views.¹² But in course of time, the British government felt need to develop a close link with rural hierarchies of mediation,¹³ due to its deep influence, to have control on rural areas. The role of sufis and *sajjadah-nashins* was revived i.e. mediation

between rural masses and the government. They had been given their place in *darbars* (courts) on divisional and provincial levels. Diwan of Pakpattan and *sajjadah-nashins* of the *darbar* of Baha ud din Zakriyya Multani are the best examples in this regard. Pirs had been rewarded with land grants also.¹⁴ The presence of *sajjadah-nashins* in the British *darbar* was a positive sign for the colonial government as it could easily effect their large followings.¹⁵ With this, new kind of relationship was developed between the state and the mystics. Makhdum Shah Ahmad in Multan supported the British in their war against the Sikhs. Nur Ahmad Chishti in Lahore taught colonial officers and praised the colonial government as it had returned the possessions to its custodians. This relationship was for political purposes. Overall, the British government established balanced and careful relations with the pirs and *sajjadah-nashins*.¹⁶ Whereas, mystics always kept religious identity of the Muslims alive through culture of *khanqahs*; holding ‘*urs*,¹⁷ *mela* (fair) and through other practices.¹⁸ That religious identity of the Muslims gradually transformed into idea of separate political identity in the twentieth century and the Sufi shrines served as hub of activities during Pakistan movement.

Sufis of the Punjab and the Pakistan Movement

Two Sufi orders i.e. *Chishtiyah* and *Naqshbandiyah* were more dominant in Punjab than other Sufi orders. Colonial Punjab experienced vibrant revitalization of *Naqshbandiya* activity,¹⁹ whereas Chishti order was already very strong. Sufis of the Punjab were the first to deviate from the existing tradition of supporting the British government. A leading group of sufis of *Naqshbandiyah* school of thought under Pir Jama‘at Ali Shah²⁰ of Alipur Sayyedan (1841-1951) and of Chishti Order under Pir Mehr Ali Shah²¹ changed general course of sufis during first half of the 20th century.²² *Chishti* sufis established Ahli-i-Sunnat wa Jama‘at in Urban areas unlike other orders. They also founded their own school, Dar ul Ulum Naumania in Lahore in 1887 and another Dar-ul-Ulum Hizb-ul-Ahnafin 1920s. Those urban *madrassahs* were closely associated with the rural shrines.²³ Sufi shrines of *Chishti* order were established in Taunsa (Dera Ismail Khan), Siyal Sharif (Shahpur district), Jalalpur (Jehlum district), and Golra Sharif (Rawalpindi district).²⁴ They gradually garnered support for Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to lead a movement for gaining a separate country for Muslims. Since beginning they, especially, Pir Mehr Ali Shah refused to play a subservient role for

the British government. He had strong belief in each Muslim's individual identity in the colonial society. He refused to accept grant of *Jagir* (land) and membership of *darbar* of the British King. He remained in touch with Alama Mohammad Iqbal who took guidance from him on Shaikh Akbar's philosophy.²⁵ The British commissioner of Rawalpindi met with Pir Mehr at the start of World War I and asked him to convince his followers to get commission in the British forces but he refused while saying that fighting from the side of British was an un-Islamic act so how he could do that?²⁶ He plainly refused while saying that if British government would vacate Holy places of Muslims only then he could ask Muslims to join the British army.²⁷

Pir Jama'at Ali Shah had profound belief in Sufi organization and in mediation.²⁸ He had strong leaning towards the Muslim League since its establishment and after its reorganization under the Quaid-i-Azam in 1936, he was exclusively devoted to the Muslim League. He wrote a letter to the Quaid and sent some gifts. He wrote that the nation had appointed him as *Amir-i-Millat* and the work which was being done by the Quaid, was *Amir-i-Millat's* responsibility but as he was weak and an old man of one hundred years, "This burden is now on yours' shoulders. I consider it my duty to help you. Me and my followers are your helpers. Be satisfied."²⁹ Later in his preaching and spiritual visits of the whole of India, he played key role to popularize the Muslim League elsewhere. In October 1938 he sent special message to his followers in NWFP to get membership of the Muslim League and to work hard to achieve Pakistan.³⁰

He had such a deep regard for Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah that he declared in front of hundreds of sufis, *Ulama*, *maulvis* and others, in the meeting of the All India Sunni Conference, held in April 1946 at Banaras; "Think of Jinnah Sahib whatever you like, but I say that Jinnah Sahib is a saint"³¹ And to prove his words he, there and then, quoted verses of the Holy Qur'an and sayings of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ). The evidences of Pir Jama'at Ali Shah's profound affiliation with the Quaid can be traced in the years before passing of the Lahore resolution. He sent one of his disciples Pirzada Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti with a letter to Quaid-i-Azam containing following words:

I am sending my disciple Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti to you with the permission of his father, so he may work for the movement as a common soldier and organize the Muslim League in his area. I consider him like my son. He is an eloquent speaker and writer. I have donated his life for Pakistan and the Muslim League.³²

Mr. Pirzada gave that letter to Quaid-i-Azam in April 1936 at Barkat Ali Mohammadan Hall in Lahore where the Quaid was present to attend the meeting of the working committee of Muslim League. The letter was read by Maulana Shaukat Ali to all, who were present. The Quaid was happy to read it and said that 'this young man is our front-man freedom fighter in district Sahiwal.'³³ Quaid said to all:

If spiritual leaders of Muslims of India like Amir-i-Millat are striving for the freedom of Muslims and donating the lives and capabilities of their dear ones to me, I believe that ten crore Muslims of South Asia will get independence.³⁴

Later Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti organized the Muslim League in Sahiwal District.³⁵ Pir Syed Mohammad Husain Shah Alipuri,³⁶ son of Pir Jama'at Ali Shah was also an active participant of the Pakistan movement. He regularly wrote in *Anwar-i-Sufia*, Kasur for Pakistan cause, which was a monthly magazine of sufis. It was the beginning of the new relationship between mystics and the Muslim League leadership.

a) Sufis and Reorganization of the Muslim League in the Punjab

Sufis of the Punjab started reorganizing the Muslim League in the province in 1936. It was a time when Punjab was a stronghold of the Unionist Party. Anwar Aziz Chishti reorganized the Muslim League in Sahiwal district in 1936. Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah,³⁷ Sufi of *Qadiriyyah Silsilah* from Mianwali, became a member of the Muslim League in 1936 and participated in 1940 session of the League. Mohammad Umer Berbalvi, *sajjadah-nashin* of Berbal Sharif³⁸ Sargodha got membership of the League in 1937. Khawaja Mohammad Qamar ud din Siyalvi established the Muslim League in District Sargodha in 1938. He was *sajjadah-nashin* of Dargah Siyal Sharif since 1929.³⁹ All such mystics had trust in the Quaid's leadership and had started work for Muslim League when its destination was still not clear and the Muslim League was not a strong organization in the Punjab.

The mystics supported the Muslim League and the Quaid at the occasion of passing the historic Lahore Resolution, later known, as Pakistan Resolution. Pir Syed Jama'at Ali Shah sent Pir Manki, Pir Zakori and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni to attend the session of the Muslim League in March 1940 on behalf of the All India Sunni

Conference. Pir Jama'at Ali Shah sent the message that 'the Muslim League is the actual Islamic party of *Musalman*s! Get membership of it.'⁴⁰ He further said, "*Faqir* along with nine crore Muslims of India, is with you, with heart and soul. I congratulate you on yours' this success and pray for high grades for you."⁴¹

A large number of Muslim mystics of the Punjab got membership of the Muslim League after passing of Lahore Resolution in 1940 as the objective of the Muslim League's movement was quite visible, then. Pirs of Multan, Jalalpur, Jehaniyan Shah, Rajua and Shah Jiwana joined the Muslim League between 1940 and 1945. Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah started work of popularizing of the Muslim League in Mianwali and surrounding areas under supervision of his spiritual leader (*Murshad*) Hazrat Khawaja Mohammad Qamar ud-Din Siyalvi. He wrote against Unionist Party and attracted common Muslims towards the idea of a separate homeland. He also delivered speeches in Kalra, the hometown of premier of the Punjab, Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana.⁴²

The Muslim League leadership, especially Quaid-i-Azam, formally approved of the suggestion to get cooperation from mystics on systematic basis in 1943. That was the first deliberate decision of the Muslim League. It officially requested all mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* to pray for the creation of a Muslim homeland and to mobilize their disciples (*Mureeds*) for the struggle of Pakistan.⁴³ That strategy enhanced its vote-bank with such a great speed that the British officials also got conscious of 'growing influence'⁴⁴ of the League.

It was after failure of Simla Conference in 1945 that the process of joining the Muslim League by the mystics had been expedited.⁴⁵ Pir Jama'at Ali Shah issued an impressive statement with the title of '*Tehrik-i-Pakistan and Respectable Sufis*.'⁴⁶ The crux of the statement was that the Quaid was the best lawyer of the Muslims and that the Muslim League was the only representative political party of the Muslims of India so all Muslims should be part of the struggle for Pakistan. While following his statement many *sajjadah nashins* and sufis expressed their leaning towards the League including Khawaja Ghulam Sadid ud din, *sajjadah-nashin* of Taunsa Sharif, Mian Ali Mohammad Khan, *sajjadah-nashin* of Bari Sharif and many others.⁴⁷

The entry of pirs besides landlords in the Muslim League had dramatic impact in the Punjab politics as it changed rural politics totally from pro-Unionist to pro-Muslim League and pro-Pakistan. These sufis and *sajjadah-nashins* participated in National level politics from the platform of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam, by joining it in 1945,⁴⁸ besides working

for the Pakistan cause on individual level. The Muslim League of Punjab established a *Masha'ikh* Committee exclusively for sufis and pirs. A lot of sufis and pirs, who had religious impact in the rural and urban society, were given membership of it.⁴⁹

Mian Bashir Ahmed in a letter to Jinnah wrote that the Muslim League's public meeting at Shakargarh in January 1945 was a historic one as it was attended by a large number of mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* besides landlords. He further wrote, 'meeting was a foundation stone in the history of the Muslim League as it included a large number of *zaildars* and *numberdars* who used to be considered traditional supporters of the Unionist Party.'⁵⁰ The political scenario in Punjab was near to change completely.

b) Mass Contact Campaign of Sufis

Mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* of the Punjab adopted different methods to popularize the Muslim League in the province. The methods or strategies which were adopted by them included issuing of pro-Muslim League statements, verdicts (*Fatawas*) in favour of Pakistan and the Muslim League, holding of conferences, public meetings, touring of different regions and convincing their followers to cast vote for the Muslim League. Some of them even had established small independent organizations which started work for the League and Pakistan.

Holding high-profile conferences to bring all sufis and other religious communities on the same page with the League proved to be a successful strategy. A general meeting of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam⁵¹ (JUI), held in Islamia College building Lahore on 14-16 September 1946, attracted spiritual leaders of Muslims in large numbers. Pir Jama'at Ali Shah addressed the gathering as the chair. He talked in favor of Muslim separation and announced that 'Pakistan War' was a war of Muslims against infidelity and was conflict between light and darkness. He asked Muslims to vote for the Muslim League and to realize its aim of Pakistan.⁵² A grand session of All India Sunni Conference was held in Banaras in 1946, to mobilize and demonstrate support for the demand of Pakistan on part of ulama and sufis from all over India. They made a pledge to make idea of Pakistan popular in the whole of India through mosques, their public dealings and through *khanqahs*. The main spiritual leaders who attended the session included Pir Jama'at Ali Shah, Maulana Abul Hasnat Qadri, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni and Maulana Saeed Kazmi. They also agreed to support and join Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani's JUI

so as to consolidate the ulama and sufis' support for Pakistan from a single platform.⁵³ Later Pir Jama'at Ali Shah visited as many areas as possible to canvass for the League.

i) Local Organizations and Urs

Some sufis established independent local organizations, besides getting membership of the League to enhance support for the cause of Pakistan. Pir Mohammad Fazal Shah of Jalalpur founded his own political party, *Hizbullah*. He created awareness among Muslims while visiting different parts of India.⁵⁴ Shah Maghfur ul Qadri, established *Ihya-i-Islami* in Bahawalpur to popularize ideology of the League in his region. He had a large number of his followers in Sindh also, and a sub-branch of *Ihya-i-Islami* with the name of *Tanzeem ul Masha'ikh* was established in Sindh. That organization worked hard to dilute the influence of the Congress from Sindh.⁵⁵

Generally during the period of 1945-1947, the mystics used Urs and other practices at shrines to popularize Pakistan's demand among the pilgrims. The most attractive places for this purpose were in Pakpattan, Kasur, Lahore, Golra Sahrif, Jalalpur Sharif, Siyal Sharif, Multan and many others.⁵⁶

ii) Madrassahs and Local Newspapers

The other methods to popularize Pakistan cause among masses, adopted by sufis, included establishment of Madrasahs and issuing of pro- Muslim League newspapers. Maulana Ahmad ud Din Gangvi established madrassah in his village Gangi of Miawali district to prepare his students for Pakistan cause.⁵⁷

Maulana Karam ud Din Dahir who did *bay'ah*⁵⁸ at the hands of Khawaja Mohammad Din Siyalvi served as editor of weekly magazine, *Siraj ul Akhbar* from Jehlum.⁵⁹ Hafiz Khuda Bakhsh started issuing a monthly magazine, *Yad-i-Khuda*, from his hometown Chiniot. Later it was published on weekly basis. Both the magazines raised voices against Hindu landlords and in favour of Pakistan and the Muslim League.⁶⁰

iii) Election Campaign and Fatawas

Elections 1945-1946 were the real test to achieve a separate homeland for Muslims of India and to show, 'where the balance of

power lies between the Unionist Party and the Muslim League.’⁶¹ All mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* had responded well to the call of the Quaid, “I now appeal to every *Musalman* to concentrate his or her energy and do his or her best to help, support and vote for the Muslim League official candidates ...”⁶² They left their seclusion, homes or isolation and took exceedingly active part to canvass for the Muslim League during the election campaign in 1946. They worked with such vigour that the British authorities were alarmed by the slogan ‘Islam in danger,’⁶³ raised by them.

District Sargodha was the most difficult constituency during elections as it was home town of the Tiwana family. Sufis especially Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah along with his spiritual guide Khawaja Qamar ud din Siyalvi⁶⁴ visited many areas of Sargodha. He was incharge of Tehsil Shahpur for propagation of the Muslim League ideology. He fixed a loudspeaker on Tonga and roamed around in streets and localities to convince many to caste vote to the League.⁶⁵ Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti campaigned for the League in Pakpattan as well as in surrounding areas.⁶⁶ Sahibzada Mohammad Umer Berbalvi campaigned entirely for the Muslim League candidate, Khan Bahadur Nur Khan, from his constituency in district Sargodha. Khizer Hayat Tiwana pressurized him while using local traditional tactics but he did not yield to pressure. In result, the Muslim League was colossally successful in district Sargodha due to efforts of mystics including Berbalvi, Khan Qamar ud Din Siyalvi, Pir Mohammad Shah Bhervi⁶⁷ and others.⁶⁸

Gilani Sufi family of Multan became part and parcel of the Pakistan Movement in 1945. Sufis of that family who prominently participated in politics for the national cause included Makhdum Syed Sadrudin Gilani, Makhdum Syed Sher Shah Gilani, Makhdum Syed Zain ul Abidin Gilani, Makhdum Syed Reza Shah Gilani, Makhdum Syed Willayat Hussain Gilani etc. The last one was president of Multan district Muslim League.⁶⁹ Mohammad Shah Bhervi worked in the constituency of Sheikh Fazal ul Haq Paracha. Makhdum Syed Raza Shah Gilani, son of Makhdum Syed Mohammad Sadr ud Din Gilani, worked in Multan during 1946 election campaign. Syed Zain ul Abidin Shah Gilani was president of the Multan Muslim League. Syed Sher Shah Gilani, a retired judge, was successful in 1946 elections.⁷⁰

In district Jhelum Pir Jama‘at Ali Shah visited whole of Jhelum Tehsil, contacted with his disciples (*mureeds*) directly and asked them to caste vote for the League candidate. Besides him, Pir Mohammad Fazal Shah Jalalpuri,⁷¹ Pir Mohammad Maqbool ur Rasul,⁷² and Maulana Al-Haj Mohammad Sarwar ud din Shaida⁷³ worked selflessly for the

success of the Muslim League. Pir Maqbool wrote letters personally to his followers and asked them to cast vote to the League candidate, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. He hosted Muslim students' delegations, which visited his area for election campaign. He also offered special prayers for the creation of the Muslim homeland.⁷⁴ Mohammad Shaida was general secretary of Rohtas Muslim League and was captain (*salar*) of Muslim National Guards of Rohtas. He further organized local branch of *Hizbullah* established by Hazrat Pir Fazal Shah, *sajjadah-nashins* of Jalalpur. He actively campaigned for the League's candidate in his area who was later successful with ninety-eight per cent votes.⁷⁵ Haji Meharban Ahmed Khan who belonged to Chishti sufi family of Shah Haroon Chishti, established Muslim League National Guards in district Jhelum.⁷⁶

Shah Maghfur ul Qadri⁷⁷ visited every nook and corner of Bahawalpur and other areas to canvass for the League in 1946. He always exhorted his followers to give high priority to their national cause.⁷⁸ Mian Ghulam ullah Sharaquri⁷⁹ was the first one in Sheikhpura district who held Muslim League's public gatherings, which later on, converted into a stronghold of the League. He campaigned for Mohammad Hussain Chatha, Muslim League candidate.⁸⁰ Maulana Ahmad ud Din Gangvi⁸¹ and Maulana Allah Yar Khan,⁸² sufis of Mianwali, worked for the League during 1946 elections. People of Jhang under different *sajjadah-nashins* participated in the Pakistan movement, especially during its last stage.⁸³

In district Rawalpindi *sajjadah-nashins* of Golra Sharif, Pir Syed Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi and his son Pir Syed Ghulam Muhiuddin Golrvi⁸⁴ ordered millions of their disciples to work and to vote to the Muslim League. They addressed the gatherings of common people at many places in this regard. Pir Fazal Shah worked in tehsil Gojar Khan.⁸⁵ Although, the leaders of the Unionist Party, Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana and his right hand man Allah Bakhsh Tiwana had great affiliation with Golra Sharif besides Siyal Sharif yet both the sufis supported and worked for the Muslim League to achieve the great national cause.⁸⁶

Pirs of Qadri *Silsilah's dargah* i.e. Pir Syed Mohammad Ghulam Shah, *sajjadah-nashin*, played important role in Shakargarh for the success of the Muslim League candidate, Chaudhary Abdul Ghafur.⁸⁷ In a similar way, pirs of *Naqshbandiyah* order from district Muzafrargarh arranged for formal prayers for the Muslim League's success and asked their disciples to support and cast vote for the League.⁸⁸ Pir Chishti Abdul Qadir from Kasur played similar role in Kasur. Moreover, he also served as head of National Guards, Kasur.⁸⁹

Some mystics even tried to convince the leadership of the Unionist

Party to work for Pakistan movement and to leave their Party. Pir Qamar ud Din, *sajjadah-nashins* of Siyal Sharif tried hard, addressed directly to Tiwana family and said to support and join the Muslim League but that family did not follow the advice. Pir Mehr Ali Shah also tried to do the same. He asked Khizr Hayat Tiwana to become part and parcel of the Pakistan movement but he did not listen to the advice.⁹⁰

The verdicts (*fatawas*) which were issued in favor of the Muslim League during election campaign helped it immensely to win the elections. Those were actually a landmark in the process of conversion of masses towards the League. For example, Pir Jama'at Ali Shah issued following Fatwa:

I have given fatwa that the Muslim who would not cast vote to the Muslim League, do not offer funeral prayer of that Muslim and do not bury him in Muslim graveyard ...⁹¹

Pir Fazal Shah Jalalpuri issued following statement:

Your vote is a national trust. You must cast for it the person who has capability to avail it and we have trust in the Muslim League so cast vote to the ML candidate or to those candidates who have support of the Muslim League.⁹²

Sometimes, verdicts (*Fatawas*) were published in form of booklets and posters in *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Dawn* or other newspapers. *Sajjadah-nashin* of the darbar of Hazrat Shah Noor Jamal, Syed Fazal Ahmad Shah issued:

I order all such people who are affiliated with my silsila that they must support ML to their best. All such people who will not act according to this announcement, they must understand that they will have no connection with my silsila. Signature: Fazal Ahmad Shah
*Sajjadah-nashin of Hazrat Noor Fazal.*⁹³

In a small book, published in *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Hazrat Shah Muqem Mujrabi of Hijra, mystic of Qadri Silsila had also issued a long fatwa. He appealed in *fatwa* that Muslims should struggle for the revival of the greatness of Mughal Raj. He ordered that all of his disciples should support the Muslim League unconditionally. He further said:

We can see the light clearly on the sky of slavery and cruelty. The promise which had been made by God in Surah Noor is to be fulfilled. If you love Islam, then do what had been advised by Iqbal.

Syed Imdad Ali Shah

Sajjadah-nashin of Shah Muqeen Mujravi.⁹⁴

Some mystics issued verdicts (*Fatawas*) on local level also for one or the other League candidates. Pir Golra issued fatwa for the Muslim League candidate from Gojar Khan constituency. He said:

At this time, opposition to the Muslim League meant as a great harm to the whole Muslim Ummah. That's why no one should take any step against the Muslim League. All of you know that Syed Akbar Khan is contesting on the Muslim League seat from Gojar Khan, so I expect that no one will go away from supporting him.⁹⁵

Mystics and Ulama issued a joint poster in favour of the Muslim League, after meeting of around three hundred mystics, Ulama and *masha'ikh* on 25-27 January 1946, which contained following words:

You are well aware of the reality that at this time in Hindustan there is a great and decisive constitutional war going on in which the fate of both Hindustan and Muslims will be decided. This is not a war of guns and ditches, but an election war, and in this war, in place of bullets and gunpowder, votes are being used...If in this battle, God forbid, you are unsuccessful, then no other manifestation of the glory of the Muslims is possible. Therefore I once again appeal to you to try to recognize the delicacy of the times and try to make 100% of the candidates of the Muslim League successful in the provincial elections.⁹⁶

The efforts of the mystics besides some other sectors of the society resulted positively and the Muslim League aimed popularity among masses.⁹⁷ It was successful with a large margin especially in all those areas where mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* were active including districts of Jehlum, Multan Jhang, Kasur, Rawalpindi, Sheikhpura, Sargodha, Karnal etc. Much analysis had been made by different newspaper on the large-scale success of the Muslim League. In one of the analysis, 'what are the reasons of occurring revolution on the land of Punjab?', *The Eastern Times* had written that pirs, sufis and *sajjadah-nashins* must be given

with the highest credit with regard to Punjab, who came out of their seclusion and advised their followers that they should fight against evil and should cast vote for the Muslim League and Pakistan.⁹⁸

Sufis celebrated the Muslim League's success and sent many letters of congratulations to Quaid-i-Azam. Pir Syed Jama'at Ali Shah wrote to the Quaid:

I congratulate you on success of the Muslim League. Allah has bestowed this success of the Muslim League on you out of 10 crore Muslims of India. God had given success to you ... despite opposition of five groups.⁹⁹

Sufis supported Quaid-i-Azam's decision of becoming part of the Interim government. Pir Makhdum Murid Hussain Qureshi, *sajjadah-nashin* (Multan) had written to Jinnah:

Kindly accept heartiest congratulations from me and from my lacs of followers in Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan on brilliant success in negotiations with His Excellency, the Viceroy. Muslim community is satisfied with your decision of entering Interim government as a wise and essential step, for betterment of our nation marching towards goal of Pakistan.¹⁰⁰

It was due to participation of sufis and their followers in election campaign and their vote to the Muslim League that it could get success on majority of the Muslim seats. The Quaid acknowledged and said, 'My heartfelt thanks to all those who supported and voted for the Muslim League candidates and they have clearly established their verdict in favour of Pakistan.'¹⁰¹

c) Civil Disobedience Movement

Mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* were again active during Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) against Khizr Hayat's government. It was initiated after declaration of the Muslim League National Guards as unlawful and arrest of the Muslim League leadership in January 1947.¹⁰² On Direct Action Day, Pir Mohammad Fazal Shah's brother, Syed Mehr Shah returned all titles and honours to the British government.¹⁰³ Whole Gilani family participated and paid sacrifices in district Multan during CDM. Many of the family members were arrested during the movement.¹⁰⁴ Their arrest created situation of mourning in Multan.

Khawaja Mohammad Qamar ud din Siyalvi courted arrest and after his arrest, thousands of Muslims of his area came out on the roads to give more sacrifices.¹⁰⁵ With the arrest of *sajjadah-nashin* of Taunsa Sharif, millions of his followers got inspiration and became more vigorous.¹⁰⁶ All ulama and sufis from the platform of JUI passed a resolution in which they condemned the arrest of the Muslim League leaders in the Punjab. It also condemned the action taken against Muslim League National Guards.¹⁰⁷ The followers of different Sufi orders and disciples of mystics made the CDM successful with selfless participation in the whole of the Punjab.

Conclusion

To sum up, it is judged that joining of the Muslim League by mystics and *sajjadah-nashins* decided the fate of the future politics of the Punjab, besides some other forces, especially after 1945. The creation of Pakistan was further visible due to their pro-Pakistan propaganda and large-scale conversion of their followers to the Muslim League. Together they made one slogan; *Pakistan ka Matlab Kia! La Ilaha Illal Allah*, (What is meaning of Pakistan? It is 'there is no God but Allah') very popular. It was success of the Muslim League leadership that they highlighted the religious requirements of the Muslims and assured the mystics that in Pakistan, Muslims would have more religious freedom and they would be more independent to serve the religion, so they became part of the movement. Besides this, one element should also be remembered that many mystics had taken initiative and supported the Muslim League when it had not set its destination even. It was actually far-sightedness of the sufis. They not only helped the Muslim League to organize at grass-root level of the province but also started mass-contact campaigns throughout the region for general mass conversion to the idea of Pakistan. They followed various methods for the said purpose; they used urs to transform idea of Pakistan to the pilgrims, established local organizations, taught ideology of Pakistan in madrassahs, initiated and wrote in local newspapers and magazines, led Muslim League's election campaign and finally, used *fatawas* as tool to make the Muslim League successful in the 1945-1946 elections. Their role in CDM was also visible. All their efforts proved to be fruitful and Quaid-i-Azam was successful to achieve Pakistan.

An effort of the revival of Muslim identity extended by Pir Mehr Ali Shah and Pir Jama'at Ali Shah, even before passing of Pakistan

Resolution or long before the start of struggle of Pakistan is a proof that sufis were selfless and did not want worldly glory. They wanted recognition of Muslim identity. It is only partially true that the great influence of *Deobandi* school of thought, especially in urban areas, led large number of sufis to become part and parcel of the Pakistan movement. Sufis of *Naqshbandiyah* and *Chishtiyah* orders who already were showing signs of anti-colonialism or isolation from colonial set up through their architecture, cultural norms and practices at khanqahs, finally decided to support the Muslim League. It seems more appropriate conclusion that all mystics generally and mystics of *Chishtiyah* and *Naqshbandiyah* orders particularly supported and participated in the movement for religious purposes only. They usually did not have political reasons. They believed that a Muslim state will make *Shari'ah* applicable. It is general belief otherwise among *sufis* that religion is the most important duty and they do not participate in politics.

Notes and References

1. For the terms and names in Urdu and Punjabi, the author has followed the Oxford University Press style guide and popular usage of spelling in contemporary English publications for easier reading, the author has omitted diacritics.
2. Mystics, here, stand for all sufis who were affiliated with one or the other order and at the same, had large following. A Sufi or religious mystic is a person who remains in quest of reality. Sufism is not a rigid system. It is a path by which its followers seek God. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, Lahore, Suhail Academy, 2004, p. 20.
3. It is strictly forbidden under Deobandi School to visit shrines and to pay high regard to custodians of shrines. Besides it, majority of Deobandi Ulama were against creation of an independent Muslim country in India. For more details please see Venkat Dhulipala, *Creating a New Madina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in Late Colonial North India*, Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 279-313.
4. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1988, p. 215.
5. For further details, please consult Hussain Ahmad Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Punjab*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2015, pp. 1-3.
6. For details please see Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-Ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Lahore, Universal Books, 1976, p. 107.
7. Sufi-order is initiative genealogy, a chain of spiritual connections, connecting a sufi initiate with his/her mentor with his/her mentor and so on and so forth.

8. W.C. Smith, "The Ulama in Indian Politics," Thomas R. Metcalf, *Modern India: An Interpretive Anthology*, London, The Macmillan Company, 1971, p. 106.
9. Pnina Webner, *Pilgrims of Love: The Anthropology of Global Sufi Cult*, London, Hurst and Company, 1988, p. 49. In this book, the author has explained the relationship of follower and sufi with reference to Zindapir, based in Kohat but followed even by the people in England. This book can be consulted to understand different stages of mysticism in detail.
10. David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, London, I.B. Tauris and Co. Ltd, 1988, p. 4.
11. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Tarikh-e Mashaikh-e-Chisht*, Lahore, Mushtaq Book Centre, n.d., pp. 623-626.
12. Syed M. Saeed, *Miratul Ashkeep*, Trans. Ghulam Nizam ud Din, Lahore, Seerut Foundation, 2006, pp. 196-197.
13. Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam*, p. 46.
14. Sir Charles Napier in Sind came into direct contact with such mystics who were ready to cooperate with the British Raj. H.T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sind*, Oxford, The University Press, 1952, pp. 212, 309-345.
15. Umber bin Ibad, 'The State and Shrines in Post-Colonial Central Punjab (1947-2007),' Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Government College University, Lahore.
16. Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 3.
17. Urs is a gathering of followers of one or the other *sufi* which is held at the date of death anniversary of *Sufis*.
18. Ahmad Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines*, p. 3.
19. Arthur F. Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of Mediating Sufi Shaykh*, Carolina, University of South Carolina, 1998, p. xix.
20. Pir Jama'at Ali Shah belonged to an old family of Qadri sajjadanashins in Sialkot district but he found his religious service in *Naqshbandiyah* School of thought. He had extensive following among powerful and common Muslims in northern Punjab and among powerful masses elsewhere. Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam*, pp. 59-60 and Aftab Ahmad Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shouq* (Urdu), Lahore, Idara Tehkiqat-i-Pakistan, 1984, p. 233.
21. Pir Mehr Ali Shah was born on 14 April 1859. He initially belonged to Qadiri order later adopted Chishti. He is descendent of Hazrat Ghaus ul Azam on 25th generation and of Hazarat Hussain (R.A.). Besides studying in traditional *Madrassahs*, he studied in Aligarh College for two and half years with distinction. Maulana Faiz Ahmad Faiz, *Mehr-i-Munir: Biography of Hazrat Syed Pir Mihr Ali Shah Sahib*, Lahore, Pakistan International Printers, 1974, p. 75.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-84 and *Daily Jung*, 7 October, 2016.
23. K.K. Aziz, *Religion, Land and Politics in Pakistan: A Study of Piri-Muridi*, Lahore, Vangaurd, 2001, pp. 41-42.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
25. Khalique Ahmad Nizami, *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*, Delhi, Nadwatul Musanafin, 1953, p. 714 and Faiz, *Mehr-i-Munir*, p. 283.
26. Faiz, *Mehr-i-Munir*, p. 267.

27. Pir Mehr Ali Shah to Commissioner of Rawalpindi cited in Faiz, *Mehr-i-Munir*, p. 268.
28. Syed Akhtar Hussain Shah, *Sirat-i-Amir-i-Millat*, Alipur Sayyedan: Author, 1974, p. 8.
29. Mohammad Sadiq Kasuri, *Jehan-i-Amir-i-Millat*, Kasur, Markezi Majlis-i-Amir-i-Millat, 2001, p. 118.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
31. H.H. Qadri, Prof. of S.C. Islamia College, Agra to M.A Jinnah, 22 July 1946, *Shamsul Hasan Collection*, National Archives, Islamabad. Almost same account is given by Karamat Ali Khan, Prof. Mohammad Mazhar Mirza and Shehbaz Bakht Ed., *Azadi Kai Mujahid: Tehrik-i-Pakistan Mein Hisa Lainay waley Sarferoshon Kai Aiman Afroz Karnamay*, Lahore, Jang Publisher, 1989, p. 45.
32. Khawaja Mohammad Tufail, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Main Sialkot Ka Kirdar*, Sialkot, n.p., 1986, pp. 287-288.
33. Interview Pirzada Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti cited in 'Auj, Qarardad-i-Pakistan Golden Jubilee No.' Magazine Government Shahdra, Lahore, 1990-1991, p. 415.
34. Kasuri, *Karwan-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, Lahore, Tehrik-i-Pakistan Workers Trust, 2005, p. 239.
35. Khan Ed., *Azadi Kai Mujahid*, p. 43.
36. Pir Syed Mohammad Hussain Shah Alipuri was born on 14 April 1878 in Alipur, District Sialkot. Besides getting education from his father, he got *khilafat* from Baba Faqir Mohammad Chaurahi, principal of Madrasa-i-Naqsh Bandiah Alipur.
37. Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah was born in Mianwali (Moza Diwali). He is descendent of Hazrat Imam Hussain. He got primary education from a local school and religious education from his grandfather, Hazrat Ali Mohammad Shah, who was of *Qadriyyah* Silsilah. He formally graduated from Madrasah Dar ul Ulum Zia Shamsul Islam of district Sargodha. He, while following *sajjadanashin* of Siyal Sharif, Hazrat Khawaja Mohammad Zia ud din participated in the Pakistan movement. Kasuri, *Karwan-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, pp. 183-184.
38. He was born in 1888 in Berbal Sharif to Khawaja Ahmad Saeed, *Sajjada nashin* of Berbal Sharif. He did bait at the hands of Hazrat Mian Sher Muhammad Sharuquri. He was author of many books. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, p. 220.
39. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, p. 279.
40. Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan aur Mashaikh-i-Uzam*, Lahore, Zavvia Publishers, 2000, p. 62.
41. *Anwar-i-Sufia*, Monthly Magazine, Sialkot, April 1940.
42. Kasuri, *Karwan-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, p. 18.
43. G.F. Ansari to M.A. Jinnah, File No. 1101/105, 25 April 1943, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, NAP, Islamabad.
44. From Marquess of Linlithgow to Sir B. Glancy (Punjab) MSS EUR.F. 125/92, 16 July 1943 cited in Nichlas Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power, 1942-47*, Vol. IV, London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1973, p. 91.
45. Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 201.
46. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Mashaikh*, p. 68. Almost similar kind of statements was issued by Pir Jama'at in multiple speeches in different areas of Punjab and

- other parts of India. Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Jehan-i-Amir-Millat*, Kasur, Markaz-i-Majlis-i-Amir-i-Millat, 2001, pp. 130-136.
47. *Ibid.*
 48. Sikandar Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, 1991, p. 179.
 49. Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 203.
 50. Mian Bashir Ahmad to M.A. Jinnah, 14 November 1945, *Sahmsul Hasan Collection, Punjab*, Vol. III, National Archives, Islamabad.
 51. JUI not only included sufis but also those few Deobandi Ulama who were not only in favour of Pakistan but also the whole sale supporter of the Muslim League ideology of a separate nationalism and creation of an independent Muslim homeland. It was established in 1945 before elections. Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, *Roshni Ka Minar*, Multan, n.p., 1950.
 52. Aftab Ahmad Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Sahauq*, p. 234. Almost same account is given by Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Mashaikh*, p. 79.
 53. Atta Ur Rehman, Ed., *A Pictorial History of Pakistan Movement, 1857-1947*, Lahore, Dost Associates, 1997, p. 178.
 54. Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Akabar-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, Gujrat, Maktab-i-Rizwia, n.d., p. 265. Younger brother of Pir Mohammad Fazal Shah of Jalalpur, Syed Mehr Shah was successful on Muslim League ticket in the central assembly's elections, and another Muslim League candidate got success in provincial Assembly's elections.
 55. Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, pp. 300-301.
 56. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 219.
 57. Niazi, *Tarikh-i-Mianwali*, p. 260.
 58. *Bai'ath* or *bay'ah* means oath of allegiance at the hands of the spiritual leader or sufi.
 59. Shahbaz, *Shaksiyat-i-Jehlum*, p. 76.
 60. Dr. Mohammad Amjad Saqib, *Shehr Lab-i-Daryia*, Lahore, Aimi Publishers, 1993, pp. 201-212.
 61. Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India, India Office, 11 August 1945, Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. VI, p. 54.
 62. File No. 1022, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, National Archives, Islamabad.
 63. From Sir B. Glancy to Lord Wavel, 27 October 1945, N. Mansergh (Ed.), *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. VI, p. 414.
 64. Khawaja Qamar ud din Siyalvi was born in Siyal Sharif on 8 July 1906, got education from local *Madrasah* and Ajmer Sharif. He became *Sajjadahnashins* in 1929. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, p. 279.
 65. Sabir Birari, *Tarikh-i-Raftgan, 1947-1985*, Karachi, Fiqr-i-Noah, 1986, p. 200.
 66. Mian Allah Bakhsh Tariq, *Tarikh-i-Pakpatan*, Pakpatan, Al-Farid Academy, 1994, p. 134.
 67. Pir Muhammad Shah Bharvi was born in 1890 in Bhera, district Sargodha. He is descendent of Hazrat Baha ud Din Zikriya of Multan. He did *bay'ah* at the hands of his father Hazrat Zia ul Millat Khawaja Muhammad Zia ud din Siyalvi. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, p. 116.
 68. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, pp. 221-222.

69. Prof. Dr. Ashiq Mohammad Khan Durrani, *Tarikh-i-Multan: Zamana-i-Qadeem Sai 1947 Tak*, Multan, Bazm-i-Saqafat-i-Multan, 2007, p. 337.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 337.
71. Pir Fazal Shah was born on 3 November 1894 in Jalalpur Sharif, district Jehlum to Pir Muzaffar Ali Shah.
- 72., Pir Mohammad Maqbool ur Rasul was born in Khanqah Naqshbandiyah Mujadadiyah Lila Sharif, Tehsil Pind on 17 Feb, 1906. He did *bay'ah* on his grandfather's hand, Khalifa-i-Khas Hazrat Khawaja Pir Ghulam Hasan Dhadhiyi. Please consult Mohammad Sadiq Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Mashaikh-i-Uzzam*, Lahore, Zavia, 2000, p. 41.
73. Sarwar ud din Shaida was born on 10 December 1906 in Rohtas, District Jehlum. He was disciple of Qutub Zaman of Silsila Chishtiya, got education from Jehlum and Lalamusa. He was founder of Anjuman-i-Islamia Rohtas which is still working. Anjum Sultan Shahbaz, *Shakhsiyat-i-Jehlum*, Jehlum, Book Corner, n.d., p. 175.
74. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Paksitan*, p. 43.
75. Shahbaz, *Shaikhsiyat-i-Jehlum*, pp. 175-176.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
77. Shah Maghfur ul Qadri was born in Syed Bokhari family in Bahawalpur. He served as a teacher in Khankah Pir Chavidi Sharif. He got permission of *bay'at* from Sheikh Salis Hazrat Abdur Rehman. Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, p. 300.
78. Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, p. 301.
79. Mian Ghulam ullah Sharaquri was born in Sharqpur Sharif, district Sheikhpura. He did *bay'ah* at the hands of Hazrat Mian Sher Muhammad. *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, p. 112.
80. *Ibid.*
81. Maulana Gangvi was born in 1853 in Gangi of Mianwali district to Maulana Ali Muhammad, studied in Muzafargarh, Multan, Farangi Mehal of Lucknow and Delhi. He did *bay'ah* at the hands of Khawaja Mohammad ud din Siyalvi. He also taught in Siyal Sharif. Dr. Liaquat Ali Khan Niazi, *Tarikh-i-Mianwali: Tarikh-o-Tahzebe*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003, p. 93.
82. Maulana Allah Yar Khan was born in 1904 in Chakrala, district Mianwali. He got education from Madrasah-i-Aminia, Delhi. He was affiliated with *Naqasbandiyah* school of thought and then with Silsila Awaisiya. He was Sheikh of his period and wrote more than twenty books. Niazi, *Tahrikh-i-Mianwali*, pp. 263-264.
83. Bilal Zubairi, *Tazkira-i-Uliyay-i-Jhang*, Jhang, Adabi Academy, 1968, p. 94.
84. He was born in December 1891 in Golra Sharif, district Rawalpindi. He did *bay'ah* at the hands of his father, Pir Syed Mehr Ali Golarvi. Berari, *Tarikh-i-Raftgan*, p. 138.
85. David Gilmartin, "Religious leadership and the Pakistan movement in the Punjab", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1979, p. 514.
86. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 26 June 1974.
87. *Dawn*, 14 January 1946.
88. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 18 January 1946.
89. Ramzana Barkat, *Role of City Kasur in Pakistan Movement*, Lahore, Suqlain Publishers, 2016, p. 108.

90. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 5 June 1946.
91. Kasuri, *Jehan-i-Amir-i-Millat*, p. 137.
92. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Mashaikh*, p. 216.
93. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 19 January 1946.
94. *Ibid.*, 3 January 1946.
95. *Ibid.*, 19 January 1946.
96. David Gilmartin, "Muslim League Appeals to the Voters of Punjab for Support of Pakistan", Barbara D. Metcalf ed. *Islam in South Asia*, Princeton, The University Press, 2009, pp. 414-415.
97. Wavell to Lord Pethic-Lawrence, 16 October 1945, Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. VI, p. 348.
98. *The Eastern Times*, 15 March 1946.
99. Pir Syed Jama'at Ali Shah to Jinnah, 17 July 1946, *Shamsul Hassan Collection*, Punjab 11/48 Cited in Zaidi, *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. XIII, p. 329 and in Ahmed, *The Punjab Story*, Vol. II, p. 204.
100. From Makhdum Murid Hussain Qurshi, Sajjada Nishins (Multan) to Jinnah, 14 October 1946, *Shamsul Hassan Collection*, Vol. II, National Archives, Islamabad.
101. *Dawn*, 25 February, 1946.
102. H.N. Mitra, *The Indian Annual Register, 1919-1947*, Vol. I, 1947, New Delhi, Gian Publishing Hoiuse, 1990, p. 220.
103. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pak Aur Mashaikh*, p. 217.
104. Kasuri, *Karwan-i-Tehrik*, p. 189.
105. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Mashaikh*, p. 284.
106. *Dawn*, 3 February 1947.
107. *Dawn*, 27 January 1947.