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# **Institutional Development of Legislation in Punjab 1849-1947: An Historical Analysis**

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In 1849 since its annexation, Punjab had to pass through to its partition in 1947, the aim of the present Chapter studying the century long political and socio economic development of Punjab in the area under consideration. As a part of political development this Chapter explains the working and nature of legislature. The introduction of a Legislature in Punjab, and the steady growth of electoral politics and representative government, gave rise to new mechanisms of institutional development. It will also analyze the nature of the legislature of those times and also the manners in which it functioned.

The source of institutional maturity of the Pakistan state's administrative body lies essentially in its historically established legitimacy in the country. This legitimacy drew variously upon the complex characteristics of the supreme authority of the West Minister, its legal and constitutional relationship with the dominant groups of the Indian society in the form of rights of property and private enterprise and finally its capacity to safeguard itself with the help of its armed wing as a last resort. In the Punjab various legislatures no matter what their name called, always raised a consequential voice for growth and developing of democracy even against gigantic and ungainly probability. It is important to highlight that under the contact of the national political principles, Punjab also experienced continues and regular changes and fluctuations of the governments, and frequent termination or deferment of the parliamentary and democratic system. From 1849-1947 Punjab was a province of British India. In the Indian subcontinent it was one of the last areas which fall under British

rule. Total area of Punjab in 1947 was 136,330 sq. miles, and 28, 418,819 was population.

Although in the West of the Punjab the Muslims were determined mostly and Hindus in North and in the East and South Sikhs were concentrated, however, all over the whole province the three communities were comprehensively mixed.<sup>1</sup> All over the world Legislatures essentially originate procedural guidelines and framework and therefore as to undeviating and observe their functioning, and turn the business and proceedings in the House in a productive and democratic way. In the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, the conduct of business, by no matter what name it was called, has all the way through been governed and regulated from time to time by the proper the rules of procedure and provisions of the Constitution formulate, either by the Assembly or Governor or itself. In 1849 with the annexation of the Punjab, the issue of establishing an administrative system was the first question faced by British faced which matched to the flourishing pursuit of their well being and interests.

### **Board of Administration**

In order to maintain Law and order situation in the Province of Punjab British had to face problem because there were many radical elements there against the annexation of Punjab. British planned to rule over Punjab with Iron hand. When the announcement of the Annexation of Punjab the day of 29 March 1849 the administration and management of the Punjab was given in the hands of the triumvirate, it was called the Board of Administration. All the three members were by now well familiar with the region, its culture, soldiers and Chiefs. President of the Board was Sir Henry Lawrence; Mr. Mansel and Mr. John Lawrence were members of it. From 1849 to 1853 they run the province efficiently and successfully. The most competent officers were part of the Board, chosen from army and civil service and preferred to Punjab at prudence of Lord Dalhouse, Governor General.<sup>2</sup> The board possessed absolute and supreme executive, military and judicial powers and unobstructed control all over matters regarding Punjab. What it was meant and expected to do strengthen the British rule the board specifically worked for it.<sup>3</sup>

The board was abolished in 1849 and as Punjab's chief Commissioner John Lawrence was selected. A new chapter was opened in the action-packed political history of Punjab. From the Sikh rule to British raj, period of transition was over. For administration purposes Lawrence introduced many reforms, at that time there were seven divisions of Punjab

with respective headquarters at Ambala, Multan, Jalandhar, Rawalpindi, Leiah, Lahore, and Amritsar. Under deputy commissioners there were into 24 districts in a Division, and further Tehsils were under Tehsildars. Tehsildars was also responsible of the administration of the villagers. For the matters associated to their land the villagers were linked with these officials.<sup>4</sup> This setup still exists in Punjab though not in its true form.

Fiscal reforms were introduced for the welfare of peasants and to reduce the load of returns. For the first time in the province the idea of land possession as a moveable and manageable object, was introduced. Employment opportunities in different departments among local people were given like judiciary, army, police, and other branches of organizations and administration. Policy of class of landed aristocracy was introduced by the British government for all trustworthy to their interests and as a return in many fields, their services were provided massive estates, administrative powers and titles as honorary magistrates especially in army, where and when needed. Ultimately, British won over the hearts of the people of the region by using such strategy, mainly the rural classes including peasantry to feudal lords.<sup>5</sup> Actually, this kind of policy of British was a conclusion of two reason, need to develop a system appropriate to simple rural people and need of strong government as suited to geopolitical demands.<sup>6</sup> As regards legislations the customs of the native were taken as the basis of the law. A code of native costumes was drawn up. Those customs were badly and unable of improvement were outlawed. Those which were associated to and tending to the deprivation of female and marriage, divorce were first customized and then accepted. Those which associated to such subjects as adoption and inheritance were incorporated at once.<sup>7</sup>

On January 1, 1850 all town and transit dues all exports, all imports duties were abolished by the Board. Trade was gone without charge to run in its normal channels.<sup>8</sup> During this period G.T Road had been traced surveyed and put in progress. Another great work was proposed by the Board was as characteristic of the aims of the British Government in India as the Hasli canal had been of the inhabitants. Preliminary from the point of in the Ravi as through to emphasize the dissimilarity a Canal was projected from different cities. The new canal would be essentially being the effort of several years, but it was begun in trust and was all but proficient in the Chief commissionership of John Lawrence.<sup>9</sup>

At the time of the annexation class composition of Punjabi setup played a significant role in determining colonial strategy, mainly in the early period of institutional emergence. Sikh and Mughal aristocracies were

comprised of the landed classes of the province. One of the more important segments of the British establishment which it developed over time in Punjab was the point to, enterprise slow, incremental institutional adjustment so that changing communal and political situation would be coup up. Initially Board of Administration (BoA) got appreciation and trust of the people.<sup>10</sup> BoA was enforced to tackle a diversity of different issues, by Constructing the colonial government from scratch, not least of which was devising a setup for revenue generating, and some time relying on the inadequate information took policy decisions that was obtainable, or with existing colonial principle on issue of establishment. It was argued that the new administrators of the province by introducing this measure would be capable to function autonomously of the centrally imposed policy that in point of fact inadequate the level to which improvement could be introduced in the executive structure working in the other provinces. Board was abolished by Lord Dalhousie in 1853 and as first Chief Commissioner of Punjab selected, Mr. John Lawrence one of the members of the Board. Under the Regulating Act 1773 Provincial Government had various categories. In first type the term of the Governor had same powers in the province as The Governor General in center. In the same time the provinces was under a Lieutenant Governor with no Executive Council, selected by Governor-General in the Council, he was probably among the servants of the Company in India.<sup>11</sup> This was third kind of Government on Provincial level introduced in Punjab, governed by the Chief Commissioner, in 1853. Such a government had larger reliance on the Governor-General than a Lieutenant-Governor. In the history of legislation in Punjab John Lowerence cannot be ignored who had sympathy with the peasants than the Chiefians. He regarded Chiefs and Jagirdars as parasitic growth who lived on the blood honest riots and put a heavy strain on the exchequer. John Lawrence had shown himself as a great administrator whole English Empire in India hailed him as great statesman, who by his energy, resolution and farsightedness had saved the British Empire in India.<sup>12</sup> Period 1849 and 1868 was preliminary and introductory period for the British establishment in Punjab the method adopted in which the institutional measures and policy put in practice locked colonial administration into a route of path-dependent expansion. by the opening of the well-known Land Alienation Act of 1900 illustrated most dramatically, it was firmly believed that wellbeing of British in Punjab were relatively determinedly and possibly irreversibly associated with the landed gentry of the Province. There were total 197 Municipal Committees in Punjab By 1874, with the membership of 2093 from which Indians were 1692, on the

base of an enormously limited franchise a very little minority were elected to their posts.

Foundation for the introduction of legislature on local level with the section 44 of the Act in the Punjab was laid by the Indian Councils Act of 1861; the Governor-General in Council was left to come to a decision at what time, effect should be set to this objective. This Act approved the legislative authority in to the provinces, but concurrent powers were in the hand of the government of India so that could supersede and control any Law and regulation prepared by the provincial government.<sup>13</sup> The older provinces at once acknowledged the advantage but unfortunately the Punjab, after a period of 36 years along with a few others areas, was admitted to this privilege, when the Act of 1861<sup>14</sup> had been adapted by the Indian Councils Act of 1892.<sup>15</sup>

### **Council of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab**

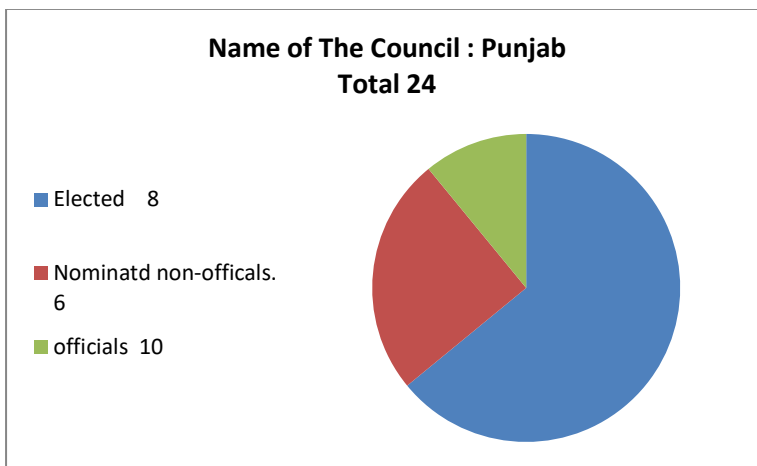
In 1897 first ever Legislature was thus introduced in the Punjab. Although with the both non-official and official members it was declared nominated body, it had the authority of introducing laws. “(On 1 November, 1897 Sir Louis William Dane moved it and on 15 April, 1898 passed by the Council) the General Clauses Act, 1898 was the opening endorsement in the Punjab History”<sup>16</sup>.

### **First Council**

The first Council worked for more than eleven years. Council had 28 meetings and 23 laws were passed by the council. Lieutenant Governor himself presided over meetings of the Council. Only nominated members were part of the Council and in the Legislative Council factor of election should be introduced, and in the Indian Councils Act, 1909 it was, for the first time introduced,<sup>17</sup> it was also called Minto-Morley Reforms. From ten to thirty memberships was increased; including five elected members and fourteen non-official<sup>1</sup>. The Council could pass resolutions on matters of public importance and on the budget, which, however, were of a recommendatory nature by the Lieutenant-Governor but again the Punjab Reforms of 1909 sustained the long-established prejudice. Only thirty members were allowed for Punjab like Assam, in spite of the fact Assam was seven Millions and while Punjab's population was 20 millions. Similarly, at the same time as the elected member's proportion to the total strength was 48% in Bombay, 53 % in Bengal, U. P., and Punjab had only 19% in Madras and Eastern Bengal, 42% elected members.<sup>18</sup>

## Second Council

According to the features of Acts of Indian Councils (1861, 1892 and 1909) second Council of the Lieutenant Governor was thus established. 18 meetings Council held and passed 14 Acts. Elected members and unofficial members part of appointed officials, to the legislature Governor's duty was not defined. While introducing the Indian legislature to the Parliament of British, Morley made it clear that the goal of British government was not parliamentary self-government. In the history of Legislature of sub continent The Morley-Minto Reforms were a landmark. In Indian legislative councils election principles introduced for membership systematically. The 'franchise' though was very limited. To the Muslims Lord Minto fulfill his promise, and ensured separate electorates. Essentially with no authority over the executive the Councils was playing role as advisory board, and rather than curbing it the result was an increasing demand for self-government.



## Third Council

According to the features of Acts of Indian Councils (1861, 1892 and 1909) third Council of the Lieutenant Governor was thus established. On the other hand, when the Government of India Act, 1915 was introduced (to combine the provisions of above mentioned Acts), under the 1915 Act the Council worked. By election Three seats to be filled and by nomination one actually membership was increased by four; 1. During its life Council held 14 meetings.

## Fourth Council

Under the Government of India Act, 1915, in 1916 Fourth Council of the LG of the Punjab was established. For the first time Vice President Office was introduced. Since the 1915 Act in place of the Lt Governor's Council had given idea to constitute of a Legislative Council, therefore, this fourth Council was declared last Council of the LG. During Council life 29 sittings were held.

### **Punjab Legislative Council:**

In British India demand for self-government was in momentum during First World War. Therefore British introduced new scheme, regarding the Montague-Chelmsford reforms. The causes of these reforms proposal were to bring in innovative setup of Government in the Provinces in form "diarchy" system. Through the Act of 1919 scheme of diarchy was implemented. Instead of the Councils of Lieutenant Governor Government of India Act, 1915, had by now introduced constitution of the PLC. The legislative Council also enjoyed a larger amount of authority than the councils it was enjoyed, for the first time ministerial portfolios being created and granted to Punjabis. The authority of the Council was restricted to some fields such as education, agriculture, health, though, it was only happened when Government of India Act 1935 was introduced, and in 1937 the consequently establishment of the first Punjab Legislative Assembly (PLA), province was given full provincial autonomy. Revolutionary types of Reforms were introduced in Punjab.

### **The First Punjab Legislative Council:**

In 1921 elections were held, under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. This was the time from onward, political leaders split into two groups in each election in the Subcontinent, those who invited for partaking in the process of electoral consequent government, and those who called their supporters to dump the polls and come out to the streets. Credit goes to these reforms that reforms, the British government started to transfer concentration from the central command (where they were enjoying nearly total authority) towards the provinces and from the urban areas (with their seditious, westernized educated middle classes) but from there they still hoped for loyalty from the high class and landed peasantry. In 1921 under the 1919 Act first PLC was constituted. The Council total members were 93, 19 rest to be nominated whereas 70% to be elected; and the three years term of the Council was declared. In the past (till 1920), Council meetings were presided over by the LG, and for the first time in the history of the

Council as President a nominated person could be designated, and any elected person could preside meetings in his absence and nominated as Deputy President). When on October 27, 1923 the LG decided to dissolve the Council after end of its term at that time and first PLC had 98 meetings<sup>20</sup>.

### **The second Legislative Council**

In 1924 under the Act of 1919 second PLC was established. Section 20 of this Act explained that the President would be elected by the Council after the end of four years. On January 8, 1921 the first meeting of the first PLC was held. Therefore election was held and first elected President of this Council was Sir Sheikh Abdul Qadir who was the first Muslim and the before his election, Mr Herbut Alexander Casson the previous chosen President continued such as. In September 1925 Sir Sheikh Abdul Qadir submit resignation from his office after that he was selected Minister for Education and later on Khan Bahadur Chaudhri and Sir Shahab-ud-Din succeeded him. <sup>21</sup> On October 1926 Council detained its last sitting, and on October 27, 1926 it was dissolved after completion of its three years term. During its life Council held 102 total meetings.

### **The third Legislative Council**

Third elections for PLC were held in November 1926. The Muslim educated elected Dr. Muhmmad Iqbal, Maqbul Mahmud, Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan and Shaikh Din Muhammad belonged to Middle class to signify them in the provincial legislature. They were from to Muslim Punjabi intelligentsia. The middle class were feeble owing to educational and skilled backwardness. In Punjab legislature they favored and joined later the Unionist party. The contradictory situation of Punjab in Iqbal's ambivalent position middle classes was represented.

In 1927 under the Government of India Act, 1919 and third LC was constituted. Officials' members of the Council were all Britishers, and as representatives of General Interests 8 nominated non-officials, 13 nominated of the European and Soldiers of His Majesty's Indian Forces, of the Indian Christians and of the Punjabi Officers, Anglo-Indian communities, of the Labour Classes. 67 members were elected in the Council from urban and rural areas of the then Punjab.

Dr Muhammad Iqbal being a part of the Punjab Legislative Council, on March 10, 1927 had delivered an significant speech, stress on various aspects of education while pointing out the facts and figures shared in the report regarding the improvement of Education in the Punjab for the year



1925-26,<sup>22</sup> On January 4, 1927 as President Sir Shahab-ud-Din Khan Bahadur Chaudhri was re-elected. Seven months extension was set to the Council within its three years period and on July 26, 1930. It was dissolved. During its extended period Council held 111 total meetings. Fazl-i-Husain in the Punjab Legislative Council, tried to clip the wings of urban community by backing the bills which was actually reflection of the program of Unionist Party. Punjab (Urban Property) Regulation Bills, Punjab Moneylenders Registration Bill, the Punjab Court Fees 210 Bill, and exposed the risk posed by the increasing influence of the money holders and urban community to the country wellbeing of the landed gentry.<sup>23</sup> The Money Lenders' as the report of the Punjab Money Lender's Association wrote that Registration Bill aroused extensive resentment and objection of the urban business classes. "Hardly there is a city and place in the province where this Bill has not roused stance of alarm and sensation,"<sup>24</sup>

In Punjab Legislative Council most of the debates held, focused concerns of these two main classes because both of them had religious beliefs. Both attempted to fill their positions with petit nobles as to declare their class individuality who were not so well-developed. In its early days the legislative council which delighted artificial autonomy for its business became reliant on the official members. The Governor Malcolm Hailey selected the ministers, their past record of devotion was considered in spite of relying on the important place they had in the party. Most noticeable selection among Muslims was Firoz Khan Noon. In PLC debates, there was pointed contrast of conclusion between rural elites and Hindu urban, Chotu Ram was spokesman of them. Land Revenue Amendment Bill was passed by the Legislative Council, proposed by Unionists which presented substantial reduction of revenue from Thirty three per cent to twenty two per cent. To reduce some money-lending hones the council also doing legislation in the favor of the landed classes. In December 1929 Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill was passed, and in July 1931 came into force. On the floor of the Council Fazl-i- Husain talking stated that 'Punjab was at huge for cooperation' with Simon Commission. He mentions Four Muslims, which are, Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Rana Feroz- ud-Din, Muhammad, Sadiq, Dr. Muhammad Alam (resolution mover) who backed the resolution, were elected with urban bolster. On 3 December, 1929 all elected and official members who were represented landed elite voted against to inquiry. Finally motion was lost with 51 Noes and 22 yes in the end of debate.<sup>25</sup>

### **The Fourth Legislative Council:**

Beneath the Government of India Act in 1930 fourth and the last Legislative Council was constituted. On October 25, 1930, for the third sequential term Khan Bahadur Chaudhry Sir Shahab-ud-Din was chosen unopposed as President. On October 20, 1936 as a Minister for Education he was chosen; and Rao Bahadur Chaudhry Chhotu Ram succeeded him.<sup>26</sup> Results of Elections of 1930 PLC total Seats won 37 won by Unionist Party, 20 by Nationalist Progressive Party 14 by Independent and others won 27 The elections of PLC in 1930 made the ground for collaboration between Congress and radical left. Kisan conference at Lyallpur was organized by Zamindara League of Sir Chhotu Ram and took acknowledgment for the "Golden Acts" passed by PLC for reliving the obligation burden of the peasants.<sup>28</sup>

However Council period was three years, but continuing political development was the reason, From time to time it was given leases of life. In the provincial subject Montago- Chelmsford Reforms introduced significant changes also.<sup>29</sup>

Working of the legislature was engorged by these Reforms. The members had the right to talk about economics and taxation matters, on the matters of public interest they could move regulations and to ask questions on all matters except affairs with the inhabitant states, foreign relations, and the issues under permissible intercession. On party basis in Punjab no elections were held so that the political parties were concerned, before 1923. Until the Government of India Act 1935 same setup remained active this came into function. In the meanwhile, five years was period of the provincial legislature lain down for according to the Government of India Act, 1935. The Council sustained for six years in the situation, during its extensive time; Council passed 26 Act held within 197 meetings.<sup>30</sup>

During this period many fundamental changes introduced in broad-spectrum of political system of Punjab. In contrast to 1919 Act, 1935 was implemented under which, not in reality though but it seems that, whole provincial administrative, was lay under the command of Legislative Assembly. The same system remained in action in the West Punjab until British government was replaced the Government of Pakistan in 1947. Although, the province was given autonomy but in every subject of the province the Governor was given discretionary powers to get in the way. For practical purposes that is why the Act of 1935 was not mature. According to the Act Punjab Legislative Assembly 175 seats were allotted. Elections of 1937 under this Act were held. The Fazl-i-Husain (Unionists

Party) of and others parties British government supported Pro-British landowners, swept in these elections in Punjab. 31 He was succeeded and formed his cabinet; Skinder Hayat Khan became chief minister. By 1937, at the provincial and district levels frequent rounds of elections had repeatedly returned candidates, members of the Punjabi landed gentry

### **Punjab Legislative Assembly:**

It is worth mentioning that in the political system of the sub-continent Government of India Act, 1935 brought momentous change. Instead of the Punjab Legislative Council it was called constitution of Punjab Legislative Assembly (PLA). Now speaker was President of the Council Assembly membership was set as 175 divided into many categories, 1. 42 general (Hindus) seats, 84 seats for Muslims, 31 seats for Sikhs 1 seat for Anglo-Indians, 1 seats for Europeans, 2 seats for Indians Christians, 1 seat for representatives of commerce, industry mining and planning, 5 seats for of land holders 1 seat for University, 3 seats for labour representation, 1 general seat for women, 1 seat for Sikh women and 2 seat for Muslim women.

Under the 1935 Act, election for the first PLA in 1936 was held. Governor of the Province who was always English had discretionary powers; He had the power to prorogue and summon to the Legislative House of the Province. In his discretion he could dissolve the lower house. Before it becomes Law his consent was necessary for every bill. Bill could be send by him for reconsideration. But bill could be reserved it for reconsideration of the Governor General and Majesty, s Government by the Governor. He had authority to stop the Resolution, discussion of any Bill, an answer to a question, adjournment motion, if he well thought-out such a course necessary for the proper emancipation of his responsibilities. Joint meeting of the Houses could be called by him to iron out differences between them.<sup>32</sup>

Unionist administration was supported by The British administration the in the time of crisis. Under Montford reforms the official members of the Council took part in the election of the President of the Council in the session of Punjab Legislative Council, National Reform Party, leader, even though Narendra Nath protested against it but 56 votes were won by Chhotu Ram was elected as President with the support of official members and Muslim while Buta Singh was supported by Hindu and Sikhs members got 28 votes.

### First Punjab Legislative Assembly:

Ten years from 1937-1947 has been very important in the History of legislation and political development of Sub continent. It was during the period that political institutions of the time were given more or less in final shape. 96 percent seat were won by Unionist and 20 percent by Khalsa Nationalist the rest were won by Muslim League and Congress, independents and communists out of total 175 seats. To form the Ministry Sir Sikender Hyat Khan was invited by the Governor to form the Ministry

In 1937 Sardar Dasondha Singh replaced Sardar Bahadur Sardar Buta. First Assembly had its first sitting on 5 April 1937 at present in Lahore, secretariat, Council Hall at that time construction of the house of the Assembly was in process. First Speaker of the Assembly was elected on April 6, 1937. In the history of Punjab Legislature first ever work to rule, was also staged at this time. On November 10, 1938 first meeting was arranged in the present building. The term of the Assembly was five years, but, there were many reasons, political developments, World War II, and so on the Assembly continued its working for about eight years and on March 19, 1945 its last sitting was held. During its extended life Assembly held 368 total sittings

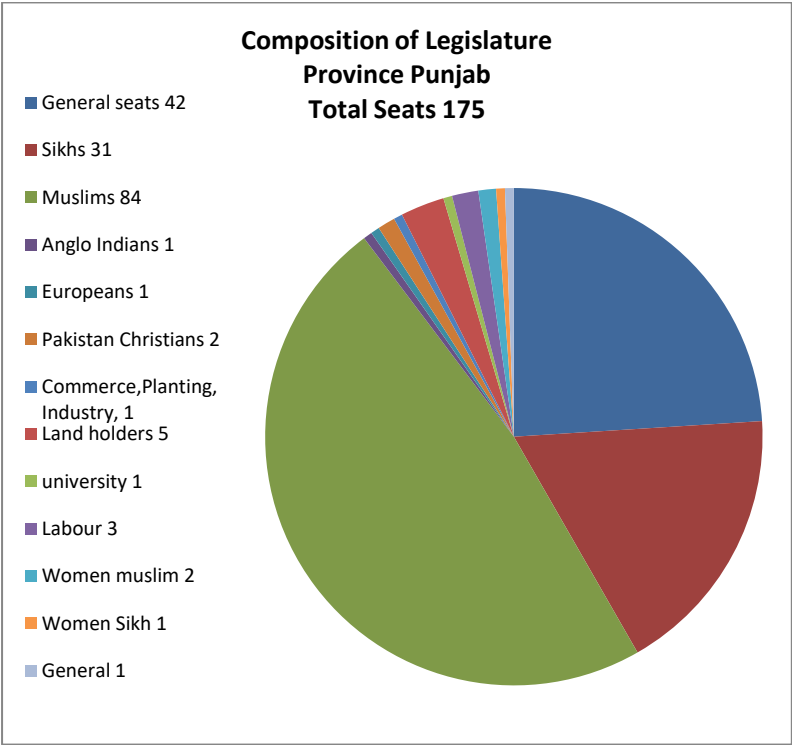
According to the Act of 1935, the second Legislative Assembly was established in 1945 with the same 175 members.

After the election of 1945 party position in the Punjab assembly

o	Party	Seats	8	1	2	3	5%
	Muslim League	5		1	2	3	5%
	Congress	4	7	1	3	2	4%
	Unionist		8				
	Ahluwalia	6	1		6		
	Khaksar		3				

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N.J Awan Tahrik-i-Azadi main Punjab ka kirdar. Islamabad: Modern Book Dipo Melodi. 1993.p. 28



In the Punjab Legislative Assembly subsequent victory of the party was 73 out of 84 Representatives of the Muslims legitimized their claim for Muslim. It determined the way for the division of Punjab also.

Since the partition of the India had been determined, therefore, on June 3, 1947 in pursuance of the announcement of His Majesty’s Government, Western Section of the Assembly held special meetings which was presided by the S.P.Singha Diwan Bahadur as a speaker and that on June 23, 1947 of the Eastern part of the Assembly was held presided by the Deputy Speaker Sardar Kapur Singh. The program for these meetings was to formulate a result whether Province of the Punjab should be partitioned

or not. Partition was determined after voting on both sides. As a result, the existing Legislative Assembly of Punjab was also parted into West Punjab legislative Assembly (WPLA) and East Punjab Legislative Assembly (EPLA).

The sitting members related to the Western part consequently joined the newly established Assembly which was renamed as the WPLA. On July 4, 1947 before independence this last Assembly held its last sitting. Within its life of one year and four months it stayed and during this period 13 sittings were held. British strategy was formed by a number of different forces from 1909 till partition in 1947 by the introduction of electoral government at the provincial stage.

This period between 1897 and 1947 is important in the history of Punjab in which most significant legislative development and changes that were introduced and amendments to already introduced laws like the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1868,<sup>33</sup> the Land Revenue Act of 1887<sup>34</sup> and the Alienation of Land Act<sup>35</sup> of 1900, there is no doubt that all of whom were contested enthusiastically by opponent groups in the all of which were contested vociferously by rival groups in the Assemblies and Councils and all of these acts had a direct effects on the position and power of the landlords.

## Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> H. M. Close, *Attlee, Wavell, Mountbatten and the Transfer of Power* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1997), p.32.

<sup>2</sup> Chhabra, G. S. *An Advanced History of the Punjab. India: Ludhiana. 1891*. P.313 Latif, S. M. *History of the Punjab* (1<sup>st</sup> Pakistani ed.). (Lahore: Progressive books.1984). P.574

<sup>3</sup> Najjar, B. S. (n. d.). *Punjab under the British Rule (1849-1947)*. Vol. 3. (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Publishers).p.146.

<sup>4</sup> Leigh, M. S. *The Punjab and the War* ,(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.1997).p.122

<sup>5</sup> M.Khurshid, *The Role of Unionist Party in the Punjab Politics (1923-36)*. The Islamia University of Bahawalpur: Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis.1992.

<sup>6</sup> S.S Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*. (London: William Blackwood and sons.1889).p.9

<sup>7</sup> B.S Nijjar, *Punjab under the British rule 1849-1947*. Voume 1, (Lahore: Book Traders, 1954). P.50

<sup>8</sup> Punjab Administration Report-1851-52&53, pp 153-158

<sup>9</sup> Punjab Administration Report-1858, pp 58-61

<sup>10</sup> The Board of Administration had to deal with a disgruntled aristocracy and with the masses who had a strong feeling of antipathy towards their conquerors. The Punjab's cities and villages were placarded with notices demanding the surrender of arms. In a short while, 1,19,796 arms swords and matchlocks, a few pieces of cannon, rifles and other weapons were recovered. All military grants of Sikh times were abolished. The Guides Corps, raised by Henry Lawrence as resident in 1846 and now expanded to include troops of horse as well as of infantry, was charged with maintaining peace in the Derajat and guarding the chain of fortresses which were built to prevent tribal incursions from the northwest.

<sup>11</sup> H.H Dodwell, *Cambridge History of India*. Vol.VI. (Cambridge University press, 1960).p. 595

<sup>12</sup> Lee Herald, *Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence*, (Karachi, Oxford University Press,2002).p.222

<sup>13</sup> The Indian Council Act-1861 ,Sec.22

<sup>14</sup> The biggest drawback of the Act was regarding the selection and the role of the Additional Members. These members did not take part in the

discussions and their role was only advisory. The non-official members of the Executive Council were not interested in attending the meetings of the Council, moreover, under this Act they were not bound to attend them either. The Indian members were not eligible to oppose any bill and most often the bills were passed in one sitting without discussion.

<sup>15</sup> It also relaxed restrictions imposed by the thus allowing the councils to discuss each year's annual financial statement. They could also put questions within certain limits to the government on the matter of public interest after giving six days' notice, but none of them was given right to ask supplementary questions. Thus it prepared the base of Indian democracy.

<sup>16</sup> [https://archive.org/stream/1898PN1/1898PN1\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/1898PN1/1898PN1_djvu.txt)

<sup>17</sup> Coutenay Ilbert, *The Indian Councils Act, 1909*, British Institute of International and comparative Law. *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* Vol. 11, No. 2 (1911), pp. 243-254

<sup>18</sup> Hussain, Azam . *Fazl-i-Hussain: a Political Biography*. Bombay. 1946.p.75

<sup>19</sup> Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, January 8, 1921, pages 5-6.

<sup>20</sup> Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, October 27, 1923, page 387.

<sup>21</sup> Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, October 25, 1926, page 1810

<sup>22</sup> A. R. Tariq, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, (Lahore: Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1973), p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> Punjab Legislative Council Debates, 4-5 August 1924, vol. VII, no 1, 89

<sup>24</sup> L Salig Ram Bajaj. *A Brief Report of the Criticism on the Punjab Money Lenders' Registration Bill and the Resolutions of Protests Passed Against it All over the Country* (Lahore: Arorbans Press, 1925)

<sup>25</sup> PLCD, 26 November, 1928 to 28 March, 1929, Official Report, Vol. XII (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1929), 331-2.

<sup>26</sup> *Punjab Assembly 1987*. Ahmad book binding, 1987

<sup>27</sup> Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party* (New Delhi: Monohar Publishers, 1999), 71.

<sup>28</sup> Surinder Singh, "Some Aspects of Communist Movement in the Punjab," *Journal of Punjab Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 42

<sup>29</sup> PGGE 7 (1920). NAI, Home Public, File No. 120/1920.

<sup>30</sup> Proceedings, Punjab Legislative Council, November 10, 1936, page 411.

<sup>31</sup> Ahsan, A. *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan* (2<sup>nd</sup> . ed.), (Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1998). p.325

<sup>32</sup> B.S Nijjar, *Punjab Under British Rule*, Lahore: Book Tradrs. 1954.p.156



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<sup>33</sup> G.R.G Hambly, Richard Temple and the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1968. *The English Historical Review*, Volume LXXIX, Issue CCCX, 1 January 1964, Pages 47–66 Richard temple A former secretary of John Lawrence in the Punjab an energetic Chief Commissioner of Central Province ultimately Governor of Bengal 1874-77 and Governor of Bombay 1877-80 prominent figure in the debates of nature proprietary rights throughout sub continent.

<sup>34</sup> <https://punjabxp.com/punjab-land-revenue-act-1887/> The Punjab Land Revenue Act has been incorporated on 23rd September, 1887. This is an Act to amend the law relating to Tenancy of Land, Land Revenue Administration, records of rights, appointment and function of such Officers as may be deemed fit for this Act in State of Punjab.

<sup>35</sup> The **Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900** was a piece of legislation introduced by the with the aim of limiting the transfer of land ownership in Punjab Province. It created a an "agricultural tribes" category, the membership of which was almost compulsory to buy or sell land.