

Role of the Muslim Anjumans for the Promotion of Education in the Colonial Punjab: A Historical Analysis

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Abstract

This article highlights the vibrant role of the Muslim Anjumans in activating the educational revival in the colonial Punjab. The latter half of the 19th century, particularly the decade 1880-1890, witnessed the birth of several Muslim Anjumans (societies) in the Punjab province. These were, in fact, a product of growing political consciousness and desire for collective efforts for the community-betterment. The Muslims, in other provinces, were lagging behind in education and other avenues of material prosperity. Their social conditions were also far from being satisfactory. Religion too had become a collection of rites and superstitions and an obstacle for their educational progress. During the same period, they also faced a grievous threat from the increasing proselytizing activities of the Christian Missionary societies and the growing economic prosperity of the Hindus who by virtue of their advancement in education, commerce and public services, were emerging as a dominant community in the province. The Anjumans rescued the Muslim youth from the verge of what then seemed imminent doom of ignorance by establishing schools and madrasas in almost all cities of the Punjab. The focus of these Anjumans was on both secular and religious education, which was advocated equally for both genders. Their trained scholars confronted the anti-Islamic activities of the Christian missionaries. The educational development of the Muslims in the Colonial Punjab owes much to these Anjumans.

Keywords: Colonial Punjab, Muslim Anjumans, educational development, Muslim leadership, British interests

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Introduction

The Muslim Anjumans were the center for rejuvenation of the Muslim youth and sowed the seed for the collective struggle for the recognition of colonized Muslims. The need for organized efforts and organizations was natural as Muslims started to experience decline in educational, political and social domains in the Indian sub-continent. Becoming politically conscious, they sought to better their plight through collective efforts, and the Muslim Anjumans emerged as a result. A great stimulus was provided by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) and his Aligarh Movement respectively. These Anjumans were of various kinds and had different objectives clearly chalked out in their manifestos. While some were meant solely for religious reformations, others were restricted to certain ethnicities, castes and sects. There were also a few secular organizations established by joint efforts of both the major communities of United India, the Hindus and the Muslims. The Anjumans activated the Muslim youth, both male and female, to become acquainted with the Islamic culture of education. Striving for social reforms, educational improvement and community-building of the Muslims, these Anjumans played a very significant role in creating the Muslim identity at mass level in the Indian sub-continent.

Additionally, these Anjumans provided their overt anti-colonial doctrines through their manifestos. Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore is a prime example. Not only did it provide education to the suppressed community, but also inculcated new revolutionary concepts vis-à-vis counter colonial tactics. To combat the colonialists, it was pertinent to converse in their language to attract the popular masses and other worldly supreme powers. Thus, it established that education and its progress dealt with the inculcation of certain intended ideology in the common masses to chalk out the embedded purposes in the society (Althuser, 1990). Most importantly, against the backdrop of the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), these Anjumans played a cardinal role in gluing the scattered and shattered sections of the Colonial Punjab, especially through invoking a certain set of thoughts and behaviours through these platforms of Anjumans.

Moreover, these Anjumans instigated collective struggles in the form of movements and combined moderate resistance through the mode of education. A common example is the Aligarh Movement that worked for promoting education, and there are many historical works that deal exclusively with this movement. Hasan's *The Aligarh Movement and the Making of the Indian Muslim Mind, 1857-2002* is a seminal and somewhat modern version of the past educational efforts of the movement. The author, being an Aligarh-based journalist, documents the conspicuous reverberations of Sir Syed's education-driven actions that still have resonance in contemporary societies, both in India and Pakistan. He, through the presentation of undeniable facts, argues that the Aligarh Movement brought an "educational renaissance" among the Indian Muslims.

In this connection, a number of other works have also been reviewed in the literature to float a wider and extensive domain of ideas regarding the effective role of the Anjumans in the Colonial Punjab. It alludes to the fact that Anjumans in the Colonial Punjab not only presented themselves as olive branches or sanctuaries for the Muslims but also for the Hindus. Rather, this disseminating of education through such entities, in the long run, revolutionized the colonized community, by giving birth to formidable personalities like Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar (1878-1931) and especially the cadres of freedom fighters who appeared out of Aligarh Movement and some other Anjumans.

However, the Anjumans' most important and major contribution was in the field of education. Many of them established schools for the boys as well as for the girls. Though these schools were not of a very high standard, they fulfilled a dire need in the history of Muslim education. The Muslims had not responded favorably to the government's system of secular education and were also handicapped by their general poverty. This had created a grave crisis and challenge for their existence in the British India. It also infused consciousness amongst them and accounted for establishment of the Anjumans. The most important schools under these Anjumans for boys were established by Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore, Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar, Anjuman-i-Islamia Multan and Anjuman-i-Islamia Rawalpindi. Institutions of varying standards were also opened by Anjumans in Ludhiana, Batala, Jalandhar, Simla, Ropar and several other towns (Talbot, 2011). All in all, these Muslim Anjumans promoted religious as well as secular education, mutual cooperation, purification of Islamic culture and values, unity and harmony among the Muslims in the Punjab Province. In other words, these Anjumans formulated a discourse stipulated by the suppressed community, a discourse which is an amalgamation of socio-lingual, psychological factors and behaviors encoded in language in the form of education to promote one's agenda, it also acted as a resistance force (Foucault, 1972); these Anjumans formulated a specific discourse which affected and re-oriented the life patterns of the Muslim students. Consequently, the Colonial Punjab resisted through and progressed in their representation of certain rights and ideologies after the formulation of these Anjumans. These were the Anjumans which led the somewhat chaotic and confused goals of the colonized community in India for harmonious representation of heterogeneous communities in the sub-continent.

Objectives of the study

- 1) To identify the leading educational strategies that the Muslim Anjumans harnessed to promote education.
- 2) To underscore the role of educational reforms in bringing about a Muslim nationalism in the sub-continent.
- 3) To enlighten the multifaceted resistance of these Anjumans in the Colonial Punjab and how this resistance crystallized into rights of recognition.

Question of the study

- 1) What kind of educational arrangements did the Muslim Anjumans put into action to promote education in the Punjab province during the colonial period?
- 2) What can be the ways and means of the Muslim Anjumans, applied to stabilize fragmented approaches to education and national identity?

Research Methodology

As far as the research paradigm is concerned, this research is qualitative mainly relying on historical records to frame and shape the educational policies. It is inter-disciplinary research wherein both education and historical accounts are the points of attention. It is qualitative for the reason that it entails non-numerical data to explore the proposed targets. The historical method opted for this research is 'descriptive' and 'interpretive' as it aims to explicate factual accounts to forward potential recommendations. In many ways, this approach endeavours to rectify the already existing historical sources to outline effective policy patterns for education. Owing to its natural design, it is also closely aligned with descriptive and constructivist approaches, which not only help in better understanding but also explores possibilities of change.

Data Collection

First-hand testimonies, which are available in the form of Anjumans' documents and manifestoes, have been used as the primary source. To corroborate and evaluate the far-reaching impacts of the Anjumans' educational policies, secondary texts, which are available in the form of insightful history books, have also been consulted. For the analysis of selected primary and secondary sources, an historical analysis has been employed and by virtue of this method it draws comparison between the educational policies of the contemporary times and of the pre-independence period. The data for this research is difficult to categorize partly because of the multiplicity of the historical accounts and partly because of the multiplicity of the Anjumans. As far as the primary data is concerned, the 'Annual Reports' of the Anjumans especially the reports of Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, selected from the period ranging from 1870 to 1947, have been taken into account. These historical works, *Muslim Anjumans and Communitarian Consciousness* by Malik, (1997) Waheed's (1945) *The Evolution of Muslim Education* and Wasti's *Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore-A Brief History*. The documented history of Anjumans extends beyond the mentioned sources and as the reading of this article would suggest, other data resources have also been consulted.

Data Analysis

The analysis given below has been made under a single section, which incorporates different aspects of the pre-Independence Muslim society and the Muslim Anjumans. The analysis records, in the beginning, the birth of the Anjumans and their mushrooming, and then proceeds to analyse their educational policies. The rationale behind their emergence is highly pertinent and expounded alongside their functions. The last part of the analysis discusses the often-neglected relevance of their policies in the contemporary context.

Before venturing into the analysis, it is pertinent to take into account briefly the available relevant literature. The already explored areas of the colonial period are abundant indeed; one can find a lot of work related to education in pre-partition times. However, as far as the limitations of this literature review are concerned, the literature covered largely belongs to the historical domain and has less to do with pedagogy. Considering the theme, the works related to educational development and the Anjumans have been recorded.

There are multiple works like *Aligarh's First Generation* (1978) by Lelyveld, which chronicle the linchpin role of the established institutions under the Aligarh Movement, played in revolutionizing education among the Muslims. Lelyveld's text focuses more on the "formation of the Muslim cultural identity" and that distinct identity was promoted and mediated by the first generation of students and teachers. It identifies the need and reasons for the establishment of educational institutions like the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College.

Jania's *The Aligarh Movement: Its Origin and Development, 1858-1906* (1979), also puts forth the evolving educational strategies of the movement and how their methods synchronized with modernity rather than with traditional schools. Speaking of traditional education, there are other movements that too emerged in response to the depleted conditions of the Muslims, but their focus was apart from the secular Aligarh Movement. These were religious movements that endeavoured to rejuvenate the Muslims by reintroducing religious reforms.

The Deobandi Movement's role in education was enormous, albeit traditional in nature. The book, *Traditionalist Islamic Activism: Deoband, Tablighis and Talibs* (2002) by Barbara D. Metcalf, which focused on retracing the roots of religious fervour, also locates the early promotion of the *Quranic* and *Hadith* education, which played a crucial role in fanning anti-colonial sentiments and shaping separate Muslim identity. Quite disinterested in analysis, Metcalf hails the Deobandi Movement as "reformist", as it countered many of the regressive customs of the sub-continent and rivalled the Sikh and the Hindu educational movements. Qureshi's *Ulema in Politics* (1972) also sketches out that how Ulema's role was grounded in the polity owing to their religious educationist role.

Waheed's *The Evolution of Muslim Education* (1945) is also a significant work, which records the gradual development of Muslims in terms of education. He brings into account the much neglected aspects of education in the Indian society. Beginning with madrasa education, it traces the place of *Dinyat* (Islamic Studies) in the colonial educational institutions. The services of the Anjumans have been duly recognized by Waheed; however, he focuses more on the phenomenon of their emergence rather than the pragmatic steps that they took for educational improvement.

Having referenced the works on the topic, there is an obvious research gap that demands fulfilment. The questions of Anjumans' strategies and their relevance are altogether unaddressed and the questions of their educational model and workings also require due reconsideration. With these facts and questions in mind, this research paper is an attempt to revisit the decades in which the Muslim Anjumans successfully worked for the advancement of the Muslim rationale in the field of education.

Contributions of the Major Muslim Anjumans in the Field of Education

After the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), these were the Muslim Anjumans that glued the scarred and shattered the Muslim community, and more importantly the declining societal conditions wherein they forged their action plans. By tracing the formative phases of the respective Anjumans, different contributions, certain hurdles and ideologies can be mentioned which resuscitated the dormant ideologies and societies in the sub-continent. The first major society was Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore, established in 1869, during the British period to look after the Muslim interests in the Punjab province. Its immediate and main concern was the renovation and management of the Badshahi Mosque, which had only a few years earlier been restored for the Muslims. Other examples can be quoted to strengthen the credentials required for alluding to the vigorous changes occurring in the colonized community. Khan Barkat Ali Khan founded the Anjuman-i-Islamia (Ikram, 1997); its members belonged to the most elite and aristocratic families of the city (Chaghtai, 1972). In 1888, its membership reached 125 (Barrier, 1968). The Anjuman proved beneficial for other needs and problems of the community and within a short span of time it became the most important representative body of the Punjabi Muslims. In 1873, another Anjuman, under a similar title, was established in the other major city, i.e., Amritsar. It was also founded by members of aristocratic families, government officials and pensioners (Chhabra, 2005). It immediately established a school for religious education in a mosque but after a grant from the Nawab of Bahawalpur, added other subjects including English (Churchill, 1974). In December 1882, it was named Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar and its objectives were: i) teaching and popularization of religious and modern education, ii) reform and welfare of the community, iii) to acquaint the Government of the problems and desires of the community and iv) to suggest and

strive for other matters which were in the interests of the community (Nurullah, 1943). In 1896, two more objectives were added, which were to discuss political matters from time to time and to provide scholarships for higher education (Deol, 2003). The Anjuman remained an important body largely because of its influence on the Punjabi Muslims. Thus, it is proposed that this rapid response and surge in the formulation and propagation of certain Anjumans catered to the needs of neglected Muslims. Significantly, it brought into the limelight the anti-colonial stance indoctrinated through education and more self-realization and self-evaluation. After the War of 1857, this penchant for education was established, as a result, the Muslim community realizing their declining position due to racial and ideological bias which can only be countered by the mode of education. As Bacon says, "If we are to achieve things never before accomplished, we must employ methods never before attempted" (Bacon, 1661).

Consequently, the steep rise in the number of Anjumans showed the common resistance by the repressed societies and their vehemence for education and their rightful and fair representation. Several new Anjumans were established during 1880-1899; in Gujrat, Wazirabad, Ambala, Hissar, Ropar, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Jhang, Gujranwala, Qasur, Montgomery, Ferozpur, Rawalpindi, Jalalpur Jattan, Jhajjar, Multan, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Batala, Simla, Jalandhar, Patiala, Hoshiarpur and other places (Zaman, 1999). Most of these were named as Anjuman-i-Islamia and modeled upon the pattern of Lahore society. Their leadership was again assumed by members of the elite and upper middle class (Viswanathan, 1987). In 1884, Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam was established in Lahore. Though with similar objectives, it laid greater stress upon education and propagation of Islam. Its objectives were: i) to counter the words of the opponents of Islam through lip and pen services, and for this purpose to appoint preachers and publish journals etc. ii) to make arrangement for religious instruction of Muslim boys and girls so as to ward off the adverse effects of the teachings of other religions, and iii) to strive for social reforms, moral improvement of the Muslims and to promote amongst them a desire for religious and secular education, mutual co-operation and unity. In 1888, two more objectives were added, which were i) to care for the destitute and orphan Muslim boys and girls and ii) to acquaint the Muslims with the benefits of gratefulness and loyalty to the Government (Farquhar, 1915). It established several schools for the boys and girls, including an orphanage and a flourishing publishing house. Most significantly, it unearthed the basic understanding that the rise in the formulation and tenets of Anjumans was in accordance with the needs of the Muslim community. Beside this, there were also other Muslim societies variously aimed at social reforms, economic co-operation and greater unity amongst different sections. This account should not, however, lead us to the conclusion that societies were founded only upon communal basis; there were also bodies established through joint efforts to promote the education and for common benefits of all the

communities. In other words, colonialist aftershocks can be underscored by acquainting oneself with education, new vistas of knowledge, modern modes of expression and more meticulous cultural understandings; these functions of the Muslims Anjumans performed subtly to elevate the stature of the Muslim community.

This expansion of the Anjumans, in 19th century, led to a hegemonic impact of one Anjuman on the other Anjumans. The complaints were also occasionally made against the misuse of positions for personal purpose by members and office-bearers (Jones, 2002). Though some of these were correct, they portrayed the conditions of the Muslim community and the emergence of a new and energetic leadership. Some of the Anjumans were also the product of an effervescent rise and enthusiastic spirit particularly during the years 1883-1890. In addition to this, these were all voluntary in nature and depended upon the consistent help and co-operation of their members, a phenomenon which is difficult to obtain even in advanced societies. Resultantly, in 1895, an Anjuman was established in Lahore to create better understanding and unity among Anjuman-i-Islamia, Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam and Anjuman-i-Naumania (Hardy, 1904). Several newspapers also regretted the mushrooming and unnecessary duplication of these societies (Ikram, 1987). Most of the Anjumans had and were controlled by a set of rules and regulations, adapted to a large extent through a democratic procedure. Each had a general council, executive committee and honorary office-bearers, elected after periodic interval. These modifications played an important role to change the hegemonic expression and fell victim to internal politics which delayed the process of the Muslim activism in the Colonial Punjab. Most importantly, 'Reproductive acculturation' occurred in this competition and control tactics, wherein appropriation of curricula and systems in accordance with supreme culture, were transacted according to a 'supposed' ideal affecting the commons at large. In other words, competition among different Anjumans gave birth to the appropriation of Anjumans' culture, to reinforce the need of education with certain ideologies provided in certain Anjumans. This active role of the Muslim Anjumans' leads it to emancipation of expansion of the other Anjumans that gave birth to diversity in the use of educative tools in the colonized area. In fact, in the Punjab province; it belied the actual essence of the collective struggle momentarily which diminished the process of rejuvenation of the Colonial Punjab and its colonized residents. Splitting its 'fabric' into various folds, this educationist agenda or movement can be taken as new discourse formulation, be it anti-or-pro colonial mindset, as it relies on objects (colonized ones) to reinforce the intended behavior (Foucault, 1977). This propagation of the Anjumans led to the formulation of a specific discourse only confined to and designed by these Anjumans. Thus, it can be argued that the Anjumans played their role on the basis of their perceived superior and primitive roots to inculcate the ideas embedded in one's ideologies, cultures and societal orientations.

Other prominent factor that supported this endeavor to educate the colonized Muslims and extricate themselves from the clutches of colonialist's encounters is that the Anjumans re-formulated the grass-roots to reinforce the Muslim representations in the sub-continent; in other words, these Anjumans sought to present the Muslims as a major section of the sub-continent community. The role that the Anjumans played in the lives of the Punjabi Muslims before the partition of India was without doubt an enormous. Despite their weaknesses and failures, they generated a wide spread enthusiasm for educational progress and social reforms. One of the strategies used by the Anjumans was easy terms and requisites of membership. The more open-ended and inclusive they kept their membership, the more transmissible education became. The membership of the Anjumans, except for a few, was not very large. It usually ranged between 100 and 400. The Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam was the only organization with a large membership exceeding 800, within four years of its foundation (Joshi, 2002). The members usually included notable aristocratic families, honorary magistrates, lawyers, traders and government officials. Muslims of other provinces were also eligible and applied occasionally for membership. For this reason, these Anjumans usually remained moderate and loyalist in their attitude towards political issues and concentrated their activities mainly upon educational progress and socio-religious reforms of the Muslim community. Owing to the independence of membership, loyalty and impartiality in approach, these Anjumans were able to resist the British Raj and its tormented and enforced policies. Thus, they provided an anti-discourse, anti-colonial and resistive response through and by the platform and mode of education. To deny one prevailing framework of thought is to adopt at least one other theoretical framework, this is how discourse always transacts (Foucault, 1974). These Anjumans not only inculcated desired ideologies in the subjects (Punjabi Muslims) but provided counter narratives and tools to express themselves along with their rights.

In addition, financial dependence and pecuniary system are also established evidences for the sustenance of particular adherence to particular schools of thought. Firstly, the main sources of their income were monthly subscriptions, donations from the Muslims states and notables, *Zakat* (Muslim charity tax in wealth), collections on *Eid* (Muslim religious festival) and other ceremonies like *Shab-e-Qadr* and grants by local bodies. Some Anjumans, particularly Himayat-i-Islam appointed *Vakils* (representatives) who travelled to different places to collect donations. The Anjuman also ran a thriving publishing house which considerably added to its financial resources. The best example of a financially sound management was the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore, whose income increased from Rs. 316 in 1885 to more than one lakh in 1905 (Khwaja, 1973). In most of the cases, accounts of income and expenditures were properly kept and lists of donors were published in periodic reports. Notwithstanding that, several Anjumans; failed

to implement their projects and in spite of being unable to bear the harsh strides of colonial dominance, suffered the ignominy of bankruptcy and budget deficit. Thus, this break-up and economic downfall caused the collapse of major branches of the Anjumans.

Amending and designing curricula is framing reality of the preceptors (Said, 2012). This curriculum equates a discourse, a certain set of incorporated ideologies, imbedded behaviors and certain sets of societal norms (Foucault, 1973); this shapes one's behavior and formulates certain responses. The Muslim Anjumans laid special emphasis upon religious education, moral training and the observance of collective prayers during school hours and fasting in the month of *Ramzan*, the Muslims' month of fasting (Allender, 2009); even in *madrassas* (seminary), what were stressed were *Qirat* and *Tajwid-ul-Quran*; correct reading of the Quran (Langhor, 2005). In these institutions, the students were charged no fees. The seminary of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore was started in October 1886 as a lower primary school with only thirty boys and two teachers in a rented building (Shahid, 2019). In 1892, college classes were also added. It became the biggest private Muslim institution with 1211 students in December 1901. The Anjuman also published textbooks on several subjects, which besides being used in its own schools were also used in a number of other Islamia schools all over the country. Therefore, by preaching a certain sort of discourse or literature, the Anjumans enabled the popular masses to dwell upon their fallen status and maneuver for their respective causes. Undoubtedly, this education re-oriented their beliefs, refreshed their souls and provided new vistas for their self-expression; in other words, these Anjumans provided the only safe-havens education to facilitate the Punjabi Muslims in pre-partition India. In this regard, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental School of Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar is the prime example.

More important is that these Anjumans also played an important and pioneering role in the Muslim female education. The process of change encompassed the whole pre-partition India and especially Punjab, as a result, there was great upheaval demanding women's emancipation. The Punjab was caught in the nationwide moment for women's rights in the 19th century, a common example is the prohibition of 'sati': a burning of wife alive with dead husband. Arya Samaj and Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam spearheaded this movement (Chanana, 1997). No doubt, the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore performed a pioneering role in this domain. In 1885, a public meeting was held to discuss this problem in the Badshahi Mosque. Soon, five schools were opened in the houses at different localities under the management of local leaders. Separate courses, with special emphasis upon religious and house-hold subjects, were prepared for them (Malik, 1982). These Anjumans also published its own books, which were later imitated by other Muslim schools as well. These schools taught students only up to the upper primary level and were opened to other women of the locality for instruction in religious and house-

hold subjects. Their number varied between twelve and fifteen, and in 1897 one of these was raised to middle standard. Apart from inculcating necessary instructions, these schools also effectively checked the activities of the Christian *Zenana* (female) Missionary Societies. Later on, in some parts of the region, some of the schools were either closed or merged into the Anjumans' *madrassas*. Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Amritsar also established some schools for the Muslim girls (Malik, 1995). Similar schools were opened by Anjuman-i-Islamia Batala and by several other Muslim societies as well. Hence, the Muslim Anjumans evoked general awareness of feminine awareness and prosperity in the Colonial Punjab.

These Anjumans also awarded scholarships as well as provided other pecuniary assistance to the Muslim students, particularly those undertaking higher education. In 1887, the Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore provided a legacy to the Punjab Government for the grant of special scholarships to the Muslim students (Hefner, 2007). Consequently, fourteen Jubilee scholarships were announced for five years. The Director of Public Instruction was also authorized to increase the amount of grant and fee concessions for the Muslim institutions (Muhammad, 2000). These scholarships were extended for the period of five years on the Anjumans request in 1892 and 1897 respectively (Khan, 2007). The Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar also, in its addresses to Lord Ripon and Lt. Governor Sir Charles Aitchison, stressed the need for special measures to be taken and scholarships for the promotion of Muslim education (Arnon, 1982). In 1889, besides its own regular scholarships, it offered financial help to all those Muslim students who failed their B. A. examination (Sufi, 2007). Such progressive efforts laid down the basis for a solid education platform for the society at large; these Anjumans were a major force in promoting academic awareness which reformulated every repressed corner of the society and in particular the impoverished portion of the community.

The Muslim Anjumans also strongly supported Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's endeavors for the Aligarh College and the Muslims educational progress. Several Anjumans enthusiastically welcomed and contributed a handsome amount during his visit in 1884 (Zubair, 2015). They also played an important role in the success of Muhammadan Educational Conference. In fact, the Punjabi Muslims provided the most liberal and enthusiastic help to the Aligarh Movement. The Anjumans generally supported Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in his approach towards the Indian National Congress. Most of them held meetings in response to his call and passed resolutions opposing Muslims participation in politics owing to the political activities of the Congress (Tuteja, 1995). They also affiliated themselves to the United Indian Patriotic Association, while some threatened to debar those members who would attend any meeting sponsored by or held in support of the Congress. The Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore, in conjunction with Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar submitted a memoir to the British Parliament against the

Bradlaugh Bill (Waheed, 1945). They were the foremost champions of opposition against the Congress and played an important role in restraining Muslims to boycott it. They also adopted a loyalist attitude and avowed the strengthening of loyalist sentiments amongst the Punjabi Muslims as one of their important objectives (Wasti, 1976).

However, these Anjumans took a keen interest and strongly advocated other Muslim causes and appeared as a harbinger of success for the general community. In 1887, the Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore in a memorandum to the Punjab Government, called for making up the deficiency of the Muslim employees in government offices (Yusuf, 1972). The Anjuman continued its efforts and presented further memorandums for implementation. Similarly, the Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar in its evidence before the Public Service Commission, called upon the Government to increase the number of gazetted and non-gazetted posts for Indians. It urged the Government to include amongst the Indians, only those who had been settled in the country for a long period and were subjected to the Indian Penal Code. These Anjuman also took a keen interest and played an important role in safeguarding the Muslim interests in the municipal elections. Its membership was, in fact, considered as a guarantee for success in the elections. In 1888, it requested the Government to postpone the elections due to the community bitterness and fill all vacancies with nominees of the respective community. A similar application was submitted by the Hindu *Sabha* (Sabha used for assembly an organized group or parliament) which resulted in the division of seats between the two communities and the introduction of a separate electorate in Amritsar municipal elections (Thorburn, 1904). In December 1898, it strongly opposed the move for reducing the number of vice-presidents to one. As a result, the Government decided to rotate the role of office between the communities. The Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore also played an important role in local affairs. In 1873, it successfully intervened and conciliated in the dispute between *Wahabis* (member of a strictly orthodox Sunni Muslim sect) and other Muslims. In 1877-78, it also collected and sent a large amount of money to help the Turks wounded in the Russo-Turkish war (Langohr, 2005). Furthermore, it called upon the Government to take measures to rectify the misuse of the Muslim *Auqaf* (endowments) in the Punjab province. In 1891, it insisted that the Government establish a Legislative Council in the Punjab province, and also expressed its concerns over the large scale export of wheat from the province. In 1899, it severely criticized the proposed Punjab Court Bill (Mir, 2010).

These Anjumans organized stiff resistance to the activities of the Christian Missionaries and the Hindus Revivalist Societies. In fact, this formed a principal objective of the several societies. The Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore appointed regular preachers who delivered public lectures at important places and festivals across the city to create awareness (Wright, 1966). On several occasions they arranged successful dialogues with the opponents of Islam. The Anjumans also published a number of tracts in repudiation of anti-Islam literature. In 1881, the Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore strongly objected to a pamphlet written by a Christian Missionary. In 1892, it protested against William's pamphlet entitled '*Muhammad Ki Tawarikh Ka Ajmaal*' as a result, the author had to apologize and suspend its circulation. In 1898, it submitted another memorandum along with Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore and the Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar against the tract '*Umahatt-ul-Momineen*' (the term used for the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) wives; mothers of the believers) published by the Christian Missionaries. These Muslim Anjumans in other parts of the region also contributed in checking the propaganda of the anti-Islamic organizations. Similarly, the Ulemas, the Muslim religious leaders and even scholars struggled hard to uplift the Muslims in the field of education (Qureshi, 1972). Consequently, the historical analysis sketched above is the clear manifestation of the role played by the Muslim Anjumans in promoting education in the Colonial Punjab in the latter half of the 19th century. All these platforms played a pivotal role not only in promoting the religious education but also retarding the anti-Islam discourse. Both males and females alike received enlightenment from the efforts made by the Muslim leaders through these Anjumans in the field of education.

Discussion and Conclusions

Quite significantly, this research paper underscores the efficacious endeavors of the Muslims Anjumans to emancipate the Muslims in general and provides proof for the cardinal role in gluing and specifically strengthening the colonized community of the sub-continent. It also calls into question different political ideologies of the colonizers and tracks the strides taken by Punjabi Muslims throughout their resistance maneuvers against the British Raj, and succinctly opens up new dimensions for future literary research. To break the educational inertia, it was paramount to reduce dependence on the British financing, which the Anjumans did successfully, although it continued to rely sporadically on the colonists' monetary support. Furthermore, the Anjumans moved towards autonomy both ideologically and economically for the reason that its educational activities, such as countering the Missionary education, at times noticeably opposed the British Raj. Though, there were several joint societies, they could not surpass the communal organizations in number and importance. Despite their communal character, the role of the Anjumans, *Sabhas* and other societies cannot be diminished in the progress and development of their respective communities. Till the emergence of Anjumans, the country lacked a force which could co-ordinate its people into a united struggle.

The educational model that has been used in the Anjumans' study offers the reconciliation between the Islamic and secular education in the Colonial Punjab. It is based on the philosophy of binarism such as superiority and inferiority of the races and cultures. Since independence, the educational model in Pakistan is teetering on the edge of disarray and has found no solid ground on account of imbalanced policies. A modernized and balanced version of education that incorporates both secular and religious aspects can be modeled on that of the Anjumans. Another strategically imperative policy was the promotion of Muslim nationhood. They provided training for collective work which prepared them for the future struggle in helping to create a national identity. Several schools, seminaries and publishing houses were established and funded by Anjuman-i-Islamia, Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam and others to build a favorable climate for the Muslims to progress in the field of education. Its trained people countered anti-Islamic propaganda of the Christian Missionaries. These were the first organizations that infused the seeds of Muslim nationalism as well as Pan-Islamism in India.

These Anjumans in the Indian sub-continent played a pivotal role in igniting nationalism and Pan-Islamism among the Muslims of the India by rescuing them from the perils of sectarianism through their strong, efficient and strategic schemes of education. These schemes stand as being undeniably important for our present educational policies that can be used to act as a catalyst to steady education system in Pakistan. Moreover, the open-ended subscription to the Anjumans also signals crucial strategies that can play the role of a strong rope to bind the dwellers of this state into an unbreakable chain. In addition to this, the religious policies of the Anjumans can help us in strengthening the strong feelings of nationalism and national identity to further promote mass level harmony among the Muslims. In this regard, our education system can be molded on the very patterns of the Anjumans that led to the foundations of mutual co-operation and sowed the seeds of resilient nationalism among the different communities of the Colonial Punjab. As education holds enormous importance in instilling the strong emotions and feelings of nationalism, therefore, the strategic mechanism of an influential education system of the Anjumans can be adopted to ward off and ply the harsh waves of provincialism, sectarianism and racism in our country. It would not be wrong to state that these Anjumans were the forerunners of an organized struggle that the Muslims undertook in future. For a historian, the past is never dead; its presence needs to be retraced and its educative lessons need to be voiced for the betterment of the present. Much can be learnt from the efforts of the Anjumans, while Pakistan, struggles to promote education and to reform Islamic seminaries.

Recommendations

The following recommendations can be put forward: The Muslim Anjumans' educational strategies of open-ended membership, economic and ideological autonomy, religious and secular balance are the key areas which are, and wherein lie, the mechanism and models for a modern educational scheme. The educational design of community building furthered by the Anjumans can be followed to harmonize national identity, albeit with modern adaptations.

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