

DEWAN BAHADUR SATYA PRAKASH SINGHA: A STRUGGLER OF THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Ishfaq Naveed (M.Phil History)

Lecturer in History

Govt. Islamia Graduate College Civil Lines, Lahore

Email ID: ishfaqgill@gmail.com

Abstract:

This article is an effort to view the political ideology of S.P. Singha, a renowned political figure in the freedom movement. This article aimed to explore the political idea of Singha and his political role in the formative phase of Punjab partition in 1947 as speaker of United Punjab Assembly before partition. According to his point of view that partition of Punjab is not in favor of the residents of Punjab from socio-political and economic perspectives. It should not be divided between Pakistan and India. The present research is highlighting the political and social services of S.P. Singha as the Christian leader in the struggle for the independence. Apart from this, his political efforts with Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Nehru have been discussed in this article. It also highlighted the challenges and resistance, faced by S.P. Singha in pursuing of his political ideas.

Key words: Minorities, casting vote, socio-political, partition of Punjab, India, Pakistan

Introduction:

Before partition, Mr. Sattiya Parkash Singha, belonging to Rajpoot dynasty, was the former Speaker of United Punjab Assembly and served as first Speaker of West Punjab Assembly. His family was presented with an estate in Bihar and Burdwaan¹ by the great Mughal King Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar². Later on, his ancestors converted to Christianity but the title of “Dewan” remained their recognition for many years³.

S. P. Singha, was born on 26th April of 1893, settled in Pasroor, Sialkot, and completed his matriculation from Provincial Bearing High School Batala (India). His higher education was from F.C. College Lahore and St. Stephen College Dehli. A historian, Mr. Salamat Akhtar stated that S.P. Singha did Master Degree in English, Philosophy and L.L.B with distinction⁴. It is viewed that his educational institutions left over impacts over his political and social ideologies. He was a good poet of Punjabi and English⁵. As an educationist and lawyer, he assisted S.M. Burke, E.N. Mangat Rai, and P.C. Lal Mahraj Singh, A.P. Gill, Akhtar Joseph Julian Fazal Elahi, James Rehani, Salim Chaudhary, Raja William Arthar Paul, Sharif Abid, Habib Raheem Bakhsh and Kabeer Yal Taray Shah. He participated in the First World War (1914-18) as a commissioned officer⁶, as a Chief Secretary Indian Army YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association), Director Troops Comforts Fund, Director Education for Indian Troops Centre, Editorial Officer 11/15 Punjab Regiment, Member Punjab War Board Non-Official Secretary and played the role in the Soldiers Welfare Committee whereas while World War II (1939-45) was being fought, he established a “*Christian Regiment*” which was consisted on local Christians. Christian Regiment fought at the battlefield of Central East⁷. By recognition his

¹ Raja N. Gill, *Christians’ Role in Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Nigaarshat Publishers, 2017), 104.

² Fr. Francis Nadeem, *Yae Daes Hamara Hai* (Lahore: Hum Ahang Publishers, 1997), 141.

³ Raja N. Gill, *Christians’ Role in Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Nigaarshat Publishers, 2017), 104.

⁴ Azam Mairaj, *Shnakhat Naama* (Karachi: Mairaj Publications, 2017), 72.

⁵ Hamid Henry, *National Christian Heroes and Heroines* (Gujranwala: Maktaba-e-Anaveem Pakistan, 1997), 24.

⁶ Ibid., 24-25.

⁷ Ibid., 73.

services, Mr. S.P. Singha was given the title of “*Dewan*.” Later on, due to his educational services as Registrar, University of the Punjab, Lahore, he was awarded the distinction of “*Dewan Bahadur*”⁸.

Mr. S.P. Singha along with his good-character and nationalist wife recollected and reminded us the “*Good Samaritan*” in the gospel and “*Ansaar-e-Madina*” in the Islamic History by helping and saving the Muslim refugees from the brutality and cruelty of the *Rashtriya Sevak Sangh (RSS)*, Hindus and the Sikhs. Mr. Singha not only nursed the Muslim refugees himself, but also he prepared other Christian doctors and nurses to help and give first aid to the refugees. In November, when Quaid-e-Azam visited Walton Camp of Refugees, he also visited Christian Hospitals First Aid Desks where Mr. S.P. Singha and C.E. Gibbon welcomed Mr. Jinnah⁹. While delivering a speech, Mr. Jinnah owed a debt of gratitude. In this reception, apart from Quaid-e-Azam, Ms. Fatima Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan (Punjab Chief Minister), Nawab of Mamdot (president of Muslim League Punjab), B.L. Rulia Ram, honorable E. Pew (Anglo-Indian Association’s representative) and many Sikhs and untouchable leaders attended¹⁰. After the death of Jinnah, it was difficult for S.P. Singha to continue his commitment and his political services for the betterment of the Christian community as well as for Pakistan due to the immature political behavior of the parliamentarian towards the minorities. Finally, he had to resign from the portfolio of Speaker Punjab Assembly solely because of his religious identity. He passed away on 22nd of October 1948. His wife and daughter left the country in 1958 and lived in India¹¹.

Research Methodology:

The research has been designed on the qualitative research methodology basis and second source data has been accessed to argue the statement of the problem. This study is a case study of S.P. Singha to explore his political contribution in Sub-Continent in the context of the partition of United Punjab. It highlighted the political involvement of the Christians in the struggle for independence.

Statement of the Problem

Freedom and liberty from slavery is very essential for every human beings living in any part of the world. The British elite ruled out and colonized the Sub-Continent almost for two hundred years. After all, the people of Sub-Continent tried their best to get freedom from the British rule, which is called the freedom movement of Sub-Continent. During that independence movement, the role of Mr. S.P. Singha among all the political leaders and partition of Punjab is very crucial. He always favoured and followed the ideology of All India Muslim League (AIML) and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It is pertinent to clarify that he put his best efforts for the cause of Pakistan. Except from all the efforts rendered by S.P. Singha being the speaker of United Punjab assembly and later Pakistani Punjab Assembly, there were no facts found regarding his casting vote in the whole scenario of Punjab partition during the proceedings of Punjab Assembly on 23rd June of 1947.

⁸ Salma Butt, “*Remembering a Marginalised Hero: Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha*” (Pakistan Today, June 22, 2016), 1-2.

⁹ Fr. Francis Nadeem, *Yae Dais Hamara Hai* (Lahore: Hum Ahang Publishers, 1997), 75.

¹⁰ Emmanuel Zafar, *A Concise History of Pakistani Christians*. (Lahore: Humsookhan Publications, 2007), 123.

¹¹ Salma Butt, “*Remembering a Marginalised Hero: Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha*” (Pakistan Today, June 22, 2016), 2.

Objectives of the Study:

- To determine all the efforts made by Christians in freedom movement of Pakistan
- To highlight the socio-political struggle of Christian leaders
- To explore the political ideology of S.P. Singha
- To determine the role of S.P. Singha in Partition of Punjab
- To elaborate the facts and reality of Casting vote of S.P. Singha
- To determine the role of Christian parliamentarians of Punjab regarding Pakistan
- To determine the services of S.P. Singha regarding rehabilitation of refugees after partition

Literature Review:

Bangash (2016) "*The Christian Story*" argued that Mr. Singha did struggle for the establishment of Pakistan and highlighted the issue of casting vote of S.P. Singha, concocted story among all the Christian writers and common people belonging to Christian community.

Butt (2016) "*Remembering a Marginalised Hero: Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha*" has mentioned the life, works and socio-political services and untiring efforts of S.P. Singha for the cause of Pakistan. She also described the political ideas of S.P. Singha and his collaboration with Muslim League and its leader Mr. Jinnah.

Ahmed (2014) "*Did S P Singha's Vote Win Punjab for Pakistan in 1947?*" highlighted the historical facts of partition of the Punjab. He explained that the Punjab was divided on communal basis and this was decided by Lord Mountbatten. Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed also elaborated that the story of casting vote of S. P. Singha is not real. He also explained the complications of the partition of Punjab. The writer mentioned the untiring efforts of S.P. Singha as well as the struggles of other Christian leaders along with Muslim leaders. He also took a comparison of different opinions regarding S.P. Singha's casting vote, but he finally concluded that there is no reality of casting vote at all.

Aqeel and Faruqi (2016) "*Caste Away: The Ongoing Struggle of Pakistan's Punjabi Christians*" identified the struggles and challenges faced by the Christians indwelling in the Pakistani Punjab. These writers also pointed out the services and contribution of S.P. Singha in the independence movement of Sub-Continent and his role even after the creation of Pakistan.

Jalal (1985) "*The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*" pointed out that the stance of partition of the Punjab province is actually the idea of the last viceroy Lord Mountbatten and it was not the thought of Mr. Jinnah and Muslim League as well.

Ahmed (2012) "*The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed*" in his book explained in details the devastating consequences of the partition of India in 1947. He explained the 1947 Tragedy using secret British reports and first-person accounts while completing the above mentioned book. He particularly focused on the region of Punjab. He also provides a comprehensive examination of the historical events leading and following the partition, shedding light on the bloodshed, mass migrations, and communal violence during that period of partition. Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed used the primary sources, including oral histories, official documents, and eyewitness accounts, to develop a narrative that captures the dimensions of the partition experience. He also gave the vivacious understanding of the socio-political and cultural dynamics of Punjab.

Mairaj (2017) "*Shnakhat Naama*" a Christian writer and social activist has written about the prominent political Punjabi Christian leaders who did a lot for the cause of Pakistan and for the development of Pakistan. He has also written a detailed description about the S.P. Singha and his services for Christian community and for this Muslim state Pakistan to be a very safe place for minorities.

Zafar (2007) "*A Concise History of Pakistani Christians*" explained the effort of Christian leaders of South India and Bengal in historical struggle for the freedom movement. He highlighted the role of first president of All India National Congress, Mr. Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee, a renowned Christian leader from Bengal. His work is an effort to point out the role of the Christian community, for the socio-political development of Pakistan.

Dr. Hanif and Dr. Chawla (2020) "*State, Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Remembering the Participation of Christians in Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55*" a research work on the relationship of Pakistani state and religious minorities, particularly mentioned that the active members of the Christian community in Punjab Legislative Assembly, to consolidate Pakistan.

Gill (2017) "*Christians' Role in Pakistan Movement*" highlighted the role of Christian leaders in the freedom movement of Pakistan. He also mentioned in details the reasons of collaboration of Christian leaders with Muslims of Sub-Continent and All India Muslim League as well. Mr. Nathaniel Gill mentioned the crucial role of S.P. Singha and other Punjabi Christian Political leaders in the independence movement of Sub-Continent.

Nadeem (1997) "*Yae Daes Hamara Hai*" (*This is Our Country*) specified the role of Catholic Fathers for rehabilitation of refugees at the time of partition of India. He also highlighted the participation and contribution Christian political leaders from Punjab especially the untiring efforts of S.P. Singha.

Akhtar (1998) "*Tehreek-e-Pakistan Kay Gumnaam Kirdar*" has shared his personal experiences with the Muslim leaders in the struggle for freedom fighters in Sub-Continent. He positively discussed the services of Christian leaders with Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the struggle for Pakistan

The Literature Review shows that a lot of work has been done on the topic. But there is no significance study which enlightens the political awareness, political ideology, efforts of S.P. Singha and socio-political relationship with All India Muslim League (AIML) especially with Quaid-e-Azam during the freedom movement of Pakistan. The literature review shows that there is not enough data especially to highlight the facts about casting vote of S.P. Singha. That is why there is a research gap on this point in the previous research work and this present study hopefully may fill this gap.

Discussions: Political Vision of S.P. Singha:

S. P. Singha joined *All India Christian Association* in 1936 and contested 1937 Election and became a Legislative Member in Punjab Assembly and served as politicians with Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and Khizer Hayat Tawana etc. Later on, a political party named as *All India Christian Association Punjab* was established by S. P. Singha and became first president of *All India Christian Association* (AICA). He stated that discipline is the core value of nation building and published a Magazine, "*Tanzeem*" (discipline) in strengthening the character building of the

state¹². In fact, Mr. Singha was impressed by golden words of Mr. Jinnah, Unity, Faith and Discipline. During election campaign, Punjab University Union invited Mr. Jinnah on 21st Nov 1942, Mr. S.P. Singha raised the slogan “*Pakistan Ki Jang, Quaid Kay Sang*” and supported Muslim League in 1945-46 Elections and advocated the idea of Pakistan as a separate homeland. Although, renowned Indian Muslim political leaders opposed the division of the Indian Sub-Continent but Mr. S.P. Singha fully supported Mr. Jinnah along with the Christian leaders, C.E. Gibbon, Chaudhary Chandu Lal and Heera Lal¹³. Dr. Y. K. Bangash, in his article “*The Christian Story*” mentioned that only two Indian Christian leaders, Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha and Fazal Elahi were elected in 1946 Election in United Punjab Assembly along with an Anglo-Indian Christian P. Manuel and a European G.H. Guest. Mr. Singha became the Speaker of the United Punjab Assembly¹⁴.

All 175 constituencies were reserved on the basis of religion. It is given in the table below:

Table of Punjab Assembly Members in 1946 Elections

Constituency	Type	Urban	Rural	Total
General		8	34	42
Muhammadans		9	75	84
Sikhs		2	29	31
Special		-	-	18
Total		19	138	175

According to Govt. of India Act 1935, four seats were reserved for Christians, respectively as following, European (1), Anglo-Indian (1) and Indian Christian (2). The Christian narrative, established by S.P. Singha, a representative of Indian and Anglo-Indian Christians advocated the ideology of Mr. Jinnah and preferred to align socially and politically with All India Muslim League instead of the British (Indian National Congress) and other political parties. According to his point of view, the Indian Christians as a minority will be secured in Pakistan as compared to India. The Christians will be socially, politically and religiously secured with the Muslims in Pakistan¹⁵. The Muslim political parties namely Majlas-e-Ahrar, Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Hind, Jamat-e-Islami, Surakhposh khudai Khidmatguzar, Khaksaar Tahreek opposed partition on religious basis whereas the Christians under Singha’s leadership perceived Pakistan as a safe place¹⁶.

The Christian leaders provided unconditional support to Jinnah and organized receptions in the favor of Mr. Jinnah to politically support him. While addressing at King’s Garden on 19th of November 1942 and Hall of Loring Hotel in Lahore, Jinnah at that time said “*if you have not*

¹² Raja N. Gill, *Christians’ Role in Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Nigaarshat Publishers, 2017), 105.

¹³ Azam Mairaj, *Shnakhat Naama* (Karachi: Mairaj Publications, 2017), 73.

¹⁴ Yaqoob Khan Bangash, *The Christian Story*, (Political Economy, November 6, 2016), 1.

¹⁵ Raja N. Gill, *Christians’ Role in Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Nigaarshat Publishers, 2017), 20-23.

¹⁶ Salma Butt, “*Remembering a Marginalised Hero: Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha*” (Pakistan Today, June 22, 2016), 2.

cooperated with us, we would never win your support”¹⁷. Mr. Yaqoob Khan Bangash argued the socio-political demography of the Indian Christians was the basis of political support of the Christians community in the favor of Pakistan. They were largely concentrated in the central Punjab districts (the Muslim majority districts). Demographically, if the Punjab was divided, the Christians in West Punjab districts will be in Pakistan and Hindu/Sikh districts in East Punjab will be in India. This demographically reality compelled them to support Pakistan. In this way, they were mainly present in Muslim majority areas (Bangash, 2016). S.P. Singha argued that apart from demographically, the Christians are very close to Muslims culturally as compared to the Hindus or Sikhs¹⁸. Another reason of their collaboration with the Muslim community was the rivalry of Hindus towards converted Christians. On religious ground, these both communities are monotheistic, divine and have many similarities (Bangash, 2016).

Mr. Singha’s Stance on the Partition of Punjab:

According to Ayesha Jalal, neither the plan of partition of Punjab was the demand of Muslim League nor Mr. Jinnah. In fact it was the political mindset of Mr. Mountbatten (the Viceroy of India), introduced the partition of Punjab (23rd June Plan)”¹⁹.

It is relevant to mention that the Sikhs of Punjab declared almost instantly in response to the Muslim League's demand in March 1940 that Muslim states be created in the Muslim-majority northwest and northeastern zones of the Sub-Continent that they would oppose the partition on the whole and, if it became certain, that they would insist on the non-Muslim majority parts of eastern Punjab being taken out of Pakistan and given to India. Contrary to this, the Indian National Congress continued to advocate for a united India until March 8, 1947, at which point it shifted its position and adopted a resolution endorsing the Sikh demand for Punjab's partition.²⁰

But the last viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, did not come to the conclusion that India would eventually be divided until he had lengthy discussions with Indian leaders. The June 3, 1947 Partition Plan was the outcome. It said that the assembly of Bengal and Punjab would also have to cast votes on whether to keep their provinces unified or to be divided on religion basis. The method used to determine the two Assemblies' will was to divide them into two voting blocs: one for the majority of Muslims and the other for majority of non-Muslims. The division was to be taken in consideration even if one bloc in a province supported it²¹.

On 21st June, 1947, Mr. S.P. Singha invited people from all over the Punjab at his own residence, located near Simla Hill, Lahore and presented a resolution to vote for Pakistan²². On announcement of the Boundary Commissions Awards, the *Daily Dawn*, which was the spokesperson of Muslim League, considered the Awards as “Territorial Murder”. It claimed that

¹⁷ Dr. Kalsoom Hanif and Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla “State, Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Remembering the Participation of Christians in Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55”, (Pakistan Social Sciences Review, June 2020, Vol. 4, No. 2), 2.

¹⁸ Yaqoob Khan Bangash, *The Christian Story*, (Political Economy, November 6, 2016), 2.

¹⁹ Emmanuel Zafar, *A Concise History of Pakistani Christians*. (Lahore: Humsookhan Publications, 2007), 125-130.

²⁰ Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed “Did S P Singha’s Vote Win Punjab for Pakistan in 1947?” (Daily Times, November 24, 2014), 2.

²¹ Ibid., 2-4.

²² Azam Mairaj, *Shnakhat Naama* (Karachi: Mairaj Publications, 2017), 74.

Pakistan was cheated and deprived of large portions of “the Punjab, Bengal and Sylhet which absolutely belonged to it”²³.

Diwan Bahadur S.P. Singha also opposed the Boundary Commissions’ Awards. He considered it as “One Sided Award” which was “most unfair to Pakistan”²⁴. On 25th July 1947 in High Court Lahore, *All India Christian Association Punjab* (AICAP), *All India Christian League Punjab* (AICLP), *All India Anglo Association Punjab* (AIAAP) and *Catholic Association* (CA) as the Joint Christian Board along with Mr. S.P. Singha in the presence of Boundary Commissions told that the Christians of Punjab already decided to join Pakistan. we have decided to be faithful to Muslims and Pakistan²⁵. He argued that before deciding the boundaries, the Christian community should be treated as non-Muslim but their stance will be according to the Muslim community²⁶.

Quaid-e-Azam never forgot the Christian’s role in the Pakistan movement. His famous speech on 11th August, 1947 is enough proof for this. After three days of independence, he attended a “Thanksgiving Service” (*Ibaadat*) held at the Holy Trinity Cathedral, Karachi^{27,28}.

Controversy over Casting Vote of S.P. Singha:

According to the previous literature review, Mr. S.P. Singha had casted a decisive vote (casting vote as a Speaker of the Punjab Assembly) during the session of United Punjab Assembly. On the other hand, it is also argued that no empirical documented evidences are found about the casting decisive vote of S.P. Singha (Bangash, 2016). They argued that Mr. Singha did not cast his vote on 23rd of 1947 on the partition of the Punjab. The voting in the Punjab Assembly was expected on communal grounds. Mainly, the Muslim West Punjab legislators under the chairmanship of the speaker voted by 69 to 27 to keep the province united. Whereas the mainly East Punjab (Hindu and Sikh members) under the deputy speaker rejected a united Punjab by 50 votes to 22. Hence, Punjab decided to be divided²⁹. The three Christian voting members along with the Muslim members, voted for the United Punjab, are Fazal Elahi, C.E. Gibbon and P. Manuel. The casting vote of S.P. Singha has no historical facts (Bangash, 2016).

At partition, S.P. Singha was the most prominent leader of Punjabi Christians. Before joining politics, he served as a registrar at the Punjab University during the 1930s³⁰. After creation of Pakistan, Mr. Singha was designated as a Pakistan’s Speaker of Punjab Assembly³¹. Due to belonging a Christian community, the other Muslim members of assembly were not in favor of him and raised conspiracy against him. A motion of no confidence was passed against him and Mr. Singha threw out of his post³². This immature political attitude annoyed Mr.

²³ The Dawn, Karachi, August 21, 1947.

²⁴ The Pakistan Times, August 19, 1947.

²⁵ Raja N. Gill, *Christians’ Role in Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Nigaarshat Publishers, 2017), 106.

²⁶ Ibid., 106.

²⁷ Clarence Rufin and Nasir Jamal, “Minorities”, *Daily Dawn* (Magazine) 16th March 1997, 4.

²⁸ Salamat Akhtar, “Diwan Bahadur S.P. Singha”, (Monthly “Shaloom” Rawalpindi, April 1993), 45-50.

²⁹ Yaqoob Khan Bangash, *The Christian Story*, (Political Economy, November 6, 2016), 2.

³⁰ Asif Aqeel and Sama Faruqi “Caste Away: The Ongoing Struggle of Pakistan's Punjabi Christians” (Religion South Asia 18 Oct 2016), 5.

³¹ Hamid Henry, *National Christian Heroes and Heroines* (Gujranwala: Maktaba-e-Anaveem Pakistan, 1997), 24.

³² Nasir Saeed, Why are Christians Missing From Pakistan’s History Books?” (21st November 2013, Pakistan Christian Post).

Singha³³. Mr. S.P. Singha was died on 22nd October 1949 and buried in the Gora Qabaristan Lahore. On his gravestone, written “He who raised the Christian Nation from the dead”³⁴.

Conclusion:

It is argued that Mr. Singha was a man whose commitment to the cause of freedom was a land mark contribution not only for Pakistan but also for the Indian Christian community. In spite of missing the historical record on casted decisive vote (casting vote) during the proceeding of United Punjab Assembly on 23rd of June, 1947 as being the Speaker of United Punjab Assembly, still the majority of the Christians believe in it. They argued that proceedings of United Punjab Assembly on 23rd June, witnessed that the other three Christian members of the United Punjab Assembly casted their votes, but Mr. S.P. Singha did not cast any vote. Even then, the Christians are the part and parcel of the Pakistani social fabric.

Recommendations:

The role and contribution of Christian political leaders is always hidden and not being published and taught to the students of History at any levels. That's why, there is a dire need to elaborate and acknowledge the efforts of all the Christian leaders especially S.P. Singha and their struggle for the creation of Pakistan and for the consolidation of Pakistan after its creation. These realities should be highlighted among the students and to the society of Pakistan. In this way, the religious discrimination may be decreased day by day towards religious minorities. It will help to uplift the political and social status of minorities among the people and their participation may be useful for the betterment of Pakistan.

References

- Ahmad, Ashfaq. *Partition of the Punjab 1947*. Lahore: Compilation of Official Documents, National Documentation Centre, 1983.
- Ahmed, Dr. Ishtiaq. “Did S P Singha’s Vote Win Punjab for Pakistan in 1947?” *Daily Times* (November 24, 2014).
- Ahmed, Dr. Ishtiaq. *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Akhtar, Salamat. *Pakistan Ki Tareekh Kay Gumnaam Kirdaar*. Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1998.
- Ali, Ch. Muhammad. *The Emergence of Pakistan*. Lahore: Services Book Club, 1988.
- Ali, Mubarik. *Tareekh Kia Kehti Hai*, Lahore: Zahid Bashir Publishers, 1993.
- Ambedkar, B. R. *Pakistan or the Partition of India*. Bombay: Thacker and Co., 1946.
- Anjum, Zahid Hussain. *Tareekh-e-Pakistan 1947 to Present (Urdu)*, Lahore: Nadeem Younas Press, 2006.
- Anwar, M. *Developmental Role of Minorities in Lahore (A Case Study of Educational, Health and Care Services of Christians)*. Lahore: Minhaj University, Lahore, 2014.
- Anwar, M. Rafi. *Tareekh-e-Qayam-e-Pakistan*. Lahore: Ilmi Kitaab khana, 1981.
- Anwar, Maqbool. “*Role of Minorities in the Political System of Pakistan: A Case Study of the Christians of Lahore Division*”. Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Punjab Lahore/Department of Political Science, 2019.
- Aqeel, Asif and Sama Faruqi. “*Caste Away: The Ongoing Struggle of Pakistan's Punjabi Christians*” (Religion South Asia 18 Oct 2016).

³³ Fr. Francis Nadeem, *Yae Dais Hamara Hai* (Lahore: Hum Ahang Publishers, 1997), 142.

³⁴ Azam Mairaj, *Shnakhat Naama* (Karachi: Mairaj Publications, 2017), 76.

- Azad, A. K. *"India Wins Freedom"*. 1st Edition. Delhi: Orient Longman, 1989.
- Aziz, K. K. *"The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism"*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1967.
- Bangash, Yaqoob Khan. "The Christian Story", *Political Economy* (November 6, 2016).
- Bernard, Inayat. "Minorities Role in the Pakistan Movement". *Focus* (Multan) Supplement 93/1 (1993) 53-55.
- Bolitho, Hector. *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Butt, Salma. "Remembering a Marginalised Hero: Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha", *Pakistan Today* (June 22, 2016).
- Chaudhry, Z. *Pakistan Kaisay Bana (Urdu)*. Lahore: Idara Mutala Tarkh, 1989.
- Dani, Prof. Ahmad Hassan. *Founding Fathers of Pakistan*. Lahore: Sang-E-Meel Publication, 1998.
- George, Naseem. "The Role of Religious Minorities in Pakistan's Politics and the Future Direction". In *Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Struggle for Identity*, Ed. Dominic Moghal and Jennifer Jivan, 87-93. Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1996.
- Gill, Raja N. *"Christians' Role in Pakistan Movement"*. Lahore: Nigaarshat Publishers, 2017.
- Gill, Raja N. *"Masihee Aur Tehreek-e-Pakistan"*. Lahore: Nigaarshat Publishers, 2014.
- Hanif, Dr. Kalsoom and Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla. "State, Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Remembering the Participation of Christians in Punjab Legislative Assembly 1947-55", *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, (June 2020, Vol. 4, No. 2).
- Hassan, Dr. Zahoor ul. *Pakistan Studies for 12th Class*. Lahore: Khalid Book Depot, 2019.
- Ikram, S. M. *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 2014.
- Khaliquzzaman, Ch. *"Pathway to Pakistan"*. (Karachi: The Journey to Pakistan: A Documentation on Refugees of 1947). Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, National Documentation Centre, 1993; Longman, 1961.
- Khan, Yasmin. *"The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan"*. London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Mairaj, Azam. *"Shnakhat Naama"*. Karachi: Mairaj Publications, 2017.
- Malik, Dr. Iftikhar H. *Religious Minorities in Pakistan*. London: Minority Rights Group International, 2002.
- Nadeem, Fr. Francis. *Yae Dais Hamara Hai*, Lahore: Hum Ahang Publishers, 1997. New York: Routledge, 2001).
- Paul, George. *"Main Bhee Pakistan Hoon"*. Lahore: Human Friends Organization, 2007.
- Qadri, Azam. *Heroes of Pakistan*. Lahore: Jang Publishers, 2015.
- Qaisar, Junaid. *Pakistani Aqliyeeton Ka Noha*. Lahore: Fiction House, 2007.
- Qureshi, I. H. *A Short History of Pakistan*, Karachi: University of Karachi Press, 1967.
- Qureshi, I. H. *The Struggle for Pakistan*. Karachi: Bureau of Composition, Compilation and Translation, 1965.
- Remembering a Marginalised Hero*. www.pakistantoday.com.pk.
- Saeed, Ahmad and Khan Mansoor Sarwar. *Trek to Pakistan*. Lahore: Al-Fouzi Publishers, 1997.
- Sayeed, K. B. *"Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948"*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Sen, S. N. *History of the Freedom Movement in India (1857-1947)*. New Delhi: New Age International Pvt. Ltd Publishers, 1997.
- Shamsi, Akhlaq Hussain. "Social Status and Political Participation of Christian Minority in Pakistan". Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Punjab, Quaid-e-Azam Campus, Lahore/ Pakistan Centre for South Asian Studies, 2011.
- Symonds, Richard. *The Making of Pakistan*. London: Faber and Faber, 1950.

Tabassam, Ammara and Umbreen Javaid, “Christians in Pakistan-A Developmental Approach: (Pre & Post Partition of India)”, *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (January-June 2019): 131.

Tahir, M. Athar. *Punjab Portraits*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1992.

Talbot, Ian and Gurharpal Singh. *The Partition of India*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Tandan, Parkash. *Punjab Kay Sau Saal*. Lahore: Fiction House Publishers, 2018.

Temple, Sir Richard Carnac. *The Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. II. Lahore: Language Department, Punjab, 1988.

Yong, Tan Tai and Gyanesh Kudaisya. “*The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*” (London & New York: Routledge, 2001).

Zafar, Emmanuel. *A Concise History of Pakistani Christians*. Lahore: Humsookhan Publications, 2007.