

The Hindustani Muslim Community of British Guiana and Pakistan-1947

Revised June 2007

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Abstract

“The Overseas Hindustani Muslim Community of British Guiana and the Creation of Pakistan-1947,” is the first paper to focus on the role that overseas Hindustani Muslims played in the creation of Pakistan in 1947.¹ In doing so, the debate about Muhammad Ali Jinnah the founder of Pakistan has been reopened; a more rational, progressive and non-communal image emerges especially since India’s know communalist, L.K Advani labeled Jinnah a secularists during a visit to Pakistan in 2005. However, the focus of this paper is the role of the Hindustani Muslims of British Guiana and the creation of Pakistan. The bloody division of the subcontinent in 1947 did lead to subtle Hindu/Muslim tension in British Guiana. This paper asserts that the Muslim leadership of the former British Guiana, now Guyana,² solidly supported the creation of Pakistan. This is evident because the largest Islamic organisation, the Sadr-E-Anjuman supported the two nation theory, or the division of India along religious lines. However, a smaller Islamic group, the British Guiana Muslim Association, opposed the division. From the print media and rhetoric during this turbulent period, the Anjuman became the voice of Pakistan in British Guiana. Prior to this, Muslims were oriented to the motherland, Hindustan. While the average Muslim saw himself as Hindustani, they supported the state of Pakistan and began to identify with Pakistan. Eventually, the two organisations merged during the turbulent period leading to the division of the subcontinent and supported the call for Pakistan. The British Guianese Muslim leadership instilled consciousness among local Muslims that Pakistan was now the motherland, and they referred to Pakistan and its leaders as “our country and our leaders.” Their moral, political and financial support to the state of Pakistan is documented in this paper, and case is made that the state of Pakistan took the responsibility of “mothering” the Muslims in British Guiana by offering theological aid, scholarships, political and moral support.

Background of Guyana

Guyana was a British Colony until 1966, and prior to that it was known as British Guiana. From the 16-17th centuries Guyana was occupied by the French, Dutch and British. Eventually, it came into the hands of the British in 1814 after several treaties between these European powers. Guyana was not a “kingdom of gold” as alleged, and quickly the British resorted to African labor to work the sugar and tobacco plantations. As time went by, an outcry to end slavery led to its abolition in the British Empire. This destroyed the plantation economy of British Guiana because even free Africans refused to labour for low wages. This led to great uncertainty and anxiety about the colony’s future. Eventually, planters looked to other sources for labour in Europe, Malta, China and the Island of Madeira; however this experiment was unsuccessful because many died of tropical diseases and, in addition, the Chinese turned to businesses in the larger towns. Suddenly, all eyes turned to colonial India

where a vast and vulnerable pool of cheap labour was readily available. The British planters began importing Indian workers under an indentureship system to fill this void. The migration of Indians to British Guiana that began in 1838 was historical for it planted the seeds of Islam in the Western hemisphere. Between 1838 to 1916 close to 240,000 Hindus and Muslims migrated to British Guiana, and of the 240,000 about 20% were Sunni and Shia Muslims. The latter was very small.

The Overseas Hindustani Muslims

In this paper the term “overseas Hindustani Muslims” is used to identify the Muslim community of the former British Guiana who came from what is today South Asia or pre-partitioned India. The term India was unfamiliar to them because it was imposed from outside. Hindustan was the name what those North Indian Muslim immigrants knew their motherland as; it was not a term imposed by outsiders, but rather by Muslim like themselves. Hindustan is Urdu for India and it’s the same in Persian and Arabic. The Persian first referred to the people east of the Sindu River as Hindustan. Hindus have always known their country as Bharat even after the partition, and still today is it the official name in the constitution is Bharat. As well, the term “overseas Hindustani Muslims” is used to reiterate the fact that these Muslims migrated from pre-partitioned Hindustan, which means they came from areas that are now Bangladesh and Pakistan. The British used the term “overseas Indians” and “Indian Immigrants,” when referring to Indians in British Guiana. The term “overseas Indians” was used in correspondences, diaries, reports, birth and death records, immigrant’s biographical data, hospital records, etc. The term South Asians is more accurate to describe the geographical area that they migrated from. However, the Muslims did not call themselves South Asians, rather is more accurate to use the term Hindustani Muslims. In Guyana up until the 1950s, Muslims referred to their motherland as Hindustan. In a poem dedicated to Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Samadeen, a Guyanese in 1950 referred to India as Hindustan.³

The Hindustani Muslims of British Guiana were very diverse like their brethren in the motherland. Sociologist, Dr. Nasser Mustapha of Trinidad writes, “there is a tendency to believe that in India all Muslims were the same, but among all Indians there were marked diversity in linguists, culture and religion.”⁴ He continued, “even their food was prepared differently. In marriage ceremonies and family life there was also much diversity.”⁵ From 1838 to 1917 about 240,000 North Indians from the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), Bihar and Bengal migrated to British Guiana. Among them were Sunni and Shia Muslims, who numbered about twenty percent and like their Hindu countrymen were predominantly from the United Provinces and Oudh (now Uttar Pradesh), and Bihar. A small number came from the Bengal, the North West Frontier (Afghan Province), Baluchistan and the Punjab. They came from the land of the Mughals who built the Taj Mahal and from districts and cities with where Mughal culture proliferated- Lucknow, Ghazipur, Allahbad, Gorakpur, Murshidabad, Azamgarh, Mirzapur, Shahabad, Sultanpur, Faizabad, and Azamgarh. Lucknow and Faizabad as well as Patna were centres of great learning and culture. They brought with them the rich Mughal cuisine, sheer *korma*, *biryani/pilau*, *gulab jamun*, *jaleebi*, *kofta kebab*. The Turkish *salwar kameez* which was adopted by Muslim India was introduced to Guyana and the Urdu language as well. Patna was a major

city of Bihar, a center of learning and the seat of the Mughal Governor where Arabic and a considerable amount of Persian and Urdu poetry were written. Hyderabad, Lucknow, Delhi and Patna attracted poets, painters and scholars. Muslims have left their indomitable mark on India in culinary, architecture, gardening, music, paintings, clothing, literary and artistic achievements, civil engineering, statistical digest, dictionary of science, memoirs, books of rules and procedures.

Over 50% of the Muslims were descendents of lower castes Hindus who converted to Islam hundreds of year ago because of the egalitarianism of Islam which freed them from that rigid caste system that existed. However, the Muslims from North India and especially the Bengalis were still stratified by castes, but it was a loose stratification which still made it possible to move up the social ladder. Especially in the Bengal, from 1838 to 1885 where Muslims comprised about 48% of the population, many of these converted Muslims from rural areas still bore Hindu names and “continued with their older way of life to a marked degree”.⁶ Islam was pregnant with local beliefs and practices of Hindu origin.⁷ On the other hand, the *nabawi* cultured Muslims who came to British Guiana and who had originated from the United Provinces, Oudh and Bihar bore Persian, Turkish and Arabic names and spoke Urdu and were a privileged minority during the Mughal era. Large minorities of Hindustani Muslims in pre-partitioned India were of Baluchis, Afghan, Iranian, Turkish and Arab stock and immigration to British Guiana reflected this makeup. As well, some Afghan (Pathan) Muslims who fiercely opposed British rule in India were exiled to British Guiana.⁸ In addition, left for the Caribbean to escaped persecution. These Hindustani Muslims spoke Urdu, Avadi, Brijbasha, Mateili, and Bhojpuri; in addition, a handful spoke Farsi and Pashto, among other North Indian languages.⁹ Under caste Muslims were identified as *Musulman, Sheik, fakirs, ghoosis, hajams, Julahas, Mahomedaan, Syeds, Mughuls, and Pathans*.¹⁰ The majority of Muslim women bore names like *Nasimun, Ameerun, Rashidan, Kariman or Aseeman* which became corrupted after many generations, and today due to the lost of their Urdu language. These names among many others have evolved into *Nasimoon, Karimoon, Ameeroon, Rashimoon, Aseemoon, or Nazmoon*¹¹. Most men bore three to four names and most common were the suffix *uddin, example: Alimuddin, Zahiruddin, Shahabuddin or Kamaluddin*.

The average Hindustani Muslims in British Guiana desired for a united Hindustan of Hindus and Muslims, but as we approached the 1940s when flames engulfed their Hindustan most Guyanese Muslim found solidarity with Pakistan. However, the British Guiana Muslim Association (BGEA) did not support the division of India. They were eventually be silenced after uniting with the Sadr Islamic Anjuman. The Hindustani Muslim leadership began speaking like they were Pakistanis and referring to the Pakistani leadership as “our leaders.”¹² Muslim then sided with Pakistan and the literature from the Muslim community in British Guyana was emotionally pro-Pakistan and very anti-India. The Muslim leadership in British educated their respective *jamaat* (community) about the need for a Pakistan and eventually when Pakistan was achieved, they rigorously educated local Muslims of the goals and aspirations of the new Muslim state. Pakistan then replaced India. There has been a

marked closeness between the Muslims in this part of the world and India up to 1947, and with Pakistan since that time'.¹³ Since then the Hindustani Muslims have been ignored by scholars of indentureship. Hinduism and indentureship became synonymous, and Muslims are ignored in this discourse since they see them as part of the *umma*. After World War II nationalist's fervor in the Islamic world was highlighted in the literature of various Islamic organizations in Guyana, such as the Voice of Islam and Nur-e-Islam. The plight of Muslims under colonial domination made headlines and for the first time in history Muslims in British Guiana began identifying with the *umma*, the worldwide Islamic community. Events in Jordan and Palestine and the independence of Indonesia were well covered in these periodicals.¹⁴

Eventually, they were no desire to return to the motherland, and over time, they were stranger to Hindustan. There was neither empathy nor solidarity with similar groups in other parts of the world or with the motherland. They did not hold a collective memory of their Hindustani, and if it did exist, that recollection was vague. From 1838 to 1916 during this great migration the motherland was fractured by regional nationalism. The Hindustan which was engulfed in Hindu Muslim violence had changed tremendously. Due to the print media, the jamaat system, and travel between India and British Guiana, the plight of Muslims in Hindustan caught the attention of their brethren here in British Guiana, and loyalty switched to Pakistan. Neither was there loyalty to the local British authority but with the *umma* because the *umma* was under occupation and attack.

Qaid-E-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan and British Guiana

Qaid-E-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah is a hero in Pakistan and in India he is a villain, while in British Guiana he was seen as a fighter for Muslims rights in India, "a son of azadi" (freedom).¹⁵ But today a more accurate picture of Jinnah is emerging after his former nemesis, L.K. Advani, an infamous communalist, referred to him as secularists during a visit to Pakistan in 2005. Since then the Jinnah debate has been reopened. Muhammad Ali Jinnah is better known as the Qaid -E-Azam or father of the nation and his sister Fatima, Madr-E-Millet (mother of the nation). In India he is mostly seen as communalist: cold, arrogant and uncompromising. This image of Jinnah has been reinforced by such films like *Gandhi* and Mountbatten's mini series: "*Lord Mountbatten: The Last Viceroy*." Some in Guyana see him in this light as well, however among the Muslims in British Guiana Jinnah is a hero. The image of Jinnah, the demon, is not so according to his daughter who claimed that her father was a loving and kind man who spent time with her. They exchanged letters even after partition.¹⁶ Indian nationalist Sarojini Naidu describes Jinnah as "ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity...after he helped forged the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916."¹⁷ Well known Indian scholar Asghar Engineer quotes famous Indian rationalist M.N. Roy, "Mohammed Ali Jinnah was the most maligned and misunderstood man. Jinnah was not an idealist in the sense of being a visionary; he was a practical man possessed of great shrewdness as well as of more than average intelligence."¹⁸ Mr. Jinnah was born in Karachi, Sind on December 26th, 1876 and there is speculation that he is of Iranian Shia heritage, while some claim that Jinnah he is from Rajput ancestors of Sahiwal in the Punjab.¹⁹ He was one of

eight children and was sent to the Sind Madrasatul Islam and the Christian Missionary Society High School in Karachi. Eventually, he was sent to work for a company in the London that did business for his father. Jinnah hardly knew his father because both he died when he was very young and not long after he lost his mother as well. In London he enrolled himself at the Lincoln's Inn to study law, and in 1896, not yet twenty he became the youngest Indian to pass the bar exam.²⁰

Jinnah was not interested in titles and refused a knighthood and a doctorate from Aligarh, his favorite university.²¹ When someone called him *Maulana* Mohammad Ali Jinnah, he said just "call me Mr. Jinnah" and he was widely criticized by his own Muslims for being too Western.²² Jinnah could not speak, read or write Urdu well, and his critics accused him of eating ham and drinking whisky. The propaganda machine was busy demonizing Jinnah as his Muslim League grew mass support. Jinnah never envision Pakistan as an Islamic state, he was a secular, progressive and brilliant man who took responsibility for his sister Fatima from an early age. He sent Fatima to Calcutta Dental College in 1919 and in 1923 when she finished her studies; he opened for her an office to make her financially independent. She was at this side at all Muslim League meetings, and when Jinnah achieved his Pakistan, Fatima Jinnah was at his side when they arrived in Karachi the capital of the new state.²³ Later when Jinnah became ill, Fatima would give up her job and care for him full-time.

The idea of a Muslim homeland in the subcontinent was first articulated by Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Chaudri Rahmat Ali and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. On December 30th, 1930. Sir Muhammad Iqbal "spelt out the two nation theory of Hindu and Muslim separate nationhood."²⁴ Iqbal's political philosophy had rippling effects on Jinnah as the Pakistan movement became serious. Jinnah in March 1929 pressed for a resolution on Muslim rights in his famous Fourteen Points, and on November 28, 1930 he attended the first Round Table Conference in England for Indian rights and independence but was "disappointed in Indian politics" and decided to practice law in England until he was convinced to return to India in April 1934.²⁵ As well, around 1933 Chaudhri Rahmat Ali and a group of his Cambridge University colleagues started the Pakistan National Movement at Cambridge, England, and they coined the term Pakistan for this new homeland.²⁶ Some historians date the freedom movement back to the War of 1857 and the two nation theory to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh.²⁷ However, some assert that the root of partition was planted earlier when Islamic armies of Turks, Mongols and Afghans conquered Hindustan. But this is repudiated by India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who asserted that "the invaders who came from the northwest, like so many of their predecessors in more ancient time, became absorbed into India and part of her life."²⁸ Nehru held the belief that these so called invaders became Indian and was integrated into Indian society by intermarriages and "every effort was made not to interfere with the ways and customs of the people."²⁹ As well, he noted that there were others invasions of India prior to the coming to Islam and that "its wrong and misleading to talk of a Moslem invasion of India or a Muslim period in India, just as its wrong to refer to the coming of the British to India as a Christian invasion, or to call the British period in India as a Christian period."³⁰

The culmination of Pakistan must be seen in the bigger content. Instead of demonizing Jinnah, it's necessary to understand what change this man who was once hailed as the "ambassador of Hindu/Muslim Unity."³¹ The Mughal Empire became weak and the British colonized India in 1857 ending about 500 hundred years of Muslim rule. Hindus by large welcomed the end of Muslim rule with fervor and supported the British take over. Let's not forget that Muslims also found along side the British. Persian was replaced as the official language and Hindi began sanskritization. Many mosques were razed and many Muslims killed. In Benares in 1809 alone fifty mosques were destroyed.³² The Mughal emperor was exiled to Burma and all Mughal Princes were executed. In the 1920s Hindu nationalism naturally was fervent. The rise of the Arya Samaj and the Mahasabha began speaking of a Ram Raj and they refused to accept that Muslims were a distinct group; instead they call for the return of Muslims to the Hindu fold- the Shuddhi movement.³³ By the 1930s Urdu poetry reflected the helplessness Muslim felt: "*gham, rona, ranj, dil tootna, maut, hashher*-sorrow, tears, broken heart, desolation, death and doomsday."³⁴ Then cry to make the hymn, *Vande Mataram* (Oh mother we bow to you)the national anthem sent shiver through the spines of Muslims and then coupled with Congress Party's refusal to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan culminated in the creation of Pakistan.³⁵

Not all Muslims supported the "two nation theory," however it's a widely held view that Muslims introduced the two nation theory and are to be blamed for the partition. According to Sikand, the two-nation theory did not start with the legendary Lahore Declaration of 1940, but much earlier by a Hindu fundamentalist's party. Sikand writes, "The notion of Hindus and Muslims being separate, antagonistic, nations was central to the Hindu 'nationalist' discourse articulated by 'upper' caste, principally Brahmin, ideologues in late nineteenth century Bengal and Maharashtra."³⁶ The common perception that partition was the results of Muslim communalism has been refuted by many scholars. Jinnah was once a strong advocate of Indian unity, how suddenly he advocated for a Muslim homeland in this infamous "two-nation" theory speech of 1940? Sikand asserts, "we would do well to remember that long before this the Hindu Mahasabha under Savarkar and others had already come to the conclusion that Hindus and Muslims represented two different, indeed antagonistic, nations."³⁷ Nehru himself accused the Hindu Mahabasha of fomenting communalism in this book, *The Discovery of India*.³⁸ As well, Jinnah came under attack by Nehru for being arrogant and obstinate. Nehru warned that Muslims will be affected most since they come from the most socially, politically and economically depressed areas and that the division would create further problems rather than giving into the Muslim League's to divide the country.³⁹ At this juncture in history Jinnah was not sure of division.

The other held belief is that Nehru's intransigence led to the division because he "rejected separate electorates in the constitution of 1928 for Muslims."⁴⁰ Jinnah's 14 Points proposal which included separate electorates that would have guarantee non-safeguards to prevent a Hindu-controlled legislature was rejected by Congress. The object of these fourteen points was to have five Muslim majority provinces, against the six Hindu majority provinces with a weak center, so that non-Muslims may not be able to dominate over Muslims. This would have satisfied Muslim interests, in particular, "the retention of separate electorates or the creation of "safeguards" to prevent a Hindu-controlled

legislature.”⁴¹ Jinnah's proposals were rejected, and from then on cooperation between Hindus and Muslims in the independence movement was rare.⁴²

As independence approached bloody communalism engulfed Northern India and Congress's refusal to give the Muslims visible political voice gave momentum to the Pakistan movement. According to famous scholar of Indian history, Stanley Wolpert, Jinnah and his “lieutenants” compiled reports from all provinces of India “run by autonomous Congress ministries,” to prove that Muslims were not fairly represented in their ministries.⁴³ Jinnah was adamant that Muslims will not accept second class status and stated that Muslims were being discriminated in employment, education, business; however Maulana A.K Azad and other Alims supported Nehru and the Congress Party.⁴⁴ In 1937 in a speech in Lucknow he accused Congress of alienating the Muslims and called the Congress a Hindu Party by “pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu,” and finally in March of 1940 he made the famous speech in Lahore, in which he demanded a separate homeland because “the Musalmans are not a minority, the Musalman are a nation.”⁴⁵ Jinnah was irate after the 1937 elections in which the Muslim League “lost heavily and the Congress reneged on its promise to take two League ministers in the U.P cabinet. For him it was a great betrayal.”⁴⁶ Yet, by 1946 Jinnah was not yet sure about Pakistan because he accepted “what was known as the Cabinet Mission Plan, which proposed a federation of Indian provinces.”⁴⁷ Correspondence between Nehru and Jinnah up to 1946 add credence that Jinnah was not sure about Pakistan since “he wanted to spend his last days in Mumbai where he had built a house for himself...”⁴⁸ These correspondences are now public records for anyone to see. Ram Puniyani makes reference to George Fernandes, a fan of infamous Indian communal leader L.K. Advani who accused Nehru of backing out from the Cabinet Mission Plans, “so it was Nehru who was responsible for partition.”⁴⁹ Many Indian Muslims today blame the Congress Party, the Muslim League, and Lord Mountbatten for a hasty decision to divide the Subcontinent. Senior Indian journalist, Saeed Naqvi, writes, “Lord Mountbatten, Mohammed Ali Jinnah and the Congress leaders were all equally guilty for having partitioned the country.”⁵⁰ So it's not accurate to blame all Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. Naqvi asserts that “a mass awareness programme” if undertaken will show that Muslim alone were not responsible for division and it might incriminate Congress leaders for the division of the India.⁵¹ One Indian Muslim lamented, “Our cowardly, effete, tired leadership accepted the partition plan without battling an eyelid and fell back on the propaganda of blaming it on Jinnah.”⁵² One famous leader of that era, Abdul Gaffar Khan in making references to Nehru remarked, “You have thrown us to the wolves.”⁵³

The Muslim leadership in British Guiana saw Mohammed Ali Jinnah as a “saviour of the Muslims” in India who were being slaughtered by Hindus in the wanton Hindu/Muslim violence.⁵⁴ They saw him as their leader as well, and he is frequently referred to as “our” leader.⁵⁵ For the brief period that he lived after the creation of Pakistan the Muslim print media in British Guiana carried many stories of his social and political life. Their affection for Jinnah is succinctly put together in a poem titled, “Ode to Qaid-E-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah.”⁵⁶ (See annex 1) It was written by A. Samadeen who hailed from Albion, in the county of Berbice and was published in *Islam and Nur-E-Islam* in January 1950 after the death of Jinnah. This journal being the only major Muslim periodical of its time and the

voice of British Guiana's largest Islamic organisation capsulated the sentiments those locals held of Jinnah.

Jinnah the hero, reads the poem, was a star who rose "in that Eastern land, and brought forth with it a hero, brave. That star was the birth of Pakistan, and guiding it came Jinnah, his people to save."⁵⁷ He was seen as a "giant" who fought against the "stalwarts of Hindustan"⁵⁸ who wanted to subjugate the Muslims but he survived and led the *azadi* movement or the freedom movement. He is seen as a "son of *azad*," and a "faithful soldier of Islam."⁵⁹ Jinnah sudden death was a solemn moment among the Muslims of British Guiana who held prayers at mosques nation-wide in his honour. The Muslims of British Guiana and their brethren in Pakistan while in sorrow shouted, "Pakistan Zindabad," or long live Pakistan.⁶⁰ The emotions of Jinnah's death among the Muslims of British Guiana is capsulated in the following stanza: "Oh Noble Monarch of a new-born state, Oh faithful soldier of Islam, with broken hearts on this cruel date, we bid thee our last and humble Salam."⁶¹ And today a more accurate picture of Mr. Jinnah is emerging since L. K. Advani, to Pakistan in 2005 and shocked he world when he referred to Mr. Jinnah as a secularist.⁶² The Jinnah debate has reopened: how much secular and how much communal was Jinnah is still an enigma, but for sure he has not an Islamist and he hesitantly accepted Pakistan.

Hindu/Muslim Relationship in Guyana 1838-1947

Hindu Muslim relationship in British Guiana since 1838 was always cordial and friendlier than what existed or exist in Hindustan when they left for British Guiana. They were forced to share space immediately when they embarked ships. Muslims, Hindus, Ahirs, Chamars and Brahmins all shared the same space on board and eat from the same utensils. They were all given the same rations and clothing prior to departure from Calcutta and while they were in holding depot in Calcutta, caste and religious barriers began to evaporate. The three month voyage from India to the Caribbean played a major role in the disappearance of the caste system. Hindustanis were recruited from various parts of India and were sent to the port of Kolkota where they stayed for up to three months before being shipped to the Guianas. Life long bonds and friendship developed here. We get a first hand account of the journey from India for Guianas from Munshi Rahman Khan, an ethnic *Pathan*, from the Hamipur, Uttar Pradesh, India in 1898 at age 24. "At the depot *brahmins* and *khryastias* quickly abandoned their traditions. The *janau* (sacred thread), *tikka* (sign on forehead) and the *kanthi mala* were abandoned and many no longer acted in accordance to the rules and regulations of his or her caste or religion."⁶³ They were not force to give up their traditions but voluntary many did. "The *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* and others laughingly began to throw off their threads and necklaces into the river saying: 'Mother Ganges, we offer you our belongings, if ever we return, we shall adorn them again.'⁶⁴ Suddenly, according to Khan the *brahmins* became *sudras*. There was no longer an interest to maintain the "sanctity of caste and creed."⁶⁵ No longer were there differences between *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* or *sudras*. *Brahmin*, *Muslims*, *Chammar* and *Ahirs* queue together and eat the same food, and neither was the Brahmin insulted to be fed by someone wearing shoes. They all shared the same plates and eat alongside each others. Hindus did not complain about eating next to a Muslim, and upper castes Hindus quickly kept company with lower castes women since many traveled single.⁶⁶

After arriving in British Guiana, they worked on the same sugar plantations, and on those plantations they shared breakfast, and lunches; stories of India and the tribulations they faced in British Guiana. They spoke similar language and came from similar districts in India. Life long bonds were forged at the Calcutta Depot and during the three months journey to British Guiana. Both Hindus and Muslim assisted each other in building *masjids* and *mandirs*. Alienated from the motherland and void of Brahmins, Hindu/Muslim relationship grew stronger. To avoid Black domination, Hindus and Muslims forged social and political bonds. Literacy increase and there was growing ties between Hindus and Muslims. Furthermore, living outside of India, Hindus and Muslims shared similar challenges and they were forced to bond, as well shortage of Muslims wives forced many inter-religious marriages.

Guyana's history is void of Hindu/Muslim communalism and many in Guyana perceived Islam as an Indian religion. While Muslims have more in common with Christians, it can be said that they were both unaware of this. Muslims and Hindus eat from each others home, attended each other's weddings, birth, and death and frequent each other's home. The average immigrant came from villages, poor and uneducated. Most Muslims were literate since it was compulsory to read the *Quran*. Many attended *maktab* or *quranic* schools. The average Muslim was aware of their glorious history in Hindustan India and in British Guiana became aware of growing Hindu/Muslim tension in India. As we move towards the 1940s, when the motherland was consumed by Hindu/Muslim violence and there was call to divide the country along religious lines, British Guiana did experience Hindu/Muslim violence. But the division ushered a new era of Muslim awareness. There was verbal attack between the Pakistan and Indian camps here in British Guiana. And even after the creation of Pakistan there were "elements both here (Guyana) and in the Indian Union who have refused to recognize that there are two dominions..."⁶⁷ A handful of Hindus contributed to the Jinnah Refugee Funds. Politically Muslims and Hindus see eye to eye. The Indian party of British Guiana, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) overwhelming is supported by the Muslims. However, a Muslim identify is being developed since the 1960s with exposure to the larger Islamic world. The plight of the *umma* is brought home via print media, internet, television and frequent visits by Muslims from Pakistan, South Africa and the Arab Islamic World.

Support for Pakistan

From the 1940s to 1950, the Sadr Anjuman was headed under the brilliant leadership of Mr. Rahman Baksh Gajraj, President and Mr. Gool Mohamed Khan, Vice President. It was a dramatic period in Muslim history when many Islamic nations waged nationalist's struggles against imperialism. Global events had ramifications on the local Muslims population in British Guiana and more precisely the called for a Muslim homeland in the Subcontinent received a sympathetic ear in British Guiana among the Muslims. *Voice of Islam*, the official organ of the Anjuman wrote, "Pakistan is a creation of Man, but it came with approbation of god and no matter what evils acts may be committed again it Pakistan will live on, unconquered."⁶⁸ Celebration was held all over British Guiana and at the Jamma Masjid in

Queenstown, after the *Jumma Namaz* “the whole day was observed as a holiday. Greetings and congratulations were cabled to Mr. Jinnah, Governor-General.”⁶⁹ At mosques the flag of Pakistan was hoisted. Since then and to date the flag of Pakistan is hoisted at many *masjids* and Islamic gathering in Guyana.

In 1949 the Anjuman and the Islamic Association of British Guiana (IABG) had merged and “together we stand,” read the editorial of the new journal, *Islam and Nur E Islam*.⁷⁰ It was a rare moment of Muslim unity in the history of British Guiana and a cry for Pakistan was raised at every mosque in British Guiana. The editorial of *Voice of Islam* of March 1948 welcomed in euphoria the birth of Pakistan and called for a Pakistani representative in British Guyana.⁷¹ They articulated for an ambassador who they envisioned would represent their interest in British Guiana since they now identified with this new state and no longer wanted to be yoked with India.

The pages of *Voice of Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, the new name of the united organization give prominence to news from Pakistan. Its pages from 1948-1950 were filled with news concerning Pakistan and in particular Kashmir. In fact, a section of the journal was titled Pakistan Affairs. To get a deeper appreciation what was featured in the journal, take a look at the following headlines: “India’s Lust for Conquest of Kashmir May lead to World War,”⁷² and “In Kashmir India is Obstructing Holding of Plebiscite.”⁷³ Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan’s speech, “the Truth about Kashmir,” was featured in the journal as well.⁷⁴ “Elements” in Guyana and in India were ridiculed for not accepting that “there are two Dominions,” India and Pakistan. There was an outburst of support for Pakistan and a stern warning to India. The editorial of *Islam* accused India of “believing that they could use superior force and power, and crush the smaller nation into abject subservience.”⁷⁵ The Muslim leadership of Guyana continued, “this group will have their hopes and dreams founder on a rock of disappointment.”⁷⁶ Those “elements” that were against division and especially Muslims were called “so-called Muslims” and “either ashamed of their religion or are too weak to stand firm and declare their spiritual strength.”⁷⁷

The Muslim leadership in British Guiana saw themselves as Pakistani as they defended the latter state and rally to its hour of need, while vilifying India. To capulate these sentiments a long quote is taken from the editorial of the *Islam*.

To the contrary Muslims are enjoined to tolerate people of different beliefs and faiths. We want to be friends and to live as friendly neighbours with all the people of the world, ore particularly those in and out of the Indian Union, but what we do object to most seriously and most strenuously is any attempt to dominate or subjugate us. We are prepared to live and cooperate with all our neighbours, but the cooperation must be on the basis of a recognized equality.⁷⁸

Relationship was further consolidated in 1949 when Mr. R. B. Gajraj travelled to the UN and met Pakistan’s first Ambassador to the UN, Mr. M. A. H. Ishpahani, and he referred to him

as “our Ambassador.”⁷⁹ Ambassador Ishpahani also reciprocated with a visit to the Muslim community of British Guiana.

The Qaid-E-Azam Funds

The Qaid-E-Azam funds was established in 1947 during the turbulent period of division for the wretched and poor who poured into Pakistan, mainly in Karachi and Lahore. The horror of division was known in British Guiana via newspapers from the region and from the Pakistani Ambassadors to the United Nations and London who fed Caribbean Muslims pro-Pakistani news. Not surprising, it was through the *jamaat* system that Guyanese Muslims became aware of the brutality and wretched poverty that Muslims refugees faced during the process of migrating to Pakistan. Throughout the length and breath of British Guiana, *masjids* collected funds for their destitute brethren in Pakistan.

Islam and Nur-E-Islam brought home the plight of Muslim refugees during the bloody division, “The senseless savagery that was loosed upon the Muslims in Bengal, Delhi, and in the Indian States, wherein lacs “of our people” were killed, women abducted etc., will forever remain a blot upon the fair name of India.”⁸⁰ The journal continues that Muslims reacted and “soon the fire had caught on both states.”⁸¹ It’s obvious that the objective of the journal was to bring home the pain of their Muslim brethren and to justify the creation of Pakistan. Muslims left their possessions behind “partially starved, with clothes in tatters and nowhere to sleep.”⁸² Guyanese Muslims were aware of the financial hardship faced by the Pakistani Government. Jinnah initiated the Refugee Fund to raise money, food, shelter and clothing for refugees.

President and leader of the Guyanese Muslim, Mr. Gajraj was contacted by the first Pakistani High Commissioner to London in 1948, Mr. Habib I. Rahimtullah. It was also through this channel as well that the Guyanese Muslim leadership received information of events in the subcontinent. Islam writes, “His Excellency Mr. Habib I. Rahimullah, asked our Patron, R. B. Gajraj, who was then in London, whether Muslims here would assist.”⁸³ *Masjids* throughout Guyana were asked to solicit monies from local Muslims and “Muslims responded nobly to the call.”⁸⁴ Initially, 125 pounds were collected and funds collected later were forwarded. The list of Muslims who donated countrywide were documented and published in the Anjuman’s periodical. The sum of about 936.62 BG dollars were collected and delivered in 1948 when Mr. Gajraj travelled to Pakistan and met with Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan and this government.⁸⁵

The majority of Muslims were farmers and small shop owners dug deep into their pockets for Pakistan. The BG dollar back then carried a high value. Donations came from all economic strata, rich and poor, widows and even five Hindus contributed. Widows like the hazel-eyed Mrs. Bibi Hamidan of Maida Village, Corentyne, and a stern, pious and generous Muslim of Afghan origin. Many fondly called her *ama* and she was a gem. To

educate children *Quran*, she swiftly allowed the lower flat of her house to be used as a *madarsa*. My great mother Baitullan Khan of Kitty, Georgetown, contributed 96 cents to the Jinnah Fund. Batullan lost her husband, Pheer Khan, my great father when she was still in her 20s. Among other women who contributed were Mrs. Abdool Rahman of Kitty, a hefty \$50, Mrs. Saheedan, Mrs. Mariam Boodhoo, Mrs. Sakina, and Mrs. Jumnee of Peters Hall, Mrs. Rabbia Khatoon of Versailles, Mrs. Muridan Nowaban of LBI, Mrs. Mariam Hanhi of Triumph, Mrs. S. Razack of Windsor Forest, Mrs. Zainab Alli of Wakenaam, Mrs. Shakeedan and Mrs. Hassanally of Bagotstown. Almost every Muslim family from Maida and Kildonian Villages who were mostly farmers and small shop owners contributed to the Jinnah Refugee Fund. From the Essequibo Coast to, East Bank and West Bank Demerara to West Coast Berbice and to Corentyne Coast to Skeldon Muslim donated ([see annex 2](#)).

President of the Sadr Anjuman Mr. R. B. Gajraj donated a large sum of money to the tune of \$240.00, while the Sadr Anjuman contributed \$50.64. A Mr. Karamat Khan of Mahaicony contributed \$50, Mr. Sardar Mohammed of Essequibo \$ 25, Mr. Sultan A. Hamid of Windsor Forest \$25, Mr. A. Razack of Windsor Forest \$30, Mr. A. Rahaman and the Fyrish Jamaat \$13.90 and Moulvi Abdool Hack and the Albion Jamaat \$25. Interestingly, a few non-Muslims donated to the Pakistan funds, Mr. Sukhai of Essequibo, Mr. Ram, Aurora, Essequibo, Mr. Boodhan Singh and Mr. S. P. Singh of Stabroek market. The famous Guyanese millionaire today, E. Beharry made a modest donation. As well, the famous Gafors, millionaires of Guyana today, contributed \$1.50.

A Village Call Pakistan

In 1947 a small area between La Jalousie and Windsor Forest that was predominantly populated by Muslims was unofficially named Pakistan. There were also some Chinese and Hindus who lived there. The first batch of Chinese immigrants settled in that area. The name was "adopted" by the Muslims who wanted to do something in honour of the establishment of the Moslem state of Pakistan in August of 1947. It was more their affinity to the newly created country (Pakistan) which they viewed as their new motherland instead of Hindustan, and more importantly because most all of the villagers were Muslims. Many *ustaads* and *imams* who were fluent in Urdu originated here. Not far from here is Philadelphia where the first mosque in Guyana was erected by Muslim indentured labours. A monument has been placed there to commemorate this important history.

Pakistan Mothers Overseas Hindustanis

After its creation in 1948, Pakistan quickly consolidated relationships with the Muslims of British Guiana, because of their ethnic and religious affiliations. This relationship was cultivated through the state of Pakistan and the Pakistani *Ullema*. Pakistani first ambassador to the United Nations, Al Haj Mirza Abdul Hassan Ispahani made an official visit to British Guiana in 1947.⁸⁶ Relationship was established with the Muslim

intelligentsia in British Guiana and thought the missions in New York and London information was disseminated to the local Muslims about developments in Pakistan. Pakistan's High Commissioner to the UK wrote to Mr. R. B. Gajraj and lobbied for the financial and political support of Guyanese Muslims. He wrote, "It is to be hoped that this small percentage will soon realize that their interests lie entirely with Pakistan."⁸⁷ The hard work of the Pakistani political and religious establishment did make an impact because Pakistan did become the religious and cultural citadel of Muslim decedents of these early Hindustani Muslims. Mosques, villages, and streets in Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad were named to celebrate the birth of Pakistan.

R. B. Gajraj though the Pakistani Ambassador in the United States secured scholarships for local Muslims at various Universities in Pakistan. Dr. Imdad Hussain, Educational and Cultural Attaché to the Embassy have advised that "the University of the Punjab has created three free scholarships of Rs 1001"- each for Muslim Students who from Guyana and East Africa or other foreign countries in the field of science, oriental and arts.⁸⁸

The Pakistani over zealous religious establishment was poised to now bear responsibility for the Hindustani Muslims overseas. Famous, Pakistani Maulana Aleem Siddiqui is a household name among Muslims in British Guiana, Suriname and Trinidad. Referring to "Indian" Muslims of South Africa, he urged them to be faithful to their adopted homeland, South Africa. He lectured the Muslims: "Consequently I advised the Muslims of South Africa with all the force at my command to scratch the word "Indian" and adopt the South African nationality forthwith, so that they may be able to identify themselves with their country of adoption."⁸⁹ Not surprisingly, he was aware of the overseas Hindustani Muslims in the Caribbean and elsewhere and warned, "'This advice however is not only confined to the Muslims of South African, but is also equally meant for all those Muslim populations of Indo-Pakistani origin which are found today in such countries as Ceylon, East Africa, Malaya, Indonesia, Australia, Trinidad, British Guiana, Fiji, Mauritius and Reunion."⁹⁰ After the division, a handful of Indian Muslims left Guyana and opted for Pakistani citizenship. The *Maulana* advised overseas Hindustanis to stay faithful to their adopted homeland but "should certainly have the highest love and sympathy for Pakistan."⁹¹

Muslim missionaries from Pakistan and especially through the *tabligh jamaat* regularly visited the Islamic communities in Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad, where they were often received with euphoria. Consistently they have tried to unite the different Islamic organizations, and have tried to mediate in order to bridge differences among the Muslims in these countries. They became the theological authorities on *fiqh*, Islamic laws, and advise locals on a wide range of religious, social and political issues as they relate to Islam. They have also helped in providing Islamic literature, teachers and scholarships to the Caribbean Muslims. Prior to the division of India, in 1937 Maulana Shamsuddin visited

British Guiana. This was followed by Maulana Fazlur Rahman Ansari, Maulana M. Aleem Siddiqui in 1959 and Maulana Ahmad Shah Noorani Siddique in 1968.

As British Guiana approached independence, Muslims took positions based on ideologies and aligned themselves with political parties. Muslims were found in both the Indian dominated, People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the Afro People's National Congress (PNC), which were British Guyana's two main political parties. The fact that the PPP was a communism party fomented conflicts among the Muslims. Only a handful of educated Muslim familiar with Islam were aware that communists are atheists and that this was in conflict with Islamic injunctions. In 1964, Abdool Majeed, President of the Sad'r, accepted the chairmanship of the United Forces Party. His vacancy was filled by Yacoob Ally who was a PPP Parliamentarian. The burning issue was communism and the position that Guyanese Muslims should take on this issue. Not surprisingly, they looked to the *maulanas* of Pakistan for advice. News had already reached Guyana that Maulana Noorani condemned communism and call for Muslims not to support the PPP, a communist party. Hence, in 1967, when Maulana Noorani was coming to Guyana from Suriname the USIA, Hifaz and Ulama-E-Deen sent him a joint cable which read: 'Your visit is most unwelcome. Should you come to Guyana there would be violent eruption'. The Sad'r Anjuman was divided into two factions aligning with the opposition, PPP and the ruling PNC Government.⁹²

The following year, 1968 when Maulana Fazlur Rahman Ansari of Pakistan visited Guyana, he failed to get any support from the USIA, Hifaz and Ulama-E-Deen when he stated publicly at the Town Hall the Islamic position with regard to socialism and communism. The division of the Muslim organizations along political lines temporarily eroded the strong relationship that Pakistani *Maulanas* had always enjoyed with the Guyanese Muslims.⁹³

Nevertheless, the Guyanese Muslim relationship with Pakistan is deep-rooted. In Guyana up to the 1960s, the Muslim leadership came exclusively from Muslims of South Asian descent who had studied in either Pakistan or India. There is great euphoria when religious, political, civic and sports personalities from Pakistan visited the Guyana. Many Muslim families have named their children after Pakistani cricketers. The strong bond between Pakistan and Guyana that existed since 1947 was evident when Pakistan attended Guyana's independence celebration in 1966 and presented a stunning oriental rug to the new nation. A few years later the two countries established diplomatic ties and in the 1980s they exchanged honorary consuls in Georgetown and in Karachi. Muslims from Guyana travelled to Pakistan to study Islamic theology as well as secular subjects.⁹⁴ Since the independence of Guyana, the Pakistani High Commissioner to Canada has been accredited to Guyana, and there are frequent visits to the Muslim Communities in Guyana.

Conclusion

"The Overseas Hindustani Muslim Community of British Guiana and the Creation of Pakistan-1947," examined the role of the overseas Hindustani community of British Guiana

and the creation of Pakistan. In doing so, this paper reexamined briefly the series of events that pushed the “ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity,” Mohammed Ali Jinnah to demand Pakistan in 1947. It is evident that the majority of Muslims of British Guiana identified or supported the created of Pakistan. However, it is conclusive that the Muslim leadership of British Guiana and its large following did give moral, political and financial support to Pakistan. As communalism engulfed Northern India, the Muslim leadership saw division as inevitable and they rally to the aid of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah emerged as a hero among British Guianese Muslims. The division of India along religious lines was supported by the largest and most powerful Islamic organization in British Guiana, the Sadr Anjuman which became the mouthpiece of Pakistan during the late forties to the fifties. The Muslim leadership moved their followers via the *jamaat* system to identify and support Pakistan. India was portrayed as the villain. Both Pakistan and the local Muslims identified with each: moral, financial, social and political support was two ways. Pakistan replaced India as the cultural and religious abode of the decedents of Hindustani Muslim emigrants who began arriving in British Guiana from 1838 to 1917.

Annexes # 1: Qaid E Azam Refugee Relief Funds



Ode to Qaid –E-Azam #2



End Notes:

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- ¹ Consequently, India will be addressed in this paper as Hindustan, the Persian name of India that Indian Muslims have come to know what is now India.
 - ² Guyana and British Guiana are used interchangeably; British Guiana is the pre independence name for what is now Guyana.
 - ³ Islam and Nur -E-Islam, Vol. 2. No.1. p. 23, January, 1950, British Guiana.

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- ⁴ Muslims, Indian Diaspora Supplement, *Trinidad Guardian*, May 30, 2000, pp. 4-6.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Rafiuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity*, Delhi: Oxford Press, 1996, pp.69.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.70-71.
- ⁸ K.O. A *Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad & British Guiana, 1875-191*, New York: , 1994, p. and David Hollet, *Passage from India to El Dorado: Guyana and the Great Migration*, Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. NJ. 1999, p.
- ⁹ Author during field research found some Muslims who still read and speak Farsi which support evidence in various Muslim periodicals that a handful of learned Muslim spoke Farsi.
- ¹⁰ This information was extracted from the immigration records stored at the National Archives of Guyana.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Voice of Islam, April 1948, p. 53, Georgetown, British Guiana, and Islam and Nur-E-Islam, March 1949, p. 31, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ¹³ Raymond Chickrie, "Muslims in Guyana: History, Traditions, Conflict and Change," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2, October 1999, pp. 181-191.
- ¹⁴ *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, Vol.2, No.1, January 1950, p. 23, Georgetown, British Guiana, *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, March-April 1949, p.6, Georgetown, British Guiana, and Voice of *Islam*, March 1948, p.6, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ¹⁵ A. Samadeen, Ode to Qaid-E-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, Vol.2, No.1, January 1950, p. 23, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ¹⁶ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, London, Routledge, 1997, pp.116-118.
- ¹⁷ Asghar Ali Engineer, "Jinnah: how much secular, how much communal," The Milli Gazette Online, <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/01-15July05-Print-Edition/011507200552.htm>
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, London, Routledge, 1997, pp. 3-4.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.4.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*,p.10.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.*,pp.12-13.
- ²⁴ Ikram Azam, *Pakistan Reflections*, Karachi: Kifayat Academy, 1987.p. 3.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.* (P for Punjab, A for Afghan (Pathans), K for Kashmir, S for Sind and stan Persian suffix for country, as well Pakistan comes from the Persian term, Pak meaning pure or virgin).
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, London: Oxford University, 2001. p. 238.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, London, Routledge, 1997, pp.7-8.
- ³² Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, London, Routledge, 1997, p.38.
- ³³ *Ibid.*,p.80.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*,p.45.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*,pp.113-115.
- ³⁶ Yoginder Sikand, "Advani and Jinnah," June 5, 2005, http://www.awaazsaw.org/weblog/2005_06_05_awaazlogarc.html
- ³⁷ Yoginder Sikand, "People's History of Partition, Pakistan came into being not simply because of Muslim Communalism," <http://www.himalmag.com/oct2000/review.html>
- ³⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Oxford University, London. 2001. pp. 388-390.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

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- ⁴⁰ Percival Spear. *A History of India*. Vol. 2. New Delhi: Penguin press, 1990, p. 229.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ Stanley Wolpert, *India*, California: University of California Press, 1991, p. 102.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- ⁴⁶ Asghar Ali Engineer, “*Jinnah: how much secular, how much communal*,” The Milli Gazette Online, <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/01-15July05-Print-Edition/011507200552.htm>
- ⁴⁷ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, London, Routledge, 1997, p113.
- ⁴⁸ Asghar Ali Engineer, “*Jinnah: how much secular, how much communal*,” The Milli Gazette Online
- ⁴⁹ Ram Puniyani, “*Partition culprit: to each one’s own*,” The Milli Gazette Online, <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/01-15July05-Print-Edition/011507200526.htm>
- ⁵⁰ Saeed Naqvi, *Reflections of an Indian Muslim*, Delhi: Har-Anand Publication, 1993.p.17.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p.57.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ A. Samadeen, Ode to Qaid-E-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, Vol.2, No.1, January 1950, p. 23, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁵⁵ *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, 1949, p.31, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁵⁶ A. Samadeen, Ode to Qaid-E-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, Vol.2, No.1, January 1950, p. 23, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*,p.23.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² Asghar Ali Engineer, “*Jinnah: how much secular, how much communal*,” the Milli Gazette Online, <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/01-15July05-Print-Edition/011507200552.htm> and Ram Puniyani, “*Partition culprit: to each one’s own*,” The Milli Gazette Online, <http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/2005/01-15July05-Print-Edition/011507200526.htm>
- ⁶³ Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff, Ellen BAL and Alok Deo Singh., *Autobiography of an Indian Indentured Labourer-Munshi Rahman Khan*, Delhi: Shipra, 2005, p. 78.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *Voice of Islam*, April 1948, Georgetown, British Guiana, pp. 6-7.
- ⁶⁸ *Voice Islam*, March 1948, p.27, Georgetown, Guyana(publication of Guyana strongest and largest Islamic Organisation of that period, after the British Guiana Islamic Association merged with the Sadr in 1947 and the two Journals *Voice of Islam and Nur-E-Islam* merged.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, March-April 1949, p.6, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁷¹ *Voice of Islam*, March 1948, p.6, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁷² *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, April 1950, p.39 Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁷³ *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, April 1950, p. 47, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁷⁴ *Voice of Islam*, April 1948, p. 53 Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,p.6.

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- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*,p.7.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ *Islam and Nur-E-Islam*, 1949, p.31, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁸⁰ *Voice of Islam*, March 1948, Vol X, No. 1, p.65, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁵ *Voice of Islam*, April, 1948, p. 71 and *Voice of Islam*, March, 1948, p.27, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁸⁶ *Voice of Islam*, March-April, 1949, editorial, p. 5.
- ⁸⁷ *Voice of Islam*, March, 1948, p.40, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁸⁸ Pakistan's Offer to Muslim Students. *Islam and Nur-e-Islam*, January 1950, P.51
- ⁸⁹ *Islam and Nur-e-Islam*, January 1950, p. 31, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² Raymond Chickrie, "Muslims in Guyana: History, Traditions, Conflict and Change," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2, October 1999, pp.181-191.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*