

Sikh News in India, 1864-1924

Colonial Reports on Vernacular Newspapers of Punjab

VOLUME FOUR:
POLITICS OF REPRESSION AND RECONCILIATION

By KRISTINA MYRVOLD



ੴ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹ ॥

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*Colonial Reports on Vernacular Newspapers
of Punjab*

Volume Four: Politics of Repression and Reconciliation

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Kristina Myrvold



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Glossary

- adawlut** Court of Justice in British India
- ahlkar** a clerk, public servant, official
- akhand path** uninterrupted recitation of the whole Guru Granth Sahib
- amavasya/amanwas** new moon
- amrit** immortal nectar; the sanctified solution of sugar and water used in the Sikh *khande di pahul* ceremony
- ataliq** tutor, adviser
- badmash** a criminal or someone who behaves in a bad manner
- bakhshish** gift, charitable giving
- bandichhor** liberation of prisoners
- baradari** brotherhood
- bawa** father, spiritual guide, or teacher
- beggar** forced labour, slave labour
- bigha/beegha** a unit of measurement for an area of land
- buzurg** holy man, saint, or respected elder
- chakla** brothel
- Chandal** sub-caste amongst the *shudras*, considered lowest in the Hindu caste hierarchy
- chaprasi** a junior office worker who carries messages
- chauka** the sanctified space in Hindu kitchens
- chhavi** billhook
- chhut** impurity
- daftari** official, someone having official authority
- darbar** a court; a ceremonial gathering held by a British colonial ruler; a hall in a Sikh place of worship
- darogha** manager, inspector, superintendent
- dera** religious organization and institution
- dharmsala** public rest house with religious purpose; Sikh place of worship
- diwan** a powerful government official, minister, or ruler; congregation
- fauj** army
- ferenghi** foreigner, European
- ferenghi raj** foreign rule
- gaddi** seat, throne, or position of authority
- gandasa** battle axe
- ghadar/ghadr** revolt, rebellion
- ghumao** 43,560 square feet which equal to one acre
- goonda** a violent and aggressive person

- gora* white, white people
- goreshahi* rule of the white
- granthi* reader and custodian of Guru Granth Sahib
- gurnindak* backbiter/defamer of the guru
- gurpurab* a Sikh festival and anniversary of a guru's birth, death, or ascension to the succession line as guru
- halal* permissible food according to Islamic dietary laws
- hartal* closing shops or suspending work, especially as a form of political protest
- havan* fire sacrifice
- ijlas-i-khas* council of regency
- ilaka* area, territory
- jaikara* a call of victory
- jagir/jagheer* a grant of the public revenues to a person with power; the right to enjoy the revenue of a region
- jagirdar* landlord
- jalaukhana* place for storing jewelry (in possession of the Golden Temple)
- jatha* a band, group, or organized company of Sikhs
- jathebandi* organization or grouping that is linked together for a specific purpose and with a common leadership
- jathedar* leader of a group, community, or nation
- jhatka* meat from an animal killed instantly by a single strike of a sword
- kalgidhar* a holder of plume (*kalgi*), an epithet for Guru Gobind Singh
- karah prashad* sacred pudding in Sikh religious worship
- kar-sewa* work service, voluntary contribution of labour
- kazee* a legal scholar and judge in Islamic traditions
- keshdhari* Sikh with unshorn hair
- khaddar* cotton cloth produced in India
- khillat* a gift given to someone by a superior as a mark of honour
- khutba* the sermon for preaching in Islamic traditions
- kirpan* dagger, one of the five Sikh symbols
- lakh* one hundred thousand
- lambardars* a title to owners/rulers of land revenues
- langarkhana* institution for serving food from a communal kitchen
- lungi* a garment like a sarong
- makki* corn
- maleccha* foreigner or invader outside the Hindu tribes and caste system
- masand* a representative and tithe collector in the Sikh tradition
- mashk* water-carrying bag made of leather
- masnad* seat of honour
- maulvi* Islamic scholar

- mauza** administrative district, specific land area
- mohalla** neighbourhood
- morcha** an organized march or demonstration
- mufassil** rural districts, countryside
- munsif** judge
- musahib** companion, friend, associate
- naib** assistant or deputy
- naik** a native subordinate officer in the British India Army
- nautch** dance performance by female dancing girls
- nazar** a gift or tribute money given to a subordinate to a superior
- nazrana** gift or tribute offered to royalty or to some superior person
- nizamat** directorate
- numberdar** chief of the village
- pahul** ceremony referring to the *khande di pahul*, the nectar of the double-edged sword, or the Khalsa initiation ceremony
- panchayat** a village council consisting of five members
- panth** a way; religious creed; the Sikh religion and people as a whole
- patit** apostate; a person who violates religious precepts
- pind** village
- punkha** a large cloth fan
- pardah** seclusion of women from public observation
- purnmashi** full moon day
- ragmala** a garland of ragas, or musical melodies, referring to the last composition in the Guru Granth Sahib
- Rai Bahadur** a title of honor bestowed to individuals for outstanding service to the British Empire
- rais** chief or leader referring to a person in an aristocratic position
- raj** kingdom
- ryot** a peasant or cultivator of the soil
- safajang** battle axe
- sahukar** moneylender
- samadh** a tomb built over the grave or the death place of a holy person
- sanad** treaty agreement
- sandhya** a ritual of worship performed three times a day by Hindus
- sangat** congregation
- sarbarah** manager, commander, head
- sarishtadar/serishtadar** administrative officer of the court
- sarkar** government or a person in a position of authority
- Sat Sri Akal** the Sikh greeting and *jaikara*, a call of victory, meaning “God is Truth”
- satyagraha** “holding on to truth”; non-violent resistance

- sawar* horseman
- sehajdhari* a Sikh who believes in the Sikh religion but is not initiated
- shabad* the word; the Sikh doctrine of the divine word and the scripture as guru
- sirkar* government
- swaraj* self-government, independence
- tahsil* district administration or revenue subdivision
- tankha* a religious punishment given to a Sikh who has violated the normative Sikh code of conduct
- tankhahiya* a Sikh who has violated the normative code of conduct
- toshakhana* treasure house
- vakil* a lawyer or advocate mainly a representative in the court of law
- vazir* minister
- waqf/wakf* an endowment made to a religious, educational, or charitable cause
- wazarat* the office of a minister
- zaildar* a title for a grand landlord
- zamindar* a holder or occupier of land
- zenana* female or something pertaining to women
- zulum/zulm* tyranny, oppression, injustice

Overview

The fourth volume of the book begins with excerpts from vernacular newspapers reporting about the Guru ka Bagh incident in 1922 which in many ways became a turning point in the Gurdwara reform movement because of the colonial violence and brutality that unfolded. The incident started with a quarrel over the access to the grounds of a gurdwara at Guru ka Bagh, a place located twenty kilometers from Amritsar. The gurdwara was managed by an Udasi *mahant* who agreed to hand over the control of the gurdwara to a committee appointed by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) but claimed the right to a piece of land attached to the place of worship as his personal property. When Sikhs were cutting down trees to be used in the communal kitchen (*langar*) of the gurdwara the *mahant* objected and the police arrested the Sikhs. The event sparked an excited response among the Sikhs and as the SGPC sent batches of volunteers to chop firewood the police arrested them on the charges of theft, riot, and criminal trespass.

Since the strategy of government did not prevent the Sikhs from going in groups to Guru ka Bagh, the police reverted to brutal measures by forcibly dispersing groups and beating and humiliating the volunteers. Sikh newspapers were filled with complaints against the repressive strategy of the government which was understood as an attempt to crush the Sikh movement. The press reports became brimmed with articles that pressured authorities for enquiries about the events and scrutinized the actions of the government, the SGPC, and the Punjab Legislative Council. Many Hindu and Muslim newspapers supported the Sikhs in their non-violent protests for the cause of self-rule and expressed revulsion for the exaggerated violence, while others instead tried to legitimize the actions of government officers.

A few newspaper articles paid attention to how women were subjected to violence and gave space to Sikh female writers who exhorted women to encourage their men to join the struggle for the protection of their rights. With a fresh memory of the attack on the English missionary Miss Marcella Sherwood in Amritsar in 1919, which played a role in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the newspaper *Punjab Darpan* highlighted the disparate responses to violence against English and Sikh women in terms of racial discrimination.¹ As the Gurdwara reform movement developed, newspaper reports directed attention to the increasing number of unrestrained comments about racializing

¹ *Punjab Newspaper Reports 1922*, Vol. XXXV. p. 595.

colonial violence. In 1922, for instance, the Sikh paper *Akali-te-Pardesi* mentioned the murder of a motor driver named Bawa Gurmukh Singh at Bhara Kahu and remarked: If a dog disturbed the sleep of his British owner, he would be given milk. If an Indian disturbed the sleep of his "Sahib," he was shot dead.²

The violence subsided in mid-September 1922 on the order of the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Edward Maclagan, who visited the site. Since governmental measures to quell the agitation proved unsuccessful, the Sikhs were eventually allowed to access the gurdwara and later also the disputed land. A wealthy Hindu of Lahore, Sir Ganga Ram, offered a solution by acquiring the land on lease from the *mahant* and permitting the Sikhs to enter the property. However, the agitation and anti-governmental sentiments sustained and were fuelled by other incidents. In October 1922 a group of Sikhs who had gathered at the railway station in Hasan Abdal to feed prisoners on a train on the way to Attock Fort were run over and succumbed to injuries that caused the death of two. The following year, Akalis released from the jail in Rawalpindi were beaten and humiliated outside a railway station, while public statements of the government reduced the scale of violence and modified the causes to justify the action. At this time, the newspapers did not hesitate to detail stories of torture that they had heard or read in reports from various quarters, including the SGPC. This included beating by using the butt ends of the rifles, dragging the Sikhs by their unshorn hair while kicking the private parts, and catching the bracelets of the Sikhs while mounting and starting the horse. The bitterness accumulated by all these events channeled into new organisations, like the Babar Akali Dal, which served as a rallying point for disaffected Sikh youth with radical reform views that parted from the norm of non-violence.

Several articles in this part of the book dwell on reports and rumors about continued mass arrests, prosecutions of the Sikh leaders working for the SGPC, and the brutal treatment of Sikh prisoners in jails. The situation in certain jails received much attention when it was revealed that Akali Sikhs were exposed to violence, neglect, and humiliation that only served to insult or prohibit them from practicing religion. Stories about appalling atrocities in the prisons, which served to punish or extort apologies from the prisoners, seeped into the press through telegrams of visitors and the many press communiques issued by the SGPC to invite the attention of the Punjab Government. The stories were vigilantly noted by the colonial press control and, at the same time, revealed strong emotional reactions among the Sikhs that motivated and

2 *Punjab Newspaper Reports 1922*, Vol. xxxv, pp. 580–581.

strengthened the agitation further. The treatment and release of Sikh prisoners became a stumbling block in the continued negotiations between the SGPC and the government.

In the summer of 1923, another critical conflict surfaced between the Sikhs and the government regarding the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha, Ripudaman Singh, on July 7. The princely states of Nabha and Patiala moved to the center of public attention in connection with growing tension between the two Phulkian states which partly was related to their divergent attitudes to the British administration. The ruler of Nabha became increasingly critical to the colonial rule and supported the Akali movement and Indian nationalists with the result that the Punjab Government eventually forced him to abdicate and leave his state. The vernacular press speculated extensively about the reasons for the deposition as a pretext for imperial conspiracies and expansion. They reported about the treatment of the maharaja and his family members and called for inquiries and protests. Some newspapers questioned the British reverence for bravery and civilized culture when colonial officers had locked up the Maharani and other ladies and entered the secluded parts for women (*zenana*) to make searches. Rumors set afloat that both defamed and praised the person and administration of Ripudaman Singh. Many papers viewed the deposition as a violation of treaty agreements (*sanad*) granted to Nabha by the British and warned other princely states of the risk of being annexed.

The press returned to the question of whether the Nabha events reflected a conflict of political or religious character. Many Sikh papers interpreted it as a religious interference, even a plot to annihilate the Sikhs since Nabha was a member of the Phulkian states that had been blessed by their historical gurus. In articles designed as open letters addressed to King George V, Sikh writers emotionally appealed for a royal clemency to disallow the deposition and provide the Sikhs equal rights. The SGPC pushed the colonial government for an independent inquiry and started a non-violent campaign to have Ripudaman Singh reinstalled on the throne. Sikh organizations arranged special days to observe in support of the agitation: July 29 became the "Ardas Day" or the day of prayer for the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha, and September 9 was commemorated as the "Nabha Day" by taking out processions and marches in protest.

The events following the deposition of Ripudaman Singh culminated in the Jaito *morcha*, an Akali agitation that continued for two years and centered at Jaito in the Nabha territory to condemn the action of the government. In this volume, the newspaper articles dealing with the deposition of Ripudaman Singh and the subsequent Jaito agitation have been categorized under separate headings to structure this extensive material, but like many other parts of this

book, the material is overlapping and intertwined in the chronology of historical events. Following the forced abdication of the Maharaja, the new colonial authorities of Nabha prohibited all political meetings in the princely state, but the Sikhs defied the decision and convened for religious gatherings. At a meeting in Jaito in the end of August 1923 resolutions of condemnation were passed with the result that state authorities arrested the organizers of the gathering on charges of delivering political speeches. In September the *morcha* reached a critical phase when the Sikhs were performing an *akhand path*, an unbroken and continuous recitation of Guru Granth Sahib, at Gurdwara Gangsar in Jaito to express sympathy with the maharaja, but Nabha officials disrupted the recitation by forcibly removing the reader from the scripture and arresting participants. The Sikhs were enraged by the interruption of the *akhand path*, considering it an act of sacrilege, and responded by organizing groups of volunteers who continuously converged at Jaito to complete the recitation. The newspaper *Akali-te-Pardesi* illustrated Sikh sentiments in the autumn of 1923:

Our honour, our national dignity, our love for the Panth and even the existence of our community demand that we should hold an *akhand path* in the same Gurdwara and should not permit the closing of this shrine of the Tenth Guru. Shall we discard the Sikh faith for fear of enemies? Shall we quietly brook the insult offered to the Granth Sahib? No, not at all. The Khalsa will sooner be dismembered than tolerate an insult to the Satguru.³

The situation reached a stalemate when colonial authorities at Nabha denied responsibility for any insult and the Sikhs declared a determination to have their rights to religious worship reaffirmed. In an attempt to subjugate the Sikhs, the Punjab government in early October 1923, acting on directives of the Viceroy of India, declared the SGPC and the Akali Dal to be unlawful associations interfering with the maintenance of law and order. As a result of the declaration, however, a large number of Sikh laity and leaders, including members of the SGPC, were arrested and charged with treason against the King-Emperor. When the Sikhs were holding a meeting on 7 January 1924 at the Akal Takht, the Punjab Police was ordered to arrest SGPC members who voluntarily surrendered after completing the meeting. Sikh newspapers wrote emotionally about this event as a sacrilege and “satanic” act when police officers violated the sanctity of their most sacred place. Rumours also circulated about the

³ *Punjab Newspaper Reports 1923*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 514.

agitation projected as an attempt to restore a political Sikh rule in Punjab, but recurrently Sikh writers and editors emphasized that the non-violent movement was religious in character and an effort to restore their religious rights that had been assailed by the new Nabha administration. Later in 1924, the SGPC confirmed the position that the Jaito agitation was solely a religious movement and not an endeavour to establish a new Sikh kingdom.

With support from the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, the SGPC intensified the agitation and organized large-sized marches of hundreds Akalis to Jaito in 1924. The first march organized by the SGPC included 500 Sikhs who were to reach Jaito on February 24. This demonstration was called *shahidi jatha*, a band or party of (would-be) martyrs who had taken an oath of non-violence and confined all sufferings to themselves. When the march was approaching its destination on February 21, the government ordered the assembled crowd to disperse. And since the participants refused to obey, the police fired at the crowd, resulting in many people being killed and injured. The event created much anger in the press, especially when the government tried to justify the action of authorities by claiming that armed people had accompanied the *shahidi jatha* and fired first.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote an open letter to the Akalis expressing his sympathy but asked them not to send more *jathas* without further deliberation with the leaders outside the Sikh community, underlining a word of caution that non-violence was impossible without deep humility. Sikh newspapers perceived this letter as if Gandhi lacked genuine confidence in the Akalis' vows of non-violence and speculated whether he had little knowledge about the events due to his time in jail or if he was misled by other leaders in the Indian National Congress or even the colonial government. For instance, the *Kirpan Bahadur* reported a rumor that could cast a shadow of collusion: the government had asked Gandhi to prevent the Akalis from sending more *jathas*.⁴ The Sikhs under the leadership of the SGPC sent several more *jathas* to Jaito and an increasing number of protesters were arrested under conditions that were reported in the newspapers.

Many Sikhs perceived the Gurdwara reform movement and the ensuing agitations to be non-violent actions to protect their scriptures and places of worship. Religion and politics intervened in their claims for control of religious institutions and the struggle was not merely a political demonstration but presented in terms of a religious struggle and war. Considering the colonial policy of separating religion from politics and protecting religion from offense while

4 *Punjab Newspaper Report 1924*, Vol. xxxv, p. 97.

monitoring and prohibiting political activities, it also became a strategy for the Sikhs to highlight the religious aspect of their reform efforts.

A special section of this volume pays attention to the religious ideologies and rhetoric underpinning the Gurdwara reform movement and especially how Sikh newspapers interpreted and portrayed the struggle on a broader cosmological scale, emphasizing the protection and preservation of religion. Discussions and debates on contemporary political events recurrently evoked the British policy of non-interference in religious matters and protection against religious offense as characteristic traits of just rulers. This policy was compared to the religious teaching of the Sikh gurus and events in history when the Sikhs had been obliged to adopt measures to defend the religious freedom of themselves and others. Many voices in the Punjab press appropriated the strategies and fears of colonial authorities by arguing that public order could only be guaranteed if freedom and respect for religion were maintained. Newspapers increasingly observed how the government deviated from its policy of non-interference by prohibiting religious symbols and festivals, gradually displaying contempt and disrespect for religion. If newspapers at first instructed their readers on the characteristics of a just government, the Sikh press boldly portrayed British officers and the government as villains. Deliberate acts of violence aimed at humiliating the Sikhs, such as dragging them by their unshorn hair (*kesh*) or arresting them for wearing swords (*kirpan*), indicated a broader conflict and efforts to eradicate the entire Sikh community. While Sikh organizations issued resolutions condemning religious insults, newspapers exposed the British imperial policy of divide and rule to show that religion was manipulated as an effective weapon to foment intercommunal conflicts and retain the country as “a slave and suck its blood.”⁵ Earlier narratives of Sikh loyalty and friendly relationships with the British were replaced by stories about the British sacrificing this relationship when they relinquished the duty of administering justice.

As agitations intensified and debates polarized, the newspaper articles transformed in content and language. Radical papers deployed a religious language to depict the government as either completely faithless and devoid of respect for religion or as a “satanic force” that had lost all sense of shame. Some of the nouns recurrently used for the government in translations of the press reports in the 1920s were “bureaucracy” and “tyrant.” In response to incidents of violence and discrimination, editors and writers resorted to cosmological tropes. The newspaper *Akali-te Pardesi*, for instance, wrote about the “bureaucracy”

5 *Punjab Newspaper Reports 1924*, p. 138.

which was steadily coming under the influence of Satan and dubbed colonial officers as “embodiments of Satan,” “disciples of some Ahriman,” or “false followers of Christ.”⁶ A common idiom that many newspapers resorted to was comparing the British to drunkards intoxicated by power, similar to how wine influences drunkards. They were possessed by evil forces, irreligious, or wrecked by their obsession with power. As the Gurdwara reform movement intertwined with Indian nationalism, the control of religious places of worship became linked to a conquest of the ruler who prevented them from obtaining this right. Especially after the Guru-ka-Bagh incident, newspapers reflected ideas of being at war with the government, suggesting that the only solution was the eradication of colonial rule. Radical Sikh newspapers rendered this as a religious war ordained by God and exhorted the Sikhs to participate as a religious duty for self-rule and religious survival.

The press instilled interpretations of experiences by falling back on sacrificial ideologies in the Sikh tradition and the powerful rhetoric of martyrdom that extolled the righteousness of laying down one’s life for a just and higher cause. Writers for Sikh papers made constant appeals to martyrs in the past in longer debating articles or just messages exhorting the Sikhs to fight for justice. For instance, the *Akali-te-Pardesi* published a note under the heading “Break the rabid bureaucracy” printed in August 1922:

O Khalsa heroes! Your national honour is in danger. You might be dismembered or scalped but do not utter a sob. If you have sense of honour, sacrifice yourself for national honour. If you are religious, sacrifice yourself for religion. Come forward! The bureaucracy is bent upon crushing us and we have to crush it.⁷

Since governmental repressions were seen as attempts to sweep out the existence of the Sikhs, these papers urged co-devotees to recall moments in history when Sikhs were willing to make sacrifices and embrace martyrdom to defend the honor of their religion and nation. The papers emphasized the importance of staying non-violent during the agitation while also being prepared to subject innocent bodies to colonial violence and accept imprisonment.

Narratives about the historical Sikh gurus were effectively invoked to legitimize the Akali struggle. Newspapers in Punjab often included fragments from Sikh folklore, featuring stories, prophecies, and visions about the Sikh

⁶ See e.g. *Punjab Newspaper Report 1922*, Vol. xxxv, p. 426; *Punjab Newspaper Report 1924*, pp. 19–20; 77–78.

⁷ *Punjab Newspaper Report 1922*, Vol. xxxv, p. 413.

gurus that could be utilized to inspire social and political action and provide meaning. The press reports provided several examples of how the Gurdwara reform movement was understood as an order descended from Guru Gobind Singh or as a trial or test by the historical gurus. Radical papers alluded to the guidance and presence of Guru Gobind Singh during the struggle. One Shiv Ram of Campbellpur (present Attock) wrote for the *Akali* in early 1924: "The kettle-drum of war has been beaten and the forces of Satan have raised aloft their standard. Rise, therefore; for this is the time to show bravery. The angel of freedom – the Kalgidhar Guru [Guru Gobind Singh] – will lead you."⁸ The press presented visions of Guru Gobind Singh, who appeared in scenes like a battlefield to inspire the Sikhs and led imaginary courts at places where British officials had humiliated and martyred them.

This part also encompasses diverse reactions to the Gurdwara reform movement from other religious communities, as well as groups and sects that traced their origin to Guru Nanak or belonged to the broader fold of the Sikh tradition. Some papers endorsed the Udasi sect, to which many *mahants* in control of gurdwaras belonged, and despised the Akalis for desecrating Hindu idols when taking possession of gurdwaras. There were several debates about whether the Namdharis belonged to the Sikh fold and should support the Akali agitation. Hindu and Muslim newspapers both praised and condemned the Akalis depending on their political orientation. Whereas some Muslim papers congratulated the Sikhs for their courage when being arrested, others thought the Akalis tyrannized people in the name of religion.

What preoccupied many newspapers in Punjab in the 1920s was the prolonged negotiations and protests surrounding the making of gurdwara legislation. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee requested the government to release the Sikhs who had been arrested during the Akali agitation and decided to reform the gurdwaras themselves unless the government proposed satisfactory legislation. The request was for a law that would establish a central and elective body of Sikhs as trustees of all historical gurdwaras. Since formal legislation would take time, the government at first issued an Ordinance to handle disputed cases related to gurdwara management, but the measure failed to curb the growing unrest. The first bill, the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill, was presented in the Punjab Legislative Council in April 1921 but met with disappointment. The bill envisioned the establishment of a temporary board of commissioners to inquire into cases of disputed shrines with a non-Sikh president and trustees not believed to uphold Sikh values.

⁸ *Punjab Newspaper Report 1924*, p. 43.

The government failed to receive support from the SGPC, Sikh members of the Legislative Council, and Hindus, who were critical of the bill for divergent reasons. A second bill, drafted to make concessions to the Sikhs, was introduced in 1922 but faced a similar rejection. One of the reasons was that the bill did not establish any permanent committee for the management of gurdwaras. Despite negative responses, the government decided to push through the bill with support from Muslim members of the Legislative Council. In consequence, the legislation became a dead letter as the Sikhs refused to nominate their representatives to the board as outlined in the bill.

As the government failed to suppress the Sikh agitation and realized that repression could be counter-productive, only strengthening the support for the Indian National Congress, Sir Malcolm Hailey was engaged to study the Punjab situation. In 1924, Hailey was appointed as the Governor of Punjab and launched new strategies to remove radical elements of the Gurdwara reform movement. For instance, Hailey wanted confirmation from the Sikhs that all *jathas* were dissolved and was concerned that a release of Sikh prisoners could be interpreted as a weakness of the British. To strengthen the moderate Sikhs against the radical elements in the community, Hailey instructed district officials to organize so-called "Sudhar" committees consisting of Sikh landlords and retired military officers. These committees were dedicated to promoting the gurdwara legislation, which was a main objective of the Akali agitation but functioned as rival Sikh associations to subvert the position of SGPC and split up its leadership. To undermine the Sikh agitation, a Sudhar committee was even sent to Jaito to complete the interrupted *akhand path* which had incited the agitation. Newspapers supporting the Gurdwara reform movement wrote about his stiff position and labeled his governorship "Haileyism" which deluged the Sikhs with oppression. Because of his stringent policies, Hailey was likened to the Mughal rulers.

Hailey and Viceroy Lord Reading invited General Sir William Birdwood to negotiate with Akali Sikhs on the question of gurdwara legislation. This was a calculated attempt to win back their confidence in the government since Birdwood was a military man with a reputation for his close friendships and sympathies with the Sikhs from long service in the Indian Army. His negotiation resulted in a draft resolution with recommendations that emphasized the need to release Sikh prisoners and reinstate the SGPC and SAD as lawful organizations again. Sikh representatives were willing to separate the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha for the progress of the gurdwara legislation but demanded an unconditional release of all prisoners. The government could not accept this condition and despite long deliberations, the discussions failed.

When the period of this study ended, the Sikhs were still engaged in negotiations with the government regarding a revised version of the Gurdwara Bill. At the end of December 1924, a committee was formed with Sikh leaders to prepare a draft of the bill in consultation with the government. This draft presumed that the management of all Sikh religious institutions was to be brought permanently under the control of the Sikh community with SGPC as the responsible administrative organization. In the summer of 1925, the bill received formal assent from Viceroy Lord Reading and was passed as the Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925, which legally recognized gurdwaras as a heritage of the Sikhs and made the SGPC a statutory body with control and custody of several hundred gurdwaras in Punjab.

The final part of this volume provides examples of the popular genre of poetry that was textualized in the columns of the Punjab press to voice resistance and empowerment, often drawing inspiration from the Sikh religion and history. Many authors of these poems were ordinary people who gave vent to public emotions and politically charged comments during times of upheaval. The press reports contained very few voices of Sikh women, but during the Gurdwara reform movement fragments of texts by female writers surfaced. In 1922, Sant Kaur and Bhagwant Kaur of Banga in Jalandhar district published a poem in the *Akali* to encourage women to participate in the struggle for self-independence and reform of sacred places.⁹ As newspapers were aware of the press surveillance, some poems were explicitly composed to attract the attention of British authorities. The Sikh paper *Gargaj Akali* published a poem by Kartar Singh Kavi that addressed the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.). Each verse of the composition started with an exhortation to the C.I.D. to inform officials in the colonial administration that “We,” the Sikhs, need to peacefully emancipate the gurdwaras and uproot tyranny.¹⁰

The book ends with an article that was published in the *Khalsa Advocate* in July 1912 under the title “A Dream” and was written to instill pride in the Sikh identity and promote the spirit of religious reform. The dream evoked images of the Sikh kingdom in the past, which deteriorated when Sikh beliefs and practices merged with Hinduism. Quoting two lines from Samuel Johnson’s poem *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, pointing to the ceaseless pursuit of worldly desires and ambitions, the text depicted a visionary scene of the Sikhs who were awakening for reform with truth, an attribute of the divine, on their side.

9 *Punjab Newspaper Report 1922*, Vol. xxxv, p. 70.

10 *Punjab Newspaper Report 1922*, Vol. xxxv, p. 457.

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The Guru ka Bagh Incident

1 Violence and Repression

Gargaj Akali, 30 August 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 30th August exhorts the Sikhs to go with their heads on their palms to the Guru-ka-Bagh where the evil-doers – the myrmidons of the bureaucracy – insulted the *granth* by letting it remain outside in rain all night and insulted their hair. Let a few drops of their hot blood flow on the sacred place of the Guru for the destruction of the sinful party, so that the Guru's garden may become green. The rogues want to deprive the Sikhs of their freedom and seize their *gurdwaras*. But if the Sikhs are lions, they should step forward once more and gird up their loins to wage a religious war without having recourse to violence. It does not matter if the myrmidons have blockaded all the routes (leading to the Guru-ka-Bagh). The Sikhs should find out other routes and must reach the *gurdwara* without fail. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 425).

Khalsa, 30 August 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 30th August writes that beating has in many cases been given in a ruthless manner. So far as our enquiries go, the *jathas* have been beaten without any Magistrate having declared them unlawful assemblies. It is a critical time for both the Gurdwara Committee and the Government. We empathically advise Government officers to give up beating the Sikhs and devise some other means for the purpose, so that the laws of the Government may be respected. If any Sikh dies as a result of the beating at the Guru-ka-Bagh, Government should realise how the Sikhs and the country will be affected. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 424).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 30 August 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 30th August questions the right of the police to beat the Sikhs at the Guru-ka-Bagh and asks if it wants a riot or a revolution in the country. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 426).

Tribune, 31 August 1922

The *Tribune* of the 31st August writes: –

“We desire to draw the immediate attention of both Sir Edward Maclagan and Sir John Maynard to the statements of the Shiromani Committee and other responsible persons regarding the excesses said to have been and to be still perpetrated by certain police officers and men at or near the Guru-ka-Bagh, and which judging from the reports, have undoubtedly aggravated a situation which was already grave. ... We learn that ‘some of the Sikhs were dragged by the hair of their heads.’ Is that the way to enforce order? Treatment like this leaves a rankling sore in the community which it takes long to heal. ... The complaint of severe beating by certain members of the police force is far more general in this case than it has been in any preceding case that we remember. ... Now, undoubtedly Section 128, Criminal Procedure Code, empowers a Magistrate or a police officer to use force to disperse any ‘unlawful assembly,’ when such assembly, being ordered to, refuses to disperse. But that section cannot possibly cover such cases as the following: – Towards the evening 96 Akalis, who had been kept under arrest in the garden for the last two days and had not been allowed meals since the morning, were asked to march to Amritsar jail. They had hardly proceeded a few paces outside the Guru-ka-Bagh when they were met by a police force, about seventy strong, armed with *lathis*. The Akalis stood there unmoved. They were so severely beaten by some members of this force that many of them felt senseless. The men, according to the report, were being taken to prison. So there could be no question of dispersing them. ... And then what about the Professor of the Khalsa College? What justification could there be for treating him in a manner for which no condemnation can be too severe? Then ‘a few of the batches were alternately beaten and *ducked* in the adjoining pond.’ Does ducking come under the category of ‘civil force’ contemplated in Section 128, Criminal Procedure Code? The Punjab Government owes it to itself no less than to the Sikh community and the people of the Punjab generally to take prompt and exemplary notice of the conduct of those concerned. This duty is the more incumbent upon them, because, again judging from the yet uncontradicted reports of the Shiromani Committee, the Akalis themselves have not in any way departed from the spirit of non-violence, inculcated in them. ... We only want an enquiry, a prompt searching and vigorous enquiry by an agency commanding the confidence of both the Government and the Sikh community, and if, as the result of this enquiry, the excesses are proved to have been perpetrated, then and only then we want exemplary punishment to

be meted out to the individuals responsible for them." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, pp. 428–429).

***Darpan*, September 1922**

The *Darpan* for September 1922 notes that the police has perhaps for the first time in the history of the world failed to arrest the offenders and rendered them helpless by beating them and has also stopped supplies by besieging a place and committed the inhuman act of starving its own subjects. Does the Government really think that a war is going on? The Government is bringing itself into contempt by being at war with unarmed and peaceful Akalis. This, however, is a new era and the beginning of the Moderates' self-government. The effect of the Reform Scheme has begun to be felt. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 489).

***Gargaj Akali*, 1 September 1922**

Writing to the *Gargaj Akali* of the 1st September, Gurdit Singh, Sundar Singh, and Ishar Singh of Amritsar enquire from the Chief Khalsa Diwan whether it will go on witnessing the beating of the Sikhs with *lathis* by the police. The tyrants pull the hair and beards of the Sikhs. The Granth Sahib, the embodiment of ten Gurus, is being insulted. In spite of all this, the leading *jatha* is still keeping quiet like a shameless person. The Diwan should rise and remove the blot from its name. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 425).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 1 September 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 1st September says that nowhere in Sikh history is there any example of the Sikhs being stopped from singing hymns. But now the Amritsar police gagged the Sikhs to prevent them from singing hymns. Verily this is a specimen of British justice! Elsewhere it says that the Akalis are being carded like cotton, threshed like corn and rendered senseless. In short, the butcher has gone to the extreme limit. The paper exhorts the Sikhs to cross rivers and canals and reach the Guru-ka-Bagh, suffer tortures and liberate their *gurdwaras*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 426).

***Kesari*, 1 September 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 1st September remarks that the reports of the merciless beating administered by the police to the Akalis including most respectable men are very painful. It is in no way less provocative on the part of the police to put their hands on the Akalis' long hair and beard. Scores of Akalis have been

seriously wounded and the condition of some of them is said to be critical. Who would be responsible if the Akalis die as a result of the beating by the police? We invite the attention of the higher officers to the ill-treatment of Professor Rajender Singh and his brother by the police and wish to see what steps are taken in the matter. The *Kesari* of the 1st September enquires under what law the Sikhs are being prevented from proceeding to Amritsar and why railway tickets are not issued to the Sikhs who wear black turbans. No officer has the right to ask any one to take an oath that he will take no part in the service of the *gurdwara*. A special Magistrate has been deputed at the Lahore Railway Station to prevent Akalis from going to Amritsar. The Akalis who persist in going to Amritsar are prosecuted under sections dealing with unlawful assemblies. We fail to understand how these sections can apply to them unless they commit an offence. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 427).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 1 September 1922**

In its leading article on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 1st September, after referring to the ill-treatment accorded to the Akalis, remarks that the Mahant could be easily asked to sue in a civil court and pending the final decision an injunction might have been issued. Strong action could be justified only if the orders of the civil court had been disobeyed; and supposing all the action that is being taken is necessary in the name of law and order, is "pulling the Sikhs by the hair" and abusing the females a part of section 128? Physical wounds will heal and may be forgotten, but insults to religious principles and prejudices make deeper wounds, which it will be very difficult to cure afterwards. We wonder if it is at all lawful to beat people who do not raise their little finger in return. Rumours have reached us, which we have not been able to confirm yet, that a responsible Police Officer excels all his subordinates in showering most filthy abuse on the heads of the prostrate Akalis and even jumps on them when they are lying low after being beaten by the police. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 426).

***Tribune*, 1 September 1922**

Writing to the *Tribune* of the 1st September, its special representative says that as a result of personal observation and enquiry on the spot, he has come to the conclusion that the injuries inflicted by certain policemen as a result of misguided zeal in the cause of "law and order" show clearly that the limits within which the use of force should have been confined have been exceeded. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 429).

Bande Mataram, 1 September 1922

The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st September observes that the reports so far received show that a very large number of Sikhs have been wounded and the condition of many wounded persons is delicate. It is further stated that the religious feelings of the Sikhs have been insulted. Beating and assault in the name of law and order constitute a noticeable feature of Lord Reading's administration. It is difficult to see under what law persons are assaulted and beaten who are prepared to be arrested and who offer no resistance to arrest. If the Government cannot rule without breaking the laws made by it, honesty demands that it should give up its rule. In permitting such savage assaults and beating, the Government has no other object than to provoke some people to commit acts that might offer it an opportunity to prove that Indians can achieve nothing in face of the guns and aeroplanes of the King-Emperor. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, pp. 427-428).

Partap, 1 September 1922

The *Partap* of the 1st September says that the British Government prides itself on its statesmanship, but the statesmanship which is being displayed at the Guru-ka-Bagh is most disappointing. Would that the Government were to behold the situation through our eyes and it will come to know what great injury is being done to it through the misbehaviour of its subordinate officers and the police. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 427).

Ajit, 2 September 1922

The *Ajit* of the 2nd September remarks that the reports of the unlawful acts committed by Government officers at the Guru-ka-Bagh make one's hair stand on end. Such acts cannot stop the religious movement for the reform of the Gurdwaras. The brave Sikhs, who are prepared to die for the sake of religion, will take no rest, nor allow officers to do so, until they have reformed the Gurdwaras from their standpoint. But can the beating given by the police at the Guru-ka-Bagh be justified? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 439).

Bande Mataram, 2 September 1922

The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd September writes that the cruelty and brutality which the guardian of law and order are displaying in the Guru-ka-Bagh will not be held pardonable by anybody, except the Imperialists. The police are entrusted with the duty of maintaining law and order, but the authorities and the Ministers should see how they are crushing the laws of nature under

their heels. The Sikhs, on the other hand, have revived their old history, which is written in characters of blood. They have put forward the most brilliant example of sacrifice and suffering. No community has been so deeply affected by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi as the brave Sikhs. In spite of so much unjustifiable rigour, severity and beating, the Sikhs are still suffering silently. It is absurd to say that this is attributable to their weakness, for these Sikhs are the very persons who suppressed the Indian Mutiny, went on the Chitral expedition, gave a severe defeat to the Boers in South Africa and humbled Germany in the recent war. If they are suffering patiently to-day, it is because they are bound by the orders of their Sardars. Hindus and Mussalmans should learn from them the lesson of sacrifice and suffering, protect their religion and give their lives for the sake of their faith. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 428).

***Kesari*, 2 September 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 2nd September remarks that after the massacre of more than 150 Sikhs at Nankana Sahib we were under the impression that the Sikhs would not be required to make any further sacrifices. But the Guru-ka-Bagh affair shows that still more sacrifices are required to be made. The position of the Government regarding the present Sikh movement is highly improper and discreditable to it. It has given a pledge to the inhabitants of India that it will not interfere with their religious affairs, but we shall discuss in a series of articles the way in which it has interfered or is interfering now or intends to interfere in future with their religions and then ask Lord Reading whether it was the self-same justice which is being so loudly praised. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 427).

***Zamindar*, 2 September 1922**

The *Zamindar* of the 2nd September infers from the statement of Professor Rajinder Singh, which is corroborated by Dr. Pal, that police rule is prevalent in the Amritsar District and the police have obtained a license for beating, humiliating and grossly abusing the people. The officials of a civilized Government are witnessing this phenomenon. Cannot civilization and humanity find their way to the environments of the Guru-ka-Bagh or have they been exterminated? If Sir John Maynard and Sir Edward Maclagan will wear black turbans and proceed to the Guru-ka-Bagh in a tonga or motorcar without informing their subordinates, accompanied by Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, Mian Fazl Husain and Lala Harkishan Lal, they will find how true their brave constables are to the salt of the Government and how they are making 'waterfowls of were wings'. We are quite certain that when these five gentlemen get into a tonga,

policemen will first of all give beating to the tonga driver, because five policemen only can sit in a tonga and excepting the police no one has the right to infringe the rules. Afterwards the five gentlemen will be treated in the same way as the responsible Congress workers have been treated. Possibly they will not be beaten like Professor Rajindar Singh, but they should be prepared for grossly abusive language. Would that these high officials were to go to the spot in disguise, and they might, at some future Darbar, give to the Amritsar police Sanads for their good work and loyalty. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, pp. 430–431).

Gargaj Akali, 2 September 1922

Writing to the *Gargaj Akali* of the 2nd September, Ajit Singh, a student of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, exhorts other students of the College to serve the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara at the present time, when their community is in trouble and thousands of their brethren are receiving beating at the hands of the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 440).

Kuka, 2 September 1922

The *Kuka* of the 2nd September remarks that the repression to which our Akali brethren are being subjected at the Guru-ka-Bagh and the callousness with which they are being beaten cannot in any case be justified and any Government that has the least sympathy for its people can never allow such a thing. It would be better for the Government to stop this repression very soon and not to provoke the Sikhs by interfering with their religious matters; otherwise all the Sikh sects will be compelled to rise against this repression. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 426).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 3 September 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 3rd September appeals to the stay-at-home Sikhs to hold daily Diwans everywhere, raise a storm of agitation and expose the past and present doings of the bureaucracy. They should widely circulate the news as soon as they receive it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 440).

Loyal Gazette, 3 September 1922

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 3rd September thinks that the arrest of respectable Sikh leaders like Sardar Mahtab Singh and others on a charge of theft has created feelings of resentment among the Sikhs. The Amritsar Golden Temple keys affair took place during Mr. Dunnet's term of office. The present mischief

also has cropped up in his time. We proclaim that a community like the Sikhs will not be suppressed by repression. The feelings of the entire Sikh community have been excited owing to the excesses practised by the police on the Akalis who were non-violent. The officers who have created the mischief should be transferred at once and all the Sikhs in custody should be released and reparations made for the rigours of the police; otherwise the present agitation will become more serious than that carried on in connection with the Golden Temple keys affair. The Government should reconsider its policy regarding the *gurdwara* at Guru-ka-Bagh. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, pp. 426–427).

***Qaum Parast*, 3 September 1922**

The *Qaum Parast* of the 3rd September states that these incidents have created excitement in the Sikh community all over the Punjab. The beating is giving with such severity and regularity that no man with a feeling heart can bear to see the shameful scene. The only object of the Government in allowing such savage beating can be to provoke others to commit acts which might help it to prove that the Indians can achieve nothing against His Majesty's guns and aeroplanes. Even the staunchest well-wisher of the Government have been heard saying that by exciting the feelings of the Sikhs the Government has committed an irreparable mistake. If the Sikhs remain steadfast in their non-violent struggle, the arrogant officials of the bureaucracy will assuredly suffer a reverse within a few days and will, like Dyer and O'Dwyer, have to leave Indian band and baggage. We would advise the Sikhs to realise the delicacy of the situation and get ready to make every kind of sacrifice. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 444).

***Tribune*, 5 September 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 5th September refers to the official *communiqué* and writes: –

“After all, there are two parties to every one of the incidents of which newspapers are alleged to have published exaggerated accounts – each just as interested as the other; and we can imagine no justification for the Government, without any independent enquiry of any kind that the public knows of, dismissing the version of one of these parties as exaggerated, and at the same time accepting the version of the other as gospel truth. ... Will the Government be pleased to tell the public for once by what precise test it judges of either the necessities of the situation, or the excessiveness or otherwise of the measures taken to cope with them? It is a remarkable fact that although serious allegations of the beating of volunteers and others by the police have been

made on scores of occasions during the last ten months, in not a single case has the Local Government held that the police exceeded the requirements of the case. May we enquire since what precise date the police in this or any other Province have acquired such marvelous perfection that not a single member of this large body and not a single group of its members ever exceed their duty in dealing with "the willful provocation" offered by people?... In the present case all unofficial accounts agree in describing the beating of the Akalis as extraordinary severe – some say the Akalis were beaten until they are actually rendered unconscious – and the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, besides giving the number of the persons injured from day to day, have issued a statement containing the names of some of these persons and their fathers' names, and stating the nature of the injuries sustained by them. Can any one say that this was the minimum force required by the necessities of the case, that this treatment, not of armed rebels, but of "passive resisters" is capable of any defence at the bar of civilized opinion, even it is lawful? Had the Akalis been violent, had they used force either aggressively or even as a retaliatory measure, there might have been something to be said for the degree of force which the Police have been using. But according to all unofficial accounts they are non-violent and have never resisted force with force. ... Now the question which we wish specifically to put to the Punjab Government is this. If such men are to be treated in this way, how would the authorities treat an assembly that was both unlawful and violent? It is an elementary canon of civilized jurisprudence that excessive punishments, whether inflicted by executive order or by order of courts of law, are as grave an evil as unduly lenient punishments. ... The interpretation which the Police and the Executive have been putting upon section 128, Criminal Procedure Code is, from this point of view, a positive danger to the State and its own best interests no less than in those of the public the Government should discard this interpretation without a moment's delay." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 429).

Siyasat, 6 September 1922

The *Siyasat* of the 6th September notes that, in spite of the severe beating given to their brethren in the Amritsar district, the Sikhs are flocking to Amritsar from all parts of the Province to lay down their lives for their Guru. This spirit of sacrifice will ever remain memorable in the history of India. The British Government is a civilized Government, but the repressive and barbarous treatment that has been meted out to the Sikhs by its officials can, on no account, be called commendable. The curious thing is that, in spite of the people of this country being peaceful, the Government has ordered the police and the military to belabour them recklessly with clubs and *lathis*. This shows that

British statesmanship has become bankrupt and it cannot carry on the administration without having recourse to repression. Had the responsible officials at Amritsar acted with a little tact a satisfactory settlement would have been effected, but thoughts of repression were pervading their hearts and brains. The civilized nations of Europe always condemn the Turks and Russians as illiterate and barbarous, but these never attack their subjects in such a cruel and brutal manner. It is astonishing that indescribable tyrannies are being inflicted on the Akalis under a good-hearted Government like Sir Edward Maclagan and a Viceroy like Lord Reading who claims to be just. Is there any law which legalizes the beating of human beings like mute animals? Those who have witnessed the beatings are unanimous in saying that police constables use their *lathis* so violently that the spectacle is harrowing. A Government which adopts a policy of force and repression cannot last long. The inhabitants of the country, so far from welcoming such a policy, begin to look upon the authorities as their bitter enemies. By practising repression, British statesmen are, of their own accord, working out their ruin. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 445).

***Tribune*, 6 September 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 6th September says: –

“It is a constitutional question of the greatest and most enduring importance how passive resistance as such, and apart altogether from its merits in an individual case, is to be treated by the guardians of law and order. It is to be treated as Governments are in the habit of treating active and violent resistance, or is it to be treated as constitutional, though extreme and frequently illegal, methods of political or religious warfare? ... In fact the passivity of the resistance has been a matter of no consequence to our officials. One of the very highest of them told the present writer in December last that the view that he took of passive resistance was that it was the same thing as waging war against His Majesty. And assuredly it is in that spirit that most of our officials, who have had to deal with passive resistance in this Province, have approached their task. ... The most important fact is that passive resistance is not the same thing as active resistance, and both as a matter of right and expediency it is the worst of blunders to treat the two on the same level. ... If passive resistance is constitutional in the case of an individual, it cannot be otherwise in the case of a group of individuals animated by the same purpose. And then is not what is called mass-movement a peculiar characteristic of our age? ... The indiscriminate and excessive force that has been used in more than one case in dealing with passive resisters will be as strongly condemned by history as it has been condemned by contemporary chroniclers. ... In the present case nothing could

have easier for the authorities than to have prevented the Akalis from doing what they wanted to do, without resort to even a fraction of the force which has been actually used. All that the police had to see was that they did not go beyond a particular place, and this they would easily have done by taking their position in sufficient numbers at that place and stopping the advancing Akalis from proceeding further. ... The fallacy of thinking that respect for the law can be inspired by force, and especially by a use of force which those immediately concerned and the public generally regard as uncalled for, excessive and inhuman, lies at the root of the whole trouble. ... Guru-ka-Bagh has already eclipsed all the official bungling of the preceding ten months and unless the authorities are wise even now goodness only knows what further absurdities they will be led to perpetrate. In the name of all that is sacred, we do call upon our officials to call a halt to their suicidal policy even at this stage." The *Tribune* of the 6th September published the following from its special representative at Amritsar under date of 5th September: – "A large crowd of people mostly from the city had as usual assembled on the spot in the fields adjoining the road. The police charged the crowd and chased them across the fields right up to Raja Sansi, a distance of a mile and a half. During the pursuit several people were beaten, thrown into ditches and abused. Some policemen it is alleged took advantage of this opportunity of robbing the people. I have heard complaints of looting by some policemen and it is said that in several instances people were deprived of cash, currency notes, gold studs, wrist watches with gold or silver bands and even clothes. Lala Gopal Das, B.A., was robbed of Rs. 16 in cash, deprived of his coat and then beaten. I saw three marks on his body, two on the back and one on the buttocks. ... The total amount of booty amounts to, so it is stated, to several thousands of rupees."

In commenting upon the above, the paper writes: – "These allegations against certain policemen are serious enough in all conscience and deserve the prompt notice of the authorities concerned. ... We hope Government will make thorough enquiries into these allegations through the medium of an impartial agency and not the police, before making a statement on the subject." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, pp. 429–430).

Partap, 7 September 1922

The *Partap* of the 7th September observes that those who say that *satyagraha* cannot be peacefully carried on and that its programme, as formulated by Mahatma Gandhi, is impracticable, should go to Amritsar and witness the brilliant *satyagraha* of the Khalsas. The treatment which the Government is according to the Sikhs is creating feelings of disgust and indignation in the

minds of the people throughout the country. Government will ultimately have to abandon the path which it is at present pursuing in the same as it relinquished its position in the Golden Temple keys affair. It, therefore, behoves the Government to make over the Gurdwaras to the Sikhs, release the Sikhs who have been imprisoned and dismiss the officers who ordered the beating of the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 443).

***Ramgarhia Gazette*, 7 September 1922**

In a leading article on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, the *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 7th September remarks that it would have been better if the myrmidons of the bureaucracy had acted wisely and caused no trouble. But intoxicated with the wine of authority as they are, they have totally forgotten how to distinguish between a good and a bad person. The tyrants may do what they like, but we assure them that the Sikhs will not recede from the step already taken. It is high time that they came to their sense and followed the right course. Let the tyrants practise oppression. The cooperators should shake off carelessness and afford practical proof of their national dignity. How long will they continue cooperating with the Government and witnessing their brethren being tortured? Tyrants never live long in the world. Peace and force are at war: let us see which way the wind blows. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 439).

***Bande Mataram*, 8 September 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th September remarks that a sensation has been created throughout India owing to the utter disregard of civilization and humanity by the representatives of the Government. Every Indian is asking whether it is lawful to administer a systematic beating to unarmed and peaceful human beings. If this state of affairs continues, it cannot be predicted what effect it will have on other communities in India and how long the Indian political leaders will be in a position to delay mass civil disobedience. If the Sikhs infringe the law let them be prosecuted, but it is not just to beat them with *lathis* and wound their religious feelings by pulling their hair. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 442).

***Zamindar*, 8 September 1922**

The *Zamindar* of the 8th September says that it is possible the Government and the local authorities of Amritsar have decided between themselves that the road leading to the Guru-ka-Bagh is a forbidden area. If this is not the case, why are Indian gentlemen prevented from going toward the Bagh and

why are Government's own men insulted and humiliated? Are the members of the Legislative Council and other Moderate gentlemen abused and disgraced because they go to witness the condition of the Akalis and the spectacle of police highhandedness and violence? It is not known under what law the police and the officials of the Punjab Government are taking shelter. It is ridiculous that while hundreds of Sikhs reach the Guru-ka-Bagh from various roads without being arrested and beaten by the police, the Sikhs who wish to go there by the direct road should be beaten. Every day reports are received that the police have forcibly seized the goods of the people. Can the Government, in the face of such facts, say that the police do not go beyond their orders? We admit that they disperse the people under the orders of their officers, who surely do not order them to loot the people. Why do not the authorities inflict deterrent punishments on one or two policemen on receipt of reports? Perhaps these illegalities of the police do not fall under sections 153 and 124 of the I. P. C. The fact remains that Government always incurs an odium through the acts of its officials. It says that the Sikhs are not dragged by being caught by the hair, but the allegation can be corroborated by Mr. Malan, representative of the Associated Press, who possibly possesses photographs of the acts of the police. Under the law, it is the duty of a Magistrate or the police to disperse an unlawful assembly or to take the members of such an unlawful assembly into custody, but it has never been heard that the members of an Akali Jatha have been arrested. The law does not give the officials of the Government power to exercise rigour and repression. We would like to ask Government which laws are followed by its officials or whether in Indian the spreading of unrest and terror in the name of law and order is called Government. The cruel wounding of four or five hundred Akalis is sowing a seed of estrangement and the say is not far off when even the Moderates will realise their degraded position and non-cooperate with the Government. The Sikhs employed in the police and the army might raise a protest. If illegalities continue to be perpetrated under the cover of law, the situation will become grave and serious difficulties will be encountered. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 445).

***Panth*, 9 September 1922**

The *Panth* of the 9th September states that no parallel can be found in the history of the last century to tyrannies that are being inflicted on innocent and unarmed Sikhs at the Guru-ka-Bagh. Honorary Magistrates have been beaten and even a learned man like the Hon'ble Sardar Jogendar Singh, who is a member of the Council of State, was attacked with a *lathi*, which hit his motor. With reference to the death of a Sikh in consequence of the beating by the police,

the *Panth* of the 9th September says that unless the Punjab Government opens its eyes, very serious consequences are likely to ensue. Although the Sikhs have made a pledge to remain non-violent, the poet has said that the oppressor cannot long practice oppression. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 441).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 9 September 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 9th September refers to the telegram sent by Sardar Man Singh, Secretary, Shahid Akali Jatha, Hyderabad, Sind, to the King-Emperor about the oppression of the Sikhs by the Punjab Government, and remarks that it did not behove the Secretary of a Shahid Akali Jatha to send the message. Does not George v know of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the heart-moving tragedy of Nankana Sahib? If not, how can he be our King, and if he knows what has he so far done? People say that he is a puppet in the hands of the Prime Minister and Parliament. It may be admitted that he cannot help (us), but can he not even resign (his throne) on seeing such oppression practised? If he has done nothing before, do not hope for anything from him now and do not disgrace yourselves by sending telegrams to him. There is no place for him who makes his hopes dependent upon another. Stand upon your own legs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 438).

***Loyal Gazette*, 10 September 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 10th September writes that the Sikhs who are suspected of sending provisions to the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara are also severely beaten by the police. After stating that of the three men thus beaten by the police one has died in the hospital at Ajuala, the paper asks how long this violence on the villagers will continue. Under what laws of morality can the supply of provisions to a Gurdwara be prohibited? Should the Sikhs living at present in the Gurdwara die of starvation? Mr. Dunnet should disabuse his mind of the idea that by stopping provisions he will have the Gurdwara evacuated. The Sikhs are prepared to die of hunger, but they will not leave the Gurdwara. While the Sikhs have not raised a finger, hundreds of them have been wounded and one has been killed. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 441).

***Siyasat*, 10 September 1922**

The *Siyasat* of the 10th September remarks that the reports received about the Guru-ka-Bagh affair are so heart-rending and frightful that their perusal breaks the heart. They show that no savagery was left undone. The Akalis are

caught by their keshas, given a ducking in ponds and beaten after being thrown into canals. Branches of trees are thrust into their mouths, *lathi* blows rain over them, and money is taken out of their pockets. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 446).

***Shamsher-i-Khalsa*, 10 September 1922**

The *Shamsher-i-Khalsa* of the 10th September remarks that the Government should never entertain the idea that even a single Sikh is a Moderate in the matter of Gurdwaras. The Gurdwara movement will end, not through the use of bullets and lathis and by imprisoning men, but by making over the Gurdwaras to their owners. It is not easy to suppress a community like the Sikhs in which religious sentiments is so strong. The only way to undo the mischief is to transfer the officers who have wrought it, release all arrested Sikhs and make reparations for police repression. Otherwise, there is danger of the situation getting serious. To prosecute Sardar Bahadur Mahtab Singh and other persons on a charge of theft is to create a bad instance in history, which will even cause bitterness in the minds of the people.

The *Shamsher Khalsa* of the 10th September refers to the reward of which the Sikhs have been held deserving for their bravery and devotional services to the British Government by being cruelly beaten. Their religious feelings are injured by pulling their sacred *keshas* and beards. They are thrashed with ironshod *dandas*, and when they are wounded and become senseless they are dragged through the mire and thrown into filthy ditches. These horrible punishments, soul-consuming tortures and heart-rendering troubles are being inflicted on them simply because, relying on their legitimate religious rights, they want to go to an old Gurdwara under the orders of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Religious toleration is believed to be a distinctive features of the British Government and is shown to every community. But the Sikhs are deprived of it. If they had known that their loyal services would be rewarded by beating and humiliation they would not have wasted their lives. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 457).

***Kesari*, 11 September 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 11th September publishes from its special correspondent a report to the effect that more rigorous measures than the use of *lathis* may be adopted to force the Sikhs to abandon passive resistance. A *jatha* is, however, being formed, which will advance towards the Guru-ka-Bagh even if bullets are fired. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 458).

Jat Gazette, 13 September 1922

The *Jat Gazette* of the 13th September remarks that while the Akalis are brave and warlike, they also possess the spirit of patience and toleration. The majority of them are Sikh Jats. We request the Government to give up its repressive policy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 458).

Siyasat, 14 September 1922

The *Siyasat* of the 14th September states that according to a report two lorries containing provisions for the Sikhs at the Guru-ka-Bagh were detained. Does justice demand that attempts should be made to starve the Sikhs to death? Is it a sin to send provisions to hundreds of men lying wounded at the Guru-ka-Bagh? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 461).

Watan, 15 September 1922

The *Watan* of the 15th September says that with a view to nipping the evil in the bud the Government tried to prevent Akali jathas from going to Guru-ka-Bagh. When these people did not desist, in spite of leniency and admonition, the Government began to stop them by force. This led stupid people to raise a hue and cry. No one cared to explain things to the Akalis. It is nothing short of obstinacy to take exception to the conduct of the authorities. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 476).

Akal Sewak, 15 September 1922

In the course of a leading article the *Akal Sewak* of the 15th September remarks that pulling the hair of the Sikhs, giving them kicks and beating, supplying no water to those writhing with pain, so severely beating those trying to stand up after the first beating as to prevent them from doing so, giving them a ducking in pools, thrusting filthy grass in their mouths, giving them impure water to drink, cutting off the supply of provisions for the Akalis, insulting those helping them, according harsh treatment even to those wearing white turbans, insulting a woman who wanted to give water to the wounded Akalis and treating Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the editors and correspondents of newspapers with discourtesy – these constitute a painful event of the 20th century which has puzzled the whole world. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 473).

Loyal Gazette, 17 September 1922

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 17th September writes that it was open to the Mahant to lodge a civil suit if he thought that his right had been encroached upon. As it is, if the police abuse their powers the Sikhs will lay down their lives to protect their religious rights rather than tolerate the usurpation of their rights through violence on the part of the police. They contend that they are not violating the law, but are saving it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 458).

Siyasat, 18 September 1922

Referring to the beating of the Akalis and the kicks given on their private parts on the 12th September, which moves Mr. Andrews to tears, the *Siyasat* of the 18th September asks whether there can be more barbarous, inhuman and cowardly acts than these. And in face of such acts, which are committed in broad daylight in the presence of thousands of persons, Sir William Vincent's statement in dealing with Akali *jathas* the local authorities "have accorded a humane treatment to them" appears to be ridiculous in the extreme. The fact is that neither the Punjab Government nor the Government of India takes the trouble of making enquiries. It simply asks for reports from the officers concerned, and as the latter themselves commit such acts they deceive the Government in order to conceal their own faults. The Government at once publishes their reports as press *communiqués*, which are often so opposed to facts that they make one laugh involuntarily. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, pp. 475-476).

Kesari, 20 September 1922

The *Kesari* of the 20th September publishes a communicated article, in which the writer asks whether the present Sikh movement or agitation is directed against the Government. Everyone will reply to the question in the negative. Why did then Mr. Dunnet, who is a representative of the Government, practice so much rigour on the Sikhs accounts of whose sacrifices (for England) loom large in British history? Mr. Dunnett's policy is so injurious and provocative that if the Sikhs had not acted with extraordinary forbearance, courage and non-violence most dreadful results would have ensued. The Government has abandoned this policy, admitting thereby that it was wrong. But the unpleasantness which it has created between the Government and Sikhs is no less injurious. Mr. Dunnett is wholly responsible for it and has shaken the prestige of, and confidence in, the Government. He should not, therefore, be allowed to retain his present responsible post and the Government should dispense with his services soon. The writer also finds fault with Mr. Dunnet for his alleged

rude behaviour towards Pandit Malaviya and ridicules the former's explanation of the incident. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 475).

Nihang, 24 September 1922

With reference to the beating of an Akali jatha on the 16th September, the *Nihang* of the 24th September observes that every slave wishes to win the approbation of his master. If the Government has suspended its rigour for a time, it does not mean that it has abandoned its policy for ever or that it feels repentant. If the slaves who eat the salt of the Government act upon what is in the mind of the Government, they expose the black-heartedness which it is secretly perpetrating by its cunning moves. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, pp. 489–490).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 30 May 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 30th May observes that the only idea which moves the bureaucracy at present is to cow down the Indians. With this end in view it has given free reins to its subordinate officers, who are practising all sorts of oppression. During the beating at Guru-ka-Bagh the Shiromani Committee twice sent fruit, medicines, etc. (for the injured), with a permit from the Deputy Commissioner. The edibles were, however, looted by the police on both occasions. And the reply to a question asked in the Council on the subject was that the constables concerned were hungry. When the Government itself legalizes loot by having recourse [resort] to such arguments, why should not disorder prevail in the country? Verily, Government has not the courage to take notice of the doings of its *goonda* officers. Just now they are the pillars of the Sarkar and many of them are being given promotions and titles. Only those of them who practice oppression on the Akalis, loot the latter in broad day-light and subject them to tortures in jails are in the good books of the Government. After the beating at Guru-ka-Bagh had stopped and arrests began to be made Beatty used to beat the arrested Sikhs at night. On a complaint being made the wounded Sikhs were medically examined in jail, but the matter was hushed up on the doctor reporting that they had really been beaten. The Shiromani Committee enquired from the Deputy Commissioner about the result of the examination, but was told that it had not yet been completed. Who knows how many centuries the enquiry will take to complete? Let us now consider the Rawalpindi incident. The Government tried to ally the sufferings of the Sikhs, but the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi commits a deed before which all other acts of oppression pale into insignificance. And this weak bureaucracy has not the courage to punish the officer. The bureaucracy is thus not only

being struck at from outside, but is also being disobeyed by its own officers, who it is apprehended will, from day to day, make themselves more and more independent of it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 9th June 1923. No. 23, pp. 297–298).

2 Women in the Agitation

Akali-te-Pardesi, 3 September 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 3rd September states that in the name of law and order not only the Sikhs going to the Guru-ka-Bagh are detained at Lahore, but ladies wearing black scarfs are subjected to great troubles. O beloved Panth. Will not this cause the blood of the Sikhs to boil in their veins? They should come in large numbers and see with their own eyes the tortures practised upon thy beloved ones and join hands with them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 440).

Kesari, 4 September 1922

The *Kesari* of the 4th September remarks that a Sikh lady writes that the struggle which the brave Sikhs are carrying on for the protection of their rights will always remain memorable in Sikh history. She asks Sikh women to spare no pains in encouraging their brave men and join them in the struggle. The paper, however, thinks that the time has not yet come for Sikh ladies to carry out such proposals practically. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 427).

Punjab Darpan, 23 November 1922

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 23rd November states that the Magistrate who made enquiries about the beating of a Sikh lady by the police on the way to Guru-ka-Bagh writes that “such petty incidents often occur in such affairs.” It is a matter for surprise that a responsible Government, which is so anxious for the maintenance of law and order, should consider the beating of a lady a petty incident. If such occurrences usually happen on such occasion, why was not the affair of the beating of Miss Sherwood by some hooligans passed over and why were the culprits and even respectable men and women residing near the scene of the occurrence subjected to unheard-of tortures and indignities? Perhaps the different between the two cases is that while in one case the complexion of the victim was black, in the other it was white. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 595).

3 The Railway Incident at Hasan Abdal

Bande Mataram, 3 November 1922

The *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd November writes that although the police have wounded 1,300 Akalis and arrested nearly 3,800 men, the *Englishman* is still grumbling. What greater repression can the Government practice? It brushed aside the law and allowed the police the fullest freedom to assail, not only the law-breakers, but even people treading the road to Guru-ka-Bagh. If these criminal proceedings mean “silence” and “witnessing a *tamasha*” on the part of the Government and if the driver of the train which crushed under its wheels people anxious to have a look at the Akali prisoners only witnessed a *tamasha*, let the *Englishman* say what else the Government should do. What greater oppression does the *Englishman* wish the Akalis to be subjected to? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 555).

Partap, 4 November 1922

The *Partap* of the 4th November praises the spirit which actuated the Akalis, but advises them never to try to stop a train. It also asks whether 11 men have been wounded and why the driver did not stop the train when 150 or 200 persons were reciting shabads and holding aloft a red flag. The matter should be formally enquired into. The enquiry made by the Government is meaningless. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 556).

Punjabee, 8 November 1922

The *Punjabee* of the 8th November observes that the revolutionaries are making matters worse every day. The dispute about the cutting of trees in Guru-ka-Bagh has not ended when the Khalsa Bahadurs have taken to stopping railway trains by their orders. Under what law did the Akalis take possession of the railway line at Panja Sahib and forcibly try to stop the train? “O Khalsaji! Come to your senses. Your irregularities have traversed all bounds. Nobody in the world can tolerate this state of affairs any longer. Those who are egging you on will back out at the hour of need.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 569).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 8 November 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 8th November asks what the arrogant servants of this proud bureaucracy care for Indian lives. The death of a dog or an Indian is the same thing to them, and the killing of Sikhs is perhaps considered a

virtuous act in these days As people were sitting on the line why did not the Station Master signal to the train to stop? How long will these oppressions continue and how long shall we be subjected to tortures? Why are not heaven and earth rent at the perpetration of these tyrannies? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 570).

***Khalsa*, 11 November 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 11th November refers to the Government communiqué on the incident and asks why the Station Master did not get the Akalis arrested before lowering the signal. So long as sufficient light is not thrown on the point, the public will think that the enquiry made by the Government was a white-washing affair. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 570).

4 Pressure for Enquiries

***Vakil*, 31 August 1922**

The *Vakil* of the 31st August thinks it would be advisable on the part of the Government to make a sifting enquiry into the allegations made by the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee about the excesses committed on the Sikhs by the police in the Guru-ka-Bagh and award punishment to those who have practised undue severity. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 430).

***Partap*, 31 August 1922**

The *Partap* of the 31st August wants the Government to have an enquiry made into the allegations of the beating of the Akalis by the police and to award exemplary punishment to those found guilty. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 427).

***Muslim Outlook*, 7 September 1922**

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 7th September cannot accept as trustworthy Government *communiqués* as 'persistently combating' the allegations against the police, when its own correspondent is an eye-witness to the ill-treatment of Akalis by the police. It adds: –

“We once again ask Government to take the initiative in appointing a popular committee to sift the whole truth of the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. And in doing so we trust the Government will, incidentally, recognise that even if the extremist press have over-painted the picture there is nothing so conducive to the reality

of a rebellion, which the Anglo-Indian press profess to desire to avert, than the suggestion of our Mall contemporary that 'if necessary military force may be employed.' If the law must be maintained, justice also must be done. If the police have exceeded their powers, the injustice done to the Akalis must be repaired." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 446).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 21 September 1922**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st September has no confidence in the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, who will enquire into the alleged police excesses in Guru-ka-Bagh. An enquiry into by a Police Officer into the excesses of his subordinates can give no satisfaction to the public, who will doubt his impartiality. Two non-official gentlemen should be appointed to assist him and if the complain about policemen having robbed people of their money is found to be correct, the delinquents should be punished by a judicial court or the Police Department. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 476).

***Bande Mataram*, 12 November 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th November remarks that a committee should be appointed to make an independent enquiry into the following questions: – Was the savage beating of the Akalis just? Was there any particular necessity to blockade the Gurdwara? How much money was spent on erecting a barbed wire fencing and stationing the military and police there? Was this expenditure justifiable? Is it true that the police cut more trees, including fruit trees, in Guru-ka-Bagh than the Akalis did? So long as these questions are not solved no compromise can be effected between the Government and the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 567).

5 Actions of the Government

***Partap*, 3 September 1922**

The *Partap* of the 3rd September cannot say what the result of the present struggle between the Sikhs and the Government will be. But one thing is certain, namely, that estrangement between the two will grow. The Government should not displease the Sikhs. Painful stories of the heartless beating given by the police to the Sikhs are received daily. The Deputy Commissioner says that the minimum force has been used. But who is to decide that this is really so? The Government should give up the use of *dandas* and arrest those who infringe

the law. What explanation can the Government offer for the insult shown to respectable men like Professor Ruchi Ram and Rana Feroze-ud-Din? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 443).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 4 September 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 4th September 1922 says that in the course of conversation with a press representative, it was stated by Mr. Dunnett that under section 128 the police used the minimum force on the Akalis. But let us ask him, who is inebriated with the wine of power, whether it is lawful to beat, like the threshing of corn and the carding of cotton, the unarmed and innocent *jathas* of Akali Sikhs who cut wood for the Guru's kitchen from the Gurdwara land. Is it lawful to pull the *keshas* and beards of the Sikhs, dearer to them than their lives? Is the putting of wedges in the anus of Sikhs, breaking their bones and swelling their ribs and temples with blows from bludgeons also within the law? Is the trampling under boots of the *keshas* of Sikhs and Mr. Beaty's hounding of the latter like hunter on horse-back and trampling them under his horse's hoofs also lawful? Is the ducking given to the Sikhs after they have been severely beaten also within the bounds of law? Has not all this taken place under his orders? After practising such atrocities, he is not ashamed to say that he sympathises with the Gurdwara reform movement! On the 31th August this very tyrant, Dunnett preyed upon 150 Sikhs of the Gargaj Akali Jatha and broke their skulls with blows from bludgeons. And this is called the use of minimum force! (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 440).

***Bande Mataram*, 4 September 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th September remarks that in beating the Akalis no consideration is paid to humanity. So far more than 200 Akalis have been wounded. Many of them have received grievous wounds and the conditions of some is critical. The Punjab Government, however, announces in a *communiqué* that the conduct of the police is not objectionable and the Akalis are not cruelly beaten. But we ask whether the Government has armed the police and Gurkha sepoy with sticks of flowers. Do they disperse the Akalis with such sticks? The Government cannot deceive the public by issuing such *communiqués*. The disrespect which the police have shown to law in Lord Reading's time has not parallel in the history of India. Even on battlefield the enemy is not beaten if he surrenders. Do the Akalis deserve to be treated with greater rigour than even the Germans? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 441).

Zamindar, 4 September 1922

The *Zamindar* of the 4th September says that the heart-rending events witnessed at the Guru-ka-Bagh by its special correspondent should be a source of shame to any civilized Government. The police do not lift their hand so long as press representatives or others are on the spot, but as soon as they leave the police act with great rigour. We fail to understand how so many people could be wounded if only the minimum force was used. Are not the Akalis strong enough to use violence? Indeed, it would go very hard with the police if they did so. In spite of the beating, however, to which they are subjected, the Akalis remain non-violent and yet they are not considered non-violent. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 444).

Kesari, 6 September 1922

The *Kesari* of the 6th September is unable to understand what object the Government wishes to gain by publishing such *communiqués*. Those who are acquainted with facts can never be satisfied. Indeed, wrong announcements cause still greater estrangement. Is it not a matter for shame for the Government to try to justify an improper act in a *communiqué*? We invite the attention of Lord Reading to the matter and ask him whether this is the justice which he boastfully talked of on his arrival in India. Government officers, instead of repeating of their mistake and making reparations for it, arrested responsible Sikh leaders on the charge of abetment of theft. But the Government has weakened its own foundations. Being inebriated with authority, it may not realise what it is doing now, but time will come when it will have to repent. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 443).

Partap, 6 September 1922

The *Partap* of the 6th September refers to the official press *communiqué* and says that the Government has stated that the accusations against the police have not been confirmed. But the public cannot be satisfied until an impartial enquiry is instituted into the allegations against the police. The Government says that the police have admittedly been compelled on several occasions to resort to force owing to the willful provocation offered by the Akalis, but no official or unofficial report shows that the Sikhs raised their hands against the police or any policeman was wounded by them. We are sorry that the Government publishes *communiqués* on the bases of the reports of the subordinate officers and the result is that official *communiqués* are losing their importance in the public eye. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 443).

Muslim Outlook, 6 September 1922

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 6th September writes: –

“The public excitement is at a high pitch and it is time that effective measure were taken to allay it. The official press *communiqué* is, we are afraid, not sufficient for the purpose. As to the cause of the trouble, the point at issue between the Akalis and the Mahant was for the civil courts to decide and Government cannot be congratulated on taking up the cudgels on behalf of the Mahant and prosecuting for theft, etc., people who thought they were using *wakf* property for purposes of the *wakf*. With regard to tales of police oppression, we strongly urge the desirability of associating a sufficient number of non-officials, well-known for their independence, with the Deputy Commissioner to see that the minimum of force is used in dispersing the Akalis. The popular view is that such is not the case. That an independent investigation into the doings of the police and the cause of the strife will be necessary goes without saying. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar says that the authorities have nothing to hide. Under these circumstances, the best policy for the Government will be to give an understanding now that a commission, on which non-officials will be adequately represented, will inquire into the whole affair after the excitement subsides.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 431).

Kesari, 7 September 1922

The *Kesari* of the 7th September writes that judging from the way in which the Sikhs are prepared to make sacrifices, there is no reason to doubt that final victory will be theirs. So far as Government is concerned it is doubtful whether it will be possible for it to wipe off the stigma cast on it by the action of the police. The non-violent Sikhs, who lie prostrate on the ground, are beaten and mauled relentlessly. A strong feeling is growing in their favour – a feeling which no power on earth can suppress. The Government has already issued one *communiqué* and will issue more in future, but the publication of incorrect facts can do no good. The *communiqué* says that the Government has received no information to show that more than the minimum force was used in dispersing the Akalis. The authentic news which is being published and the statements made by eye-witnesses show, however, that a serious battle is raging between the peaceful Akalis and the police. Pandit Malaviya, Lala Duni Chand and the other leaders who have watched the beating at the Guru-ka-Bagh with their own eyes have come to realise what the Government's idea of ‘minimum force’ is. Can the Government reject the direct evidence of these eye-witnesses? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, pp. 443–444).

Panth, 7 September 1922

The *Panth* of the 7th September says that the reports which are being received regarding the situation at the Guru-ka-Bagh clearly show that Government adheres to its policy of repression and will not take rest until it has suppressed the Sikhs. Sikh history shows, however, that the Sikhs cannot be suppressed by repression. Government ought to keep in view the consequences of its policy, otherwise its attitude will give rise to dangerous unrest throughout the country. No one can keep in check the inexperienced inhabitants of villages. The policy of the Government in sowing the seed of hatred among these simple-minded folk will prove injurious to both the Government and the country. Unless an immediate change takes place in the situation, the public will not be able to tolerate the present serious situation much longer and the natural result will be that the Punjab will become a centre of anarchy like Ireland. The Government of India should realise their responsibility and save the situation. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 441).

Punjab Darpan, 7 September 1922

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 7th September 1922 observes that the British nation, which holds the highest position in statesmanship, should act with foresight in the affair of the Guru-ka-Bagh. The Khalsa, whose value has been tested in the fields of Egypt, France and Gallipoli, is to-day the foremost in suffering unbearable hardships for the protection of his religion. Government should give up the idea of false prestige and hand over the management of Gurudwaras to the Sikh community, release the Sikh prisoners immediately, suitably punish the officers who have committed excesses and not think of interfering in religious matters. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 437).

Bande Mataram, 7 September 1922

It appears to the *Bande Mataram* of the 7th September that the Government was on the look-out for an opportunity to avenge the signal defeat which it sustained in connection with the Golden Temple keys affair. The reports so far published about the Guru-ka-Bagh incidents show that the police leave no stone unturned to throw humanity and civilization overboard. The number of wounded Sikhs have approached 350, the condition of many of whom is critical. The official *communiqué* shows that because of some trees 350 persons were beaten and wounded. But the Akalis were not carrying these trees to their homes. They needed fuel for the *langar*. It is a strange piece of logic that while the Akalis are in possession of the Gurdwara, they do not enjoy the possession of the lands (attached to it). Does not the land in question belong to

the Gurdwara? Has the Mahant purchased it with money earned by the sweat of his brow? If the Mahant is not in possession of the Gurdwara, his possession over the land (attached to it) is wholly unlawful, nay, is an act of usurpation. Even if it be admitted for arguments that the Akalis have committed a crime by cutting down trees, they could have been arrested and prosecuted. The Akalis never offered any obstruction to their arrest. The Government has not right to throw laws overboard in order to punish the violation of law and call itself a Government constituted by law. The fact is that the Government is not constituted by law in India. It believes that its existence depends on military force. This Government does not belong to the Indians, nor does it seek to promote the interests of the Indians. Its object is merely to maintain a powerful *gora* [white] army and a big Indian army at the expense of the Indians and to promote British trade in India with the help of this army. The way the Akalis are being punished in the Guru-ka-Bagh is not the way in which criminals should be punished. A nation having a sense of self-respect like the Sikhs can never acknowledge the existence of a Government which has committed inhuman acts not once but repeatedly. The Sikhs will unite with other communities in putting an end to such a Government. They can neither accept nor feel satisfied with the laws made by a Government the existence of which cannot even be acknowledged by them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 442).

***Vakil*, 8 September 1922**

The *Vakil* of the 8th September asks whether the beating administered to the Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh can be said to be no more than the use of minimum force. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar told the representative of a newspaper that his order as that blows should be given on the fleshy part of the body. But facts show that the police do not stick to the order. It is stated that men lying on the ground are trampled under the hoofs of horses and the Sikhs are dragged by their hair. This cannot be called the use of minimum force. The injuries inflicted on the visitors cannot assuredly be justified by any law. It is to be hoped that the Government will have an impartial enquiry instituted into the allegations before issuing another press *communiqué*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 444).

***Siyasat*, 9 September 1922**

The *Siyasat* of the 9th September says that the members of the Punjab Government, who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice, are enjoying the cold breezes of Simla and issue brief press *communiqués* now and then on the basis of reports supplied to

them by their agents. Reports are now being received that police constables first beat the people with big *lathis* and then remove cash, etc., from their pockets. It is not known how far such acts are justifiable under the existing law. The Viceroy is a great advocate of justice and equality. He did not take the trouble of going to Amritsar personally or sending a special representative there. A few years ago the Sikhs were regarded as the helpers of Great Britain. It is a pity that to-day they are being mercilessly wounded. Next to the Jallianwala Bagh, the Guru-ka-Bagh is gaining special notoriety and importance in Indian history. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 446).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 14 September 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 14th September says that while the heads of many have been broken, several men are spitting blood, ribs have been fractured and skins have been removed, the cruel and lying Dunnet thinks that only the minimum force has been used. We empathically tell this officer, who is inebriated with the wine of authority and is being consumed by the fire of tyranny and anger, that the Sikhs are the sons of the Lord of Martyrs, Sri Guru Arjan Dev, who had to sit down on red-hot iron-pans, had burning sands poured on his body, seated himself in a boiling cauldron and attained martyrdom by his resignation to the will of God. The Sikhs hold their Gurdwaras dearer than their lives and wealth. As long as a single Sikh is alive they will cheerfully sacrifice themselves for the sake of their Gurdwaras. Just as the brave Khalsa went jumping to the jail and cheerfully put up with beating, he will not recede even when bullets are fired. The paper adds: – “Khalsa ji! Dunnett has challenged you by saying that the maximum force will (now) be used, which can mean nothing but firing. The military and the police are continuously marching to the Guru-ka-Bagh and complete arrangements are being made for killing you. We are fully confident that you will cheerfully accept this challenge and will not hesitate to sacrifice yourselves at the door of your beloved. The present is the time not for sitting idle but for running to attain martyrdom.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 458).

***Tribune*, 14 September 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 14th September writes: –

“It has scarcely ever been our lot to come across a more unconvincing official statement than the one supplied by the Punjab Government to the Government of India for the information of the members of the Legislative Assembly regarding the position at ‘Guru-ka-Bagh’. ... It appears on the face of it to be based principally, if not solely, upon information supplied to the

Punjab Government by the local officials, exactly the men against whose method of doing things the public has been making loud and insistent complaints during the last three weeks, and not upon anything in the nature of an independent investigation made by the Government itself and through an agency not sharing the views or prejudices of the alleged perpetrators of wrong, and further that there is no evidence in it of a dispassionate testing of this information by that strewn broadcaste by the Shiromani Committee and other unofficial agencies. ... The real issue is not whether the Government or its officers should perform their elementary duty of protecting individuals in the enjoyment of their property, but whether in the performance of his and any other similar duty they have right to use the among of force that the police have been doing at 'Guru-ka-Bagh' and on the roads leading to it, when the persons against whom this force is used are according to their own statement wholly and according to the official version itself for the most part non-violent. On this last point it is worthy of note that even in its latest statement the Punjab Government is able to cite only two instances, divided by nearly a fortnight, in which bodies of Akalis are alleged to have used force towards the police. Even assuming for the sake of argument that the version supplied to Government is wholly correct and the Sikh version, which, of course, denies the use of force on the part of Akalis, is wholly wrong, the Government must clearly see that the individuals against whom this charge is brought are only a small proportion of the total number of Akalis who have taken part in this struggle, and the incidents themselves are only a small proportion of those that have taken place so far. Nor can they ignore the universal testimony of all the correspondents of English and vernacular newspapers, of several Sikh members of the Legislative Council and the Indian Legislature, of local and provincial Congress leaders, and last and most important of all, of such universally respected and revered leaders of the people as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Hakim Ajmal Khan, all of whom have seen things with their own eyes, that the Akalis they have seen, though perfectly determined, have been completely non-violent. ... To dispose of this universal testimony, as the Government has done hitherto, by saying that only minimum force has been used is no better than to say that the police can do no wrong, that whatever force the police may choose to use is, in the opinion of the Government, only minimum force. The most astonishing part of the thing is that this defence of the use of what is persistently but quite wrongly called minimum force and of those responsible for it is only a prelude to the announcement that it has now been decided to abandon the present method. ... But the worst part of the story remains to be told. If the Government has changed its mind, those responsible for carrying out its policy have not." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 460).

***Bande Mataram*, 15 September 1922**

Commenting on the Home Member's statement about the Guru-ka-Bagh affair in the Council of State, the *Bande Mataram* of the 15th September writes that the Hindu, Sikh and Muhammadan leaders, as also Sikh members of the Punjab Council, witnessed the incidents with their own eyes. Again, the representatives of English and vernacular newspapers were eye-witnesses to the brutal beating every day, while thousands of persons from Amritsar and the outlying places saw how Akali *jathas* were beaten with mounted bludgeons. The Government says, however, that the newspapers have exaggerated the rigour and cruelty practised by the police. This means that all the newspapers and national leaders are telling lies, but what those who are responsible for all these things say in their defence is true. And yet the Government wonders why there is so much discontent throughout the country. Will this official statement satisfy the members of the Council and the general public? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 459).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 15 September 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 15th September writes: –

“Admitting for the sake of argument that the Akalis were trespassers, are not one thousand and one cases of trespass occurring in the country daily? Is it for the executive or police to decide them by direct intervention. ... Assuming that they were acting under the orders of the Parbandhak Committee, the actual trespassers, so to say, could be punished in ordinary criminal courts and civil decrees could be granted against the Committee. ... Where was the necessity of this direct intervention? Up to this time the Committee has not said that it was taking any steps to take possession of that land. ... So how does the question of forcible possession arise? Further while attempting to prevent the Akalis from indulging in alleged lawless behaviour, the guardians of peace and order have given such a sorry exhibition of their own regard for law that respectable people have begun to entertain serious doubts as to the honesty of their motives. ... But these are not the only defects. Sections 127 and 128 do authorize the police to disperse an unlawful assembly by the employment of minimum force. But surely force is to be employed when the assembly after being declared unlawful evades arrest and resorts to violent actions. But what occurred on Monday and Tuesday last could not be justified by misinterpretation of sections 127 and 128 even. The Akalis that went to Guru-ka-Bagh proceeded in batches of four, three and two. The minimum number of persons for the application of sections 127 and 128 must be five. But even then the Akalis were beaten. Under what section the police alone knows. ... We sincerely trust that in the face of all these facts the Government will not persist in their unjustifiable course and still further widen the gulf that is already big enough between the rulers and

the ruled." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, pp. 473-474).

***Bande Mataram*, 16 September 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th September writes that the report which the Punjab Government has sent to the Government of India about the Guru-ka-Bagh affair is absolutely one-sided and partial. We ask whether the police did not cruelly beat the Akalis with *lathis*. Did more than a thousand Akalis, who are lying wounded at Amritsar, wound one another by fighting among themselves? Are they not a living proof of the atrocities of the police? It is wholly wrong for the Punjab Government to say that the Akalis do not act upon the principle of non-violence. Indeed, the completely successful way in which they have acted upon the principle of non-violence has no parallel in the history of the world. Thousands of people have seen them. The eyes of Sriman Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Masih-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. C.F. Andrews, the myrmidons of the Government itself, the Moderates and the members of the Council were filled with tears at the painful sight of the merciless beating by the police and the heroic suffering of the Akalis. If this attitude of the police and other officials is praiseworthy in the estimation of the Government, then even a foolish person can easily understand that the Indians cannot pull on with the Government and the sooner they gain deliverance from such a Government the better. If the Punjab Government cannot perform its duty without getting the non-violent Akalis mercilessly beaten by the police, especially when the Akalis offer no resistance to their arrest, it will be better if it gives up its rule. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, pp. 459-460).

***Khalsa*, 16 September 1922**

In its leading article the *Khalsa* of the 16th September remarks that the Sikhs went to cut wood in the garden at Guru-ka-Bagh only in *jathas* of four, which did not constitute "unlawful assemblies". As it is, even the Sikhs who went to cut wood in groups of two were given a beating. As regards the use of 'minimum force,' Mr. Andrews, who witnessed everything with his own eyes, says that the Akalis were beaten in a cowardly and brutal manner. Again, no provisions are allowed to be sent to the Sikhs at Guru-ka-Bagh, although there is no law under which offenders can be starved. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 474).

***Kesari*, 18 September 1922**

Writing on the desirability of the gulf caused between the Government and Sikhs being bridged over the *Kesari* of the 18th September says that it is not

opposed to peace. Reconciliation should, however, be brought about in an honourable manner. The first condition of such a peace is that all Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara reform movement should be released unconditionally. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 475).

***Kesari*, 22 September 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 22nd September characterizes the position of the Government as wholly wrong. Even if it be admitted that the land and the garden under dispute have been entered in the papers in the name of the Mahant who still pays the land revenue, the question arises whether the land has become his private property. The fact is that the land belongs to the Gurdwara. The Mahant enjoyed possession as a trustee and to carry on the work of the Gurdwara with its income and continue the kitchen and not to spend its income on his private works. A year ago the Akalis dispossessed the Mahant of the Gurdwara and took in their own hands the work of serving the Granth Sahib. A Government that claims to be intelligent and sensible should understand that as the Mahant has been dispossessed of the duty of serving the Granth Sahib he no longer has anything to do with the Gurdwara and its garden. We certainly do not wish the Mahant to be deprived of his legitimate rights. But it was highly improper for the Government to declare the Mahant, who has been removed from the Gurdwara, as the proprietor of the land and to fight with the Sikhs. The policy adopted by the officials of the Government in depriving the Sikhs of their rights is not justified either by morality or law. The Sikhs were sitting on the land and committing no crime. And yet they were beaten into unconsciousness. We cannot say by what law this can be justified. The officials of the Government broke laws in the name of the law. The Akalis have gained a moral victory and the Government has suffered a defeat. It must now reconsider the matter and make over the land and the garden to the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 475).

***Tribune*, 12 October 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 12th October writes: –

“The present struggle, if carried on to a finish, will certainly be decisive, one way or the other; but even if the Akalis break down, the result will not be of any abiding value to the Government, because it will leave behind a sense of bitterness and resentment which will more than outweigh the technical victory of the officials over the Akalis. It is on that account that the well-wishers of the Government as well as the Akalis do not desire the struggle to be carried to the bitter end; and in the interests of both we earnestly appeal to the authorities to come to a speedy and reasonable settlement with the Akalis, which may be

satisfactory to all interests involved." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, p. 514).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 13 October 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 13th October writes that the Government has added one more to the long list of the favours bestowed by it upon the Sikh community by granting the Sikhs the 'concession' of taking their offerings to the Gurdwara at Guru-ka-Bagh on the last Amawas day! We expect neither justice nor humanity from this bureaucracy, but will it say under what law it has placed a cordon round the Gurdwara to cut off the supplies? We have tried our best to find out the so-called leading Sikhs who are stated in the Government *communiqué* to have waited upon the Superintendent of Police to express their appreciation for this 'concession'. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, p. 515).

***Loyal Gazette*, 15 October 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 15th October remarks that the trouble would not have assumed its present dimensions if the Tahsilar had taken the Mahant to the Akal Takht (and not to the Deputy Commissioner) when the latter came to ask forgiveness of the Panth. The Government should come to its sense even now and make peace (with the Sikhs) by releasing all Sikh prisoners and passing a Gurdwara law. So far the authorities have only destroyed the prestige of Government in their efforts to maintain it. What remains of it should not be sacrificed from motives of *zid*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 526).

***Kesari*, 16 October 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 16th October remarks that the Sikhs have done all they could to safeguard their religious rights in Guru-ka-Bagh. The sacrifices made by them have, however, produced no effect on Government officers and there is still no prospect of peace. The time for reconciliation has not yet passed away and the Government should lose no time in bringing it about. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, pp. 515-516).

***Shamsher*, 17 October 1922**

The *Shamsher* of the 17th October remarks that the Government should have secured the gratitude of the Sikh community by clearing the Gurdwaras of (undesirable) Mahants. It chose, however, to follow quite a different policy. If the people act in contravention of man-made law to protect the rights granted to them by God, they are liable to punishment (lit. worthy of being

beheaded). But if the Government insults the royal commands (regarding religious neutrality) it is encouraged. The non-cooperators or ordinary agitators have not done so much to lower the prestige of the Government as the Government itself. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 528).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 3 November 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 3rd November writes: –

“The Akalis are not at all marching upon ‘estates legally belonging to others’ but they are asserting their indefeasible right of saving the estates virtually and originally belonging to religious and charitable public trusts and endowments, from being converted into private properties and being usurped by the degenerated Mahants. The cause of the Akalis is surely a cause of righteousness and the impotency of the existing law and the halting nature of the measures proposed by the Government to help the solution of the question of Gurdwara reform have goaded some of them into their present line of action. Of course, no man in his senses can ever defend lawlessness, but in the constitutional struggles of various countries instances are not wanting of men who deliberately defied a rotten law with a view to quickening the pace of the slow legislating machinery to register the changed public opinion. There may be several mistakes in their line of action, but the one aim of the Akali movement is to force immediate attention to their grievances and to hasten the legal solution.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, pp. 568–569).

***Panth*, 16 November 1922**

The *Panth* of the 16th November observes that when Government knows full well that the Sikhs are taking all risks for the sake of their religion, why is it making itself the target of reproaches by unnecessary interference? Government appears to be under the impression that if it recedes from the position it has taken up the general public will think that it has been defeated. But Government is bound to sustain a defeat and it had better recede, so that its defeat may remain concealed. If it continues to pursue the present policy, it will have ere long to suffer an open defeat. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 581).

***Tribune*, 19 November 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 19th November writes: –

“We remark with infinite pain that, whatever the authorities themselves may think, they have sustained as bad a defeat in this case as they did in

connection with the Keys affair. ... What the man in the street sees only too clearly is that the whole thing has from the first been one long series of blunders, a succession of impossible positions taken up without thought and given up without remorse or repentance. ... The one thing that is clear is that the authorities wanted to do something of which they had no perhaps a very clear idea themselves, that they did not know how to do it and, therefore, tried one impossible means after another, and that eventually they have desisted from the enterprise without having achieved anything at all, any thing, at any rate, that could not have been achieved at the very outset, if authorities had so wished. We must be very much mistaken if this is not what in ordinary parlance is called a defeat. Contrast with this the position of the Sikhs. From first to last they adhered to one thing, the assertion of what they believed to be their lawful right of cutting trees from a garden which they claimed to be Gurdwara property and, therefore, inseparably connected with the Gurdwara. Whether they were right or wrong in the position they took up is beside the point. What is clear is that they have never for one minute flinched from the position they took up. In order to maintain what they believed to be their right they have shrunk from no sacrifice, and have endured no end of suffering, of humiliation and of physical hardship. ... And now that the dismal chapter has ended, they have the satisfaction of finding that they have got what they wanted. We must be very much mistaken if this is not what in ordinary parlance is called a victory. ... The first thing to do, in our opinion, is to release the whole lot of persons, whether convicted or under-trial, in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. There is no point in detaining these men further – nothing to be gained by it. The only purpose it can serve is that of making a settlement difficult, if not impossible. The Government has, further, only to follow its own precedent in this matter, the precedent it created when it released the whole body of arrested or convicted persons connection with the Keys affair. The two cases are, to our mind, substantially on the same footing, and what was considered a good enough policy in the one case must be regarded as an equally good policy in the other. The second and equally important thing is for the authorities to hold a proper enquiry by means of an independent committee into the alleged excesses of Police officers and men at Guru-ka-Bagh and to punish those found guilty. The third and last thing is for the Government to announce its intention of letting the Sikh community as a whole settle the question of its Gurdwara reform in the best way it can, to call upon that community to come to an understanding both among its several component parts as well as with the Hindus, where they have anything to do with it, and to declare its readiness to give effect to this understanding by means of permanent legislation as soon as it is reached. If the Government will do this, we have no doubt the Sikhs, on their own side, will desist from all aggressive activities in this connection

pending the conclusion of a settlement." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, pp. 581–582).

Khalsa, 20 November 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 20th November states that the land attached to the Gurdwara has been leased out to Sir Ganga Ram, who has been made or has made himself a ladder for the Government to climb down. The Akalis have gained a moral victory, but the Government has deprived them of the fruits of their victory. The right for which they made all their sacrifices has not been acknowledged. Agitation will become still more bitter. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 582).

Kirpan Bahadur, 20 November 1922

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 20th November refers to the leasing of the Guru-ka-Bagh lands to Sir Ganga Ram and asks why the Government did not adopt a similar device before taking up the cudgels (against the Akalis). The bureaucracy was bent on crushing the Akali movement in retaliation for its defeat in the keys affair. As, however, it lacks statesmanship it did not realise that the Sikhs were ready to sacrifice their all for their religion. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 591).

Partap, 22 November 1922

The *Partap* of the 22nd November remarks that the inevitable has happened. The sacrifices made by the Sikhs have borne fruit. The Government has practically admitted that the policy pursued by it was wrong. No Government could have suppressed a movement carried on by a community which can prepare thousands of its members to go to jail. The policy followed by the Government was destined to be defeated. The Government does not know that the feeling is very strong against it in consequence of the beating administered by it (at Guru-ka-Bagh) for fifteen days. Again, Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram has not consented to sacrifice Rs. 2,000 a year either to win the gratitude of the Sikhs or to lay the Mahant under an obligation. The Government has shown kindness to him scores of times and it matters little if he has served it for once. Mahant Sundar Das dare not have leased his land to the Rai Bahadur without the approval of the Government. It is, conceivable, therefore, that this has been done with the consent, if not at the instance, of the Government. But will this end the original trouble? We wish we could answer the question in the affirmative. We regret to have to say that the Government is averse to learning a lesson from past events. It wants to show to the world that it sent the police to protect the property of the Mahant at his request and that as he no longer needs them they have been called back. Who will believe this? The veil is so thin that it

can clearly be seen through. Will the Government say why the Akalis should accept the settlement? Their contention is that the land leased to Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram belongs to the Gurdwara and not to the Mahant. And since no one can lease or sell land attached to a Gurdwara how can the Akalis accept the above arrangement? Will the Government acquiesce in any one mortgaging to another person land belonging to it? The Sikhs can in no case accept the present settlement. The struggle will continue, if not at Guru-ka-Bagh, at some other place. There is still time for the Government to announce that it has changed its policy, that it does not identify itself with the Mahant and that it is releasing all the Akalis imprisoned in pursuance of its old policy. If it frankly admits its mistake it will see what an wholesome effect it produced on the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, pp. 592–593).

***Kesari*, 22 November 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 22nd November remarks that the Guru-ka-Bagh affair constitutes an instructive study. It shows how in the end the maniacal idea of false prestige compels Governments to repent. Although the Akalis are strong and powerful and although they had the power of resistance they have set an example of unparalleled non-violence. As for the Government, it has certainly extricated itself from its present difficulties, but has the matter really come to an end? Hitherto the Panth had objected to the Mahant retaining possession of the lands attached to the Gurdwara. It has another grievance now: it objects to the leasing of the lands against its wishes. In the opinion of the people the matter has become still more grave and complicated. It does not matter who may be responsible for this. Another mistake has been added to those already committed in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh imbroglio. Instead of having been settled, the affair will only be prolonged. In another place the paper publishes a communication from its special correspondent at Amritsar, who reports that the Sikhs are displeased with the artfulness resorted to by the Government. They are also sorry at the improper interference on the part of Sir Ganga Ram in the matter. Two or three Sikhs very emphatically told the correspondent that unless the Government forthwith released all the Sikh prisoners their community would have to transfer the struggle to some other place to bring about this result. Their victory in the Guru-ka-Bagh affair has made the Sikhs realise their strength and the Government can never overlook the point. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 593).

***Ajit*, 22 November 1922**

The *Ajit* of the 22nd November states that the authorities followed a wholly wrong policy in connection with the keys affair and the Government had

consequently to yield to the Sikh community. The authorities of the Amritsar district recently interfered in the most wrongful way, in the religious affairs connected with Guru-ka-Bagh. The Akali heroes have, however, obtained a victory and the police had been withdrawn from Guru-ka-Bagh. Nevertheless, the Sikhs do not consider the settlement to be satisfactory, as they can never acknowledge that the Mahant had any right to lease the land attached to the Gurdwara without the consent of the community. The struggle can never cease unless the land is held to be the property of the Gurdwara. No settlement has been arrived at with regard to the point to secure which the brave Akalis received showers of *lathi* blows for fifteen days, put up with cruel and tyrannical beating, suffered disrespect to their sacred keshas and beards and sent more than 5,500 of their number to jail. Indeed, the leasing of the land has still further complicated matters. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 592).

***Kuka*, 22 November 1922**

The *Kuka* of the 22nd November takes exception to the action of the Mahant in leasing the land attached to the Gurdwara. He is a mere trustee and had no right to make such an arrangement. This has, however, been done, because both the Government and the Congress fear the power of the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 591).

***Panth*, 23 November 1922**

The *Panth* of the 23rd November remarks that whatever the Government may say to the contrary, the public knows that the Government has only extricate itself from its difficulty. The whitewash is so thin that the original writing can still be clearly read. If the arrangement has not been made by orders of the Government it has at least been come to in accordance with its wishes. But will the Sikhs accept it? Certainly not. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 592).

***Zamindar*, 23 November 1922**

The *Zamindar* of the 23rd November says that the Government has finally failed to hold its own against the surging flood of the Akali movement. It has had to extricate itself from this thorny tangle by transferring the Gurdwara land to another person by means of a lease. It has made an unsuccessful move to conceal its defeat. We offer our congratulations to the Sikhs on their triumph. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 594).

***Bande Mataram*, 23 November 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd November asks whether the lease money will be paid by Sir Ganga Ram or the Government. Be this as it may, there can be no denying the fact that such an arrangement could have been profitably made before wounding 1,500 Akalis and sending five thousand of them to jail. Again, was it justifiable to lease the land, which is not the personal property of the Mahant, but is attached to the Gurdwara? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 593).

***Arya Gazette*, 23 November 1922**

The *Arya Gazette* of the 23rd November asserts that the sole reason for the leasing of the land was that the Government wished to get out of an extremely difficult situation. And since arrests at the Bagh have been stopped it is to be hoped that the thousands of Akalis and their sympathisers in jail will now be released. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 593).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 24 November 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 24th November writes: –

“The Bill has been passed and the arrests at Guru-ka-Bagh have come to a stop. The stoppage of these painful happenings, for a time being even, no doubt afford a breathing space to all lovers of peace, but the two remedies which the Government has brought into requisition do not appear to us to carry any healing properties of a permanent nature. They will not at all bring the settlement of the Gurdwara question a whit nearer. ... The victory of the Sikhs in the Guru-ka-Bagh is in the like manner only a short-lived one. Sir Ganga Ram has taken out the lease for only a year. On the expiry of this term the Mahant will come back. He may again seek police protection to prevent the Sikhs from cutting fuel for the Guru-ka-langar and the same painful scenes may once more be repeated. ... There, is, however, one thing which can still facilitate a hope. It is this: the Government should once more act in a statesmanlike manner and should forthwith release all the Sikhs convicted in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. In the matter of the keys affair the Government has already set a precedent by releasing those concerned. Some such steps would not only greatly facilitate the solution of the Gurdwara question, but would also go a long way in allaying the unrest occasioned thereby. A temporary measure like the one just passed *ex parte* by the Government is bound to fail in the object for which it should evidently be meant.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 592).

Loyal Gazette, 26 November 1922

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 26th November remarks that the Government made a big mistake in interfering with the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara. Instead of rehabilitating its prestige it has brought it to the lowest ebb. Justice demands that it should release all the Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement. It should also join hands with the Shiromani Committee and introduce a Bill which may end all disputes about the Gurdwaras. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 606).

Bande Mataram, 26 November 1922

The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th November states that according to the Mahant, the land was leased to Sir Ganga Ram without the former's consent. This proceeding on the part of the Government is objectionable in the extreme. The authorities should not have posted the police and military at Guru-ka-Bagh or taken any steps to arrest and beat the Akalis indiscriminately. But after having done so they should not have suffered themselves to be overawed by the Akalis into thus deceiving the Mahant to extricate themselves. The conduct of the Government in adopting shameful course to extricate itself and in acting disloyally towards Mahant Sunder Das should serve as a warning to the Mahants of other Gurdwaras. They should neither trust the Government nor entertain any hopes from it. They should remember that if the Government interferes (in their affairs) it does so only to promote its own interests. It is always on the look-out for a pretext to crush the Akali movement. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, pp. 593-594).

Partap, 27 July 1924

The *Partap* reports that the Revenue Assistant, Amritsar, has passed a decree in favour of Mahant Sundar Das for the ejection of Sir Ganga Ram and the S.G.P. Committee from the Guru-ka-Bagh land. This means that a struggle will again ensue between the Akalis and the Mahant over the land. Government should try to solve this difficult problem in a sympathetic and statesmanlike manner. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924*, No. 31, p. 259).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 28 July 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* asks whether the Government has become ready to get a morcha set up at Guru-ka-Bagh. Has it forgotten its last defeat? Does Sir Malcolm Hailey want to come into the field with fresh energies? The bureaucracy must be ashamed of its action in renewing the question in which it has

already suffered a defeat. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924*, No. 31, p. 259).

Kirpan Bahadur, 1 August 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* says that the decree passed by the bureaucratic court shows that King Hailey will set up a *morcha* at the place. The brave Akalis should, therefore, be ready for this and let not Hailey enjoy peaceful sleep. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924*, No. 31, p. 259).

Babar Sher, 7 August 1924

In a still later issue the paper [*the Babar Sher*] remarks that "Hailey's" will be a conflict between Government and the Khalsa on the former's attempt to restore the Guru-ka-Bagh (lands) to the Mahant in whose favour a decree has been passed. Can any one now say that "Hailey's" object is not to crush the Sikhs? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th August 1924*, No. 32, p. 266).

Akali, 27 August 1924

The *Akali* states that the news has been confirmed that Government is about to descend into the arena to give possession of Guru-ka-Bagh to the former Mahant. The Sikhs are now confronted with the question whether they should gird up their loins to defeat the conspiracies of Government for destroying the Gurdwara movement or whether they should witness with their own eyes the effacement of all their past sacrifices. "O Khalsaji! If the British Government succeeds in making the Mahant the owner of this property and religious place, which belong to the entire Panth, the blood of martyrs will be on your head and not of the tyrannical Government. The Tenth Guru will never and under no circumstances permit you to approach him with blood-stained hands. He will accuse you of the crime of restoring *gurdwaras* to crafty and rascally Mahants after being kicked by *goras* or being wounded or killed through *lathi* blows inflicted by the military and Danda police. From the late Empress Victoria to George and from the latter to a subordinate officer all have claimed that they would not interfere in any way in the religious affairs of Indians. It is a pity, however, that these people do not act up to their professions. Whether they act deceitfully or craftily it is our duty not to let any of their moves prove successful. The new Governor of the Punjab is determined to make reparation for the defeats sustained by Government in the affairs relating to Sri Nankana Sahib and Guru-ka-Bagh and other *gurdwara* matters. His Excellency's object is to crush the Sikhs at the present moment when Hindus and Muhammadans

are at loggerheads, so that Indians may not raise their heads for a long time to come. Government wishes to involve the S.G.P. Committee in still greater difficulties by establishing *morchas* in various places and to weaken the power of the Sikhs by dividing them. O Khalsaji! The S.G.P. Committee is the sole representative body of the Panth. Obey (*lit.* welcome) its commands and be ready to conquer the new *morcha*. ... The Sikhs will remain in a state of preparedness as long as all *gurdwaras* do not come in the possession of the Panth and the *gorashahi* Government and the traitors to India do not repent and stop interfering in the (Sikh) religion." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 30th August 1924*, No. 35, p. 283).

***Babar Sher*, 30 August 1924**

The *Babar Sher* learns that a bureaucratic assault will be delivered at Guru-ka-Bagh in a few days. People should flock there in multitudes on the occasion of the next *amanwas* [*amavasya*, new moon] and bring rations with them to the extent of their means. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 291).

***Alamgir*, 17 October 1924**

The *Alamgir* is of opinion that the Mahant of Guru-ka-Bagh should get his legitimate rights and Government should help him in the execution of the decree obtained by him. In the other event, a bad precedent will be set and Government will experience difficulties in carrying on the administration. Even if the Mahant is of bad character, the Akalis have no rights to usurp his landed property. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924*, No. 43, p. 337).

6 Actions of the SGPC

***Ajit*, 30 August 1922**

The *Ajit* of the 30th August refers to the *communiqués* published by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee about the most heartless beating of the Sikhs at the Guru-ka-Bagh and says that the officers may arrest anybody, but they have no right to give an indiscriminate beating. The Sikhs are trying to go to the Bagh in *jathas* and they are being detained on the way. As the affair is a religious one and the mistakes and rigour of the authorities have fanned the fire of religious zeal in the minds of the Sikhs, they will not rest so long as this religious affair is not decided in accordance with their wishes. It appears

that the Government officials are traversing far beyond the bounds of law and authority. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 425).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 4 September 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 4th September writes that the Tenth Guru is repeatedly proclaiming as follows through the Shiromani Committee: –

“Khalsa ji! Your brothers at the Guru-ka-Bagh are being severely belaboured by the tyrants and my gifts, the *keshas* and beard, are being dishonoured. The Sikhs on their way to the Guru-ka-Bagh are preyed upon and their skulls are fractured. Muster in large numbers and offer your heads to me at the Guru-ka-Bagh. The past was a time of the martial spirit; the present is the day of the non-violent spirit. Then I used to direct you to kill miscreants, but now I exhort you to die at the hands of the tyrants.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 440).

***Zamindar*, 6 September 1922**

The *Zamindar* of the 6th September asks how official *communiqués* can be relied upon when the Government is one of the parties. As it is, the press publishes the *communiqués* issued by both the Government and the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, leaving the public to judge the matter for itself. No lengthy discussion is required to decide whether, by inflicting wounds with *lathis* or trampling under the feet of horses, the minimum force is used or repression is practised to the utmost limit. The number of the wounded and their miserable condition indicate that they have not fallen victims to the use of minimum force but that the maximum force has been used in beating them. The Gurdwara Committee is repeatedly stating that the Sikhs are dragged by *keshas*, given a ducking in tanks, dragged through the bushes and thrown away, but the official *communiqué* is silent on these points. An impartial committee should at once be appointed to make enquiries. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, pp. 444–445).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 7 September 1922**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th September states that the *communiqué* issued by the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the accounts published by the extremist newspapers and the photos reproduced by the *Bande Mataram* disclose the excesses committed by the police. It, therefore, behoves the Punjab Government to take steps to put an end to all misunderstanding. Let those who infringe the law be punished, but the alleged beating is hardly justifiable. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 444).

***Muslim Outlook*, 9 September 1922**

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 9th September writes: –

“The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is issuing every day its press *communiqués* on the situation, which make serious allegations against the police and even English officers of mercilessly beating and maltreating the Akali *Jathas*. ... We appeal to the Government to set at rest the apprehensions caused by these reports of police *zoolum*.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 446).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 20 October 1922**

The following is taken from an article contributed to the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 20th October by S.S. Khazan Singh, a retired Extra Assistant Commissioner: –

“The verdict of all the sane people has been, is, and shall ever be that the Gurdwara has all along been in proprietary possession of the land in dispute through its Manager; that the possession of the Manager or Guardian automatically terminates with the termination of his tenure as such; that when the Manager (the *ex-Mahant* Sundar Das) ceased to be the Manager or Guardian of the Gurdwara in August 1921 he (apart from other considerations) ceased to be in possession of the disputed plot which *ipso facto* was transferred to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee with the possession of the Gurdwara itself.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 526).

***Bande Mataram*, 9 November 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th November learns that the Gurdwara (Parbandhak) Committee has already registered the names of 60,000 Akalis (for arrest at Guru-ka-Bagh). After the sowing season the number is likely to swell to one lakh. When so many Akalis have gone to jail what will the remaining Sikhs do outside? And when the number of the Sikhs is exhausted other communities will come to their aid. The Government will then have to declare the whole of India to be a jail. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 566).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 30 November 1922**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 30th November observes that in the report of a conversation between Sardar Mehtab Singh and Sir Ganga Ram, which was issued by the Shiromani Committee and which Sir Ganga Ram has admitted to be substantially correct, it is stated that the Government was misled by the local officers and it came to know the true facts later. But as not one hair of the heads of these officers has been injured, how can we believe that

the Government's regrets and repentance, to which Sir Ganga Ram refers, are genuine? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, pp. 606–607).

7 Actions of the Punjab Legislative Council

Punjab Darpan, 31 August 1922

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 31st August remarks that while, on the one hand, Sir John Maynard declared in the Council that the Government sympathises with the Gurdwara reform movement, on the other, a far different treatment is meted out in practice to the Sikhs at the Guru-ka-Bagh and they are charged with and convicted of theft for cutting fuel from the land attached to the *gurdwara*. Fine sympathy indeed! Sir John might perhaps be thinking that the Sikh community cannot understand his lip-sympathy and practical treatment; but he should note that the time are gone when the Sikhs blindly relied upon mealy-mouthed words.

Punjab Darpan of the 31st August strongly urges the Punjab Government to appoint a non-official commission to enquire into the excesses committed by the police at the Guru-ka-Bagh. Although martial law has not been declared formally, yet the treatment of the police is similar to that of the martial law days. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 425).

Khalsa, 2 September 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 2nd September exhorts the Sikh members of Councils to go to the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara and exert their utmost to put an end to the rigours practised and devise means to bring about an understanding between the Government and the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 439).

Panth, 6 September 1922

The *Panth* of the 6th September remarks that the attitude adopted by the Government towards the Sikh community demands that the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council should at once resign their seats. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 440).

Bande Mataram, 6 September 1922

The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th September publishes an open letter from the Sikh residents of Gujranwala to the members of the Punjab Legislative

Council, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Sikhs, says the letter, have been brutally beaten and rendered senseless. They were bayoneted. They were gagged while reciting *shabads*. They were dragged by the hair and thrown into pools. They were trampled under the hoofs of horses. In short, they were oppressed more than during the martial law regime. There is not record of such acts in history. These instances of tyrannical and brutal oppression will constitute the blackest page in the annals of British rule in India. Will they serve to awaken the members of the Punjab Legislative Council, the Council of State, and the Legislative Assembly? How long will the myrmidons of the bureaucracy practice cruel and hard-hearted excesses? How long will the proud and narrow-minded agents of the haughty bureaucracy test the patience of the Sikhs who have displayed self-restraint even under the gravest of provocation? The Sikhs have, however, decided to suffer without murmur. But the days of misfortune will not last long. The clouds of darkness will soon disappear and the light of truth will shine on the horizon. The members of Councils, etc., should decide what their duties and responsibilities are towards their country men and what steps they consider it necessary to take in the matter. Posterity shall judge us by our deeds. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, pp. 441–442).

***Bande Mataram*, 10 September 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th September remarks that the Sikh members of the Punjab Council have wired to His Excellency the Governor asking him to visit the place of occurrence. We as are these simple-minded people, however, that Sir Edward Maclagan has a complete knowledge of the beating and that whatever is happening is taking place with the sanction and consent of our kind-hearted Governor. If they had the least sense of national self-respect they should have hastened to resign their seats and afforded the authorities no opportunity to assert that the Government had the support of the members of the Council. After the rigour and insult which it has offered to the religious susceptibilities of the Sikhs the latter can make no peace with it. If they patch up a peace they will be practising gross deception on the one thousand Akalis who have been wounded in the Guru-ka-Bagh and on the many thousand Akalis who are ready to receive wounds and especially on the souls of those who have died. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 442).

***Sīyasat*, 11 September 1922**

The *Sīyasat* of the 11th September remarks that no words can be expressive of cowardice more than those used by the Sikh members of the Legislative Council

in their telegram to the Governor. Experience tells us that the bureaucracy has never been moved by such entreaties. When the attitude of the Government itself is hostile it cannot care for these petitions. Do not our Sikh friends know that what is being done at Amritsar is being done at the instance of the Punjab Government? Is the Governor ignorant of the occurrences and does he not receive reports? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 461).

Qaum Parast, 17 September 1922

The *Qaum Parast* of the 17th September refers to the resolution adopted by the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council to condemn the brutal treatment of the Akalis by the police, and says that if the Governor does not comply with the request embodied in it, serious consequences might ensue. The cup of the Akalis' patience is about to be filled to the brim in consequence of the excess committed by the police, and if no heed is paid to the resolution it will not be surprising if the cup overflows. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 474).

Tribune, 5 October 1922

The *Tribune* of the 5th October writes: –

“The statement is in reply to Sir William Vincent's speech in the Legislative Assembly ... in which an attempt was made both to minimize the excesses perpetrated by the Police at Guru-ka-Bagh and to discredit the version of those excesses published in the Press. On both points the reply is not only weighty, as coming from highly respectable men who were eye-witnesses to the proceedings they describe, but is absolutely conclusive, as being a detailed and categorical contradiction of official statements, supported by definite and specific evidence.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, p. 504).

Muslim Outlook, 2 November 1922

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 2nd November writes: –

“We exhort our Sikh brethren, the Akalis, that it is time now that they stopped their present method and went about it in a constitutional manner, the lack of which is the only obstacle between them and the Government, as was over and over again reiterated in the Council Chamber. We still hope that better counsels will prevail and before the present session of the Council is over, something will be done for the Guru-ka-Bagh situation both by the authorities and the Akalis.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, pp. 555–556).

***Tribune*, 3 November 1922**

Commenting on the debate on this resolution in the Punjab Legislative Council, the *Tribune* of the 3rd November writes: –

“But one can think of absolutely no case in which the officers or servants of such a Government could with the least plausibility, not to say justification, resort to any of the proceedings to which, by the universal testimony of a large number of persons whose veracity is absolutely beyond question, certain police officers and men did resort, during the first few weeks of the struggle, in dealing with the Akalis. And has not the Government itself now practically admitted that the policy originally followed by its officers and men was without justification? What else is meant by its abandonment of that policy and reversion to the comparatively saner policy of making arrests? ... We cannot affect any surprise at the result of the debate, and especially at the rejection of what the mover himself considered the vital part of his resolution.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 555).

***Partap*, 5 November 1922**

The *Partap* of the 5th November 1922 cannot accept the Government view as expressed in the debate that the dispute lay between the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and the Mahant and the Government was merely trying to protect a weak person against the aggression of a tyrant. If the Government had not been a party in this quarrel the dispute would have been settled long ago. The Sikhs have displayed the greatest courage, peacefulness and sobriety. On one occasion the Government lost its sense, but it soon recovered them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 556).

***Kesari*, 5 November 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 5th November publishes a special note, the writer of which refers to Sardar Dasondha Singh's resolution on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair and says that certain Hindu members opposed it on the ground that an understanding should first be reached between the Sikhs and the Government. The result was that when the resolution about the enquiry into the Multan riots was introduced, the Sikh members opposed the Hindu members and said in clear terms that they were not prepared to render any help to the Hindus. This attitude on their part is not praiseworthy, but the responsibility for it rests with the Hindu members. The affair has strained Hindu-Sikh relations and it is to be feared that in future they will oppose each other. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 557).

Khalsa, 9 November 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 9th November asks how the Government has come to believe without the finding of a court that the Mahant is in the right. Besides, neither the Parbandhak Committee nor any Akali has so far said that it or he wants to take possession of the land attached to Guru-ka-Bagh. On the contrary, both the Committee and the Akalis claim the right to cut wood from the land of the Gurdwara for the Gurdwara. A reference to the question of possession shows, therefore, that the real point at issue has been left untouched. As regards the efforts said to have been made by the Government to bring about a compromise between the Mahant and the Shiromani Committee, the public has come to know by this time what the value of these efforts is. Baba Kehar Singh and the Mahant arrived at an understanding and the Tehsildar of Ajnala went to Amritsar to bring the matter to a successful issue, but the Government officers there acted in such a way that the whole work was undone. It is also unfair for Sir John Maynard to say that the Akalis are laying hands on private property. The disputed property is not private property at all. It is a *wakf* property. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 567).

Jathedar, 9 November 1922

The *Jathedar* of the 9th November says that the proceedings of the Punjab Council in connection with Sardar Dasaundha Singh's resolution on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair were ridiculous. Does the Council regard its resolution of two lines to be so powerful as to bring both the Mahant and the Shiromani Committee to their knees? If so, it is labouring under a serious misunderstanding. It would have been better if Sardar Dasaundha Singh had not moved this resolution at all. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, pp. 567–568).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 9 November 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 9th November remarks that it was stated by Sir John Maynard that the Government made efforts to settle the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, but without success. This is absolutely incorrect. The only effort made was to ascertain the views of the Gurdwara Committee, but no step was ever taken towards a settlement. Obstructions were of course placed in the way of a settlement by Mr. Dunnett, who also left no stone unturned to rouse the Udasis. Again, after the beating was stopped, Mr. Tollinton settled with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Andrews that the Committee should send only 20 men daily to arrest till the 20th September, when the conditions laid down by them would be accepted. But he never turned up again. Some

time after Tehsildar Beant Singh interviewed Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh in jail and Mr. Tollinton privately interviewed one or two members of the Gurdwara Committee. All this was done only to show to the world that the Government had tried to arrive at a settlement, but the real facts is that it has never been agreeable to a settlement. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 568).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 10 November 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th November writes: –

“It is the belief of the Sikhs that the executive interference of the Government in this matter amounts to an unwarranted encroachment on the ordinary course of law, to the great detriment and prejudice of one of the parties in the original dispute ... Since the Government has gone out of its way to take special executive measures in favour of the Mahant, the Sikh hearts have become apprehensive and full of suspicion that the Government wants to crush the Akalis by taking sides with the Mahant. And the result is that the dispute which in reality was a dispute between the Mahant and the Sikhs has now assumed the shape of a dispute between the Sikhs and the Government. ... Has not the Government itself practically demonstrated that ‘might is right’ when it suffered its own officers to transgress the bounds of law so much so that the Police beating resulted in the death of two Sikhs? ... It is far from truth that the Akalis wanted to take possession of ‘private properties’ by show of force. Rather the real fact is that the place under dispute is not at all a private property. It is a *wakf* property which the Mahant wants to convert into his private property.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 567).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 10 November 1922**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 10th November remarks that Sir John Maynard and some other members of the Council declared the Akalis to be law-breakers. It would have been well if some one had asked under what law the bones of innocent Akali *jathas* proceeding to Guru-ka-Bagh were broken with 6 feet long *lathis* and under what law supplies to the pilgrims at Guru-ka-Bagh were cut off. Again, which is the law that empowers the Government to gag the mouths of the Akalis for singing hymns and under what law have the long hair and beards of the Sikhs shouting *jaikaras* been pulled? Will the Government please state who are the law-breakers – its own men or the Akalis? In another place the paper takes exception to Sir John Maynard’s statement that if the law were relaxed in the matter of Guru-ka-Bagh, anarchy would manifest itself in the

country. If the bureaucracy is bent upon crushing the Akali movement the Sikh community too is determined to make its Gurdwaras free. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 568).

***Bande Mataram*, 11 November 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th November remarks that the present situation in regard to the Gurdwaras is attributable to the foolishness of the Government. It has made matters worse by cruelly adopting illegal measures to protect so-called private property. Indeed, the bureaucracy of the Punjab is addicted to adopting illegal measures to restore its ruined prestige. It destroyed its prestige by its own acts and is now trying to restore it by tyrannical ways. Sir John Maynard speaks of supporting law, etc., but his knowledge of law is evident from the fact that he declared a private meeting of the Punjab Provincial Committee to have been a public meeting. The resolution, in which it was demanded that further arrests at Guru-ka-Bagh should be stopped, was quite in order. We are sorry that the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Council should have failed manfully to perform their duty. They should have clearly told the Government that a Government which resorted to illegal methods could not deserve the respect of the Legislative Council. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 568).

***Tribune*, 25 November 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 25th November writes: –

“According to the Mahant himself, assuming that he has made the statement attributed to him, the Government did a good deal more than merely encouraging and welcoming the solution, they were actually an active party to it through one of their employés, the Tahsildar, and indeed a more active party than the Mahant himself. We think the Punjab Government should, in its own interest, make an immediate statement fully explaining its part in the affair. It must either contradict the Mahant or show how his statement can be reconciled with that of Sir John Maynard in his speech in the Council.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 593).

***Kesari*, 1 December 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 1st December understands that an exchange of views is taking place between Sir John Maynard and the moderate Sikh leaders. The result has not yet transpired, but we would advise Sir John immediately to release the Akali prisoners, most of whom are lying ill. In order to arrive at a settlement with the Sikhs, he should have a talk only with their true representatives,

the Shiromani Committee. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 606).

***Tribune*, 27 March 1923**

In criticising Mr. Craik's speech in the Punjab Legislative Council on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, the *Tribune* of the 27th March writes: –

“Men were subjected to unheard of insult, humiliation and physical hardship. They were dragged by the hair, beaten with *lathis* until they became unconscious, and in some cases actually thrown in that state into neighbouring fields. ... When the public asks that those who perpetrated these horrors should be suitably punished, the spokesman of the Government sweetly reminds it that the best way of healing the wound is to forget all about it. Our officials must, indeed, be either very simple minded themselves or they must take the world to consist only of simpletons. On no other basis can one understand how they could seriously put forward, as a means of making the memory of an incident like that of Guru-ka-Bagh die speedily and restoring good relations between the Police and the public, exactly the method that would be best calculated to keep the fire of that memory alive and burning, to effectively prevent good relations between the Police and public being restored.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 31st March 1923. No. 13, pp. 170–171).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 28 March 1923**

Writing about the debate in the Punjab Legislative Council on the resolution on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 28th March ironically remarks that disaffection does not increase by practising oppression and throwing innocent people into jails, but by making an inquiry likely to expose (the doings of) the myrmidons of the bureaucracy. It was said on behalf of the Government that an enquiry would serve no useful purpose, as the police concerned had already been disbanded. But Beaty, Dunnett, Sher Singh and other officers responsible for the oppressions practised are still in service. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 7th April 1923. No. 14, p. 181).

***Bande Mataram*, 29 March 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 29th March says that the arguments advanced by Mr. Craik in support of his amendment for the omission of the first part of the resolution were most flimsy. The excuse that the enquiry asked for would entail an expenditure of time and money does not carry the slightest weight. Nothing can be done without this expenditure. It was absurd to argue that the committee appointed by the Council would have no powers to call witnesses

and make them answer questions. Would not their refusal to appear before the committee and answer questions have furnished a strong argument to prove that the police had committed unlawful excesses on the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 7th April 1923. No. 14, p. 181).

***Khalsa*, 29 March 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 29th March writes that Mr. Craik's speech was more surprising and ridiculous than Mr. K.L. Rallia Ram's conduct in not insisting on the retention of the first part of his resolution. The first reason for his opposition to the enquiry demanded was that it would entail considerable expenditure of time and money. But where was he when additional police were employed to belabour Akalis and a barbed-wire fencing was erected around the Guru-ka-Bagh? You may spend any amount of money to commit excesses in the name of law and order, but it is very bad to incur any expenditure in punishing offenders! Another reason adduced by Mr. Craik was that most of the incidents had already been subjected of a magisterial enquiry and the suggested committee could not go against these findings. He said this either in ignorance or has deliberately misrepresented the facts. So far as we know there has yet been no case in which notice was taken of the Guru-ka-Bagh occurrences. Concluding the Chief Secretary observed that the proposed enquiry would serve no useful purpose and that the house would do well in burying the memory of the Guru-ka-Bagh affair in oblivion and thereby helping in the restoration of happy relations between the Government and the people. What a fine recipe indeed! You beat a person and if you victim raises even a stifled cry you tell him that his conduct will increase disaffection. Thousands of Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners are still rotting in jails and the properties of hundreds are being attached. Imprisonment and attachment are two fine recipes which will certainly make the Sikhs forget the happenings of Guru-ka-Bagh. Had the Government taken any notice of the doings of those who committed excesses, the people would have been led to believe that those doings were the work of individual officers. The camouflage, however, that has been indulged in by Mr. Craik will fully convince them that it is impossible (for the Government) to punish officials for their improper acts. As to forgetting the affair, Mr. Craik should rest assured that the Sikhs will not forget the deeds wrought at Guru-ka-Bagh for generations to come. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 7th April 1923. No. 14, pp. 181–182).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 30 March 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 30th March writes: –

“The memories of bitter incidents cannot die so long as justice is not done. The memories of bitter incidents cannot die so long as thousands of Akalis

continue rotting in jails and so long as reckless campaign of attaching properties for realizing fines, supposed or real, is persisted in with a vengeance. Jails and attachments are the two outstanding features which will keep the fire of bitterness smouldering for a long time to come unless special steps are taken to apply a healing and soothing balm to the lacerated Sikh hearts. But one cannot help being stunned at barefaced effrontery of the bureaucracy which while striking the people with both hands asks them at the same not to groan under the pain. ... Had the Government taken some notice of the conduct of those who are responsible for perpetrating those atrocities on the Sikhs it was possible that the public might have attributed them to individual officials. But Mr. Craik's attempt to bury the inquiry cannot fail to impress the public that it is futile to attempt to bring the officials to book for their misdeeds." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 7th April 1923. No. 14, p. 182).

Gurdwara, 4 April 1923

Writing about Mr. Craik's speech on the Guru-ka-Bagh enquiry resolution, the *Gurdwara* of the 4th April says that the question of time and expense troubles the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government. Money was, however, forthcoming for the employment of additional police and purchase of barbed wire. And did the police live in Guru-ka-Bagh for months on air and water or did they feed themselves on the blood of unarmed and peaceful Akalis? The fields irrigate by poor farmers with the sweat of their brow were ruined by the merciless hands of the police. Mr. Craik has, however, no money and time for an enquiry into the oppressions practised on peaceful subjects. We appeal to the Sikhs to find money to expose the doings of the oppressors. Mr. Craik doubts if an enquiry would be possible or practicable, seeing that the majority of the policemen employed at Guru-ka-Bagh have been disbanded. But it is not necessary to summon them when their officers, who were responsible for the misdeeds of these illiterate and savage men, are available. As to Mr. Craik's remark about the memory of the Guru-ka-Bagh affair being allowed to die out, he should remember that the Sikhs did not make their sacrifices only to forget them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th April 1923. No. 15, p. 195).

Khalsa Advocate, 27 April 1923

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 27th April writes: –

“We learn it from a very reliable source that the Punjab Executive Council has decided not to realise fines imposed on the Akalis in the Guru-ka-Bagh cases. If we are right in the above believe then is it not a matter of painful surprise that properties are still being attached with unabated rigour? Are we to understand that the local subordinate officials have developed such a great

prejudice against the Akalis as not to care a fig for the orders of the higher authorities or that the machinery of the Government has become so very slack as not to have conveyed the orders of the Council to the subordinate officials up to this time? Let us trust that no more time would be lost to give effect to the decision of the Council and thereby put an end to the distress of the Akalis, in real practice, which the Council had done in so many words." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 5th May 1923. No. 18, p. 239).

8 Supporters and Critics

Vedic Magazine, September 1922

The *Vedic Magazine* for September writes: –

“The Khalsa have splendid traditions of unflinching bravery, pitched battles, glorious victories, immortal martyrdoms. Yet in the present struggle the soul force inculcated by the prophet in Yarwada jail has in the Akali displayed itself in its truest colours, colours that cast into shade all former glories of even Khalsa warriors. ... The other side, *i.e.*, the police, which are the instrument of this barbarous torture, vanish from the spectator’s view, such is the dazzle of the halo that surrounds the heroic martyrs. ... The Sikh bears physical pain, mental torture, religious insult but retaliates not.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 489).

Akhbar-i-Am, 2 September 1922

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 2nd September remarks that the Akali movement is growing savage day by day. Referring to the situation at the Guru-ka-Bagh, the paper asks whether by this show of force the Akalis aim at overawing the Government. The activities of the Akalis against a powerful Government indicate their ignorance and will destroy the Akali movement. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 428).

Kesari, 6 September 1922

The *Kesari* of the 6th September remarks that Bhai Arjan Singh of Toba Tek Singh, who has been just released from jail, gave a message from the Lyallpur political prisoners to the public that those who wanted to see them should see them in the Guru-ka-Bagh where their spirits were. He also stated that when the news of the affair reached them in jail, all Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh political prisoners took no food. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 443).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 9 September 1922**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 9th September observes that if a few Akalis had been arrested by the police for cutting wood in the Guru-ka-Bagh, the matter would have been dropped. It is not known what led the Akalis to start satyagraha and invite the wrath of the Government. If civil disobedience is similarly started at different places in India, much harm will undoubtedly be done to the cause of the country. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 458).

***Jathedar*, 13 September 1922**

In the course of a leading article the *Jathedar* of the 13th September argues that the Guru-ka-Bagh affair is likely to injure the Government most. Every *jatha* which returns wounded from the Guru-ka-Bagh wounds the hearts of crores of Indians. The greatest loss the Government is suffering is that the Sikh Moderates are becoming excited on hearing that insult is offered to the *keshas* and beards of the Sikhs. We appeal to the Sikhs of both schools to join and devise means to preserve the honour and glory of the Panth. We also appeal to the Hindus and Muhammadans to share in the sorrow of the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 458).

***Kesari*, 13 September 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 13th September remarks that owing to the trials through which the brave Sikhs are passing and the calamities which they are bearing with patience, courage and cheerfulness, they have begun to be loved by all the inhabitants of the country. In view of the magnificent services rendered by the Sikhs to the British Government and the way in which they laid down their lives for the English in all parts of the world, their present ill-treatment seems grossly shameful. In the first place, we are not prepared to admit that the Sikhs are in the wrong in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. But even if we do so, we cannot hold the present deplorable attitude of the officials of Government to be lawful. The Amritsar officials perhaps think that by beating the loyal and devoted Sikhs they are inspiring people with the prestige of the Government. The truth, however, is that they are so greatly injuring that prestige that it will be impossible to restore it again. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, pp. 458–459).

***Bande Mataram*, 14 September 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th September publishes an article from one Ram Pal of Amritsar, who states that the Sikhs are quietly bearing every hardship

and rigour. They fought in South Africa, Egypt and Mesopotamia and on the Indian frontier, displaying unparalleled heroism in subjugating other nations for the English. Now that their religion has been interfered with as a reward for their services they have come to their sense. When (the Sikhs) wounded in the German war were deprived of their rights the Sikhs realised their mistake and found out that strangers were strangers after all and nothing should be expected from them. The result is that they have now begun to fight against that very Government which they had been serving up to the present. They are strong and courageous and Government did not fear the Congress or the Muslim League as much as it feared the power of the Sikhs. Their association with the Congress is considered dangerous, because while others merely pass resolutions the Sikhs act up to their precepts. The Government wishes to suppress their movements and this is the reason why such a big thing has been made of a trifling matter like the cutting of some trees from the Guru-ka-Bagh. One hundred Akalis have been cruelly and brutally beaten daily. The religion of the Indians is unhesitatingly interfered with, in spite of the assurance by the authorities that this shall not be so. It is therefore necessary for the Hindus and Muhammadans to participate in the present fight, in which all persons should take part. Hindu and Mussalman volunteers should undertake the management of *langars*, hospitals, roads, meetings and processions, so that the fighters may not feel tired and may go fresh to the "slaughter-house." Rich Hindus should liberally contribute money for the treatment of the wounded. The oppression practised can be retaliated in one way only, *viz.*, by Indians giving up the use of foreign cloth and throwing it into fire. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 459).

***Bharat*, 14 and 17 September 1922**

In its issue, dated the 14th and 17th September, the *Bharat* expressed surprise at the writings of the *Kesari*, the *Bande Mataram*, the *Partap*, etc., regarding the Guru-ka-Bagh. These papers demand Swaraj and yet they are crushing justice. It is true that the people sympathise with the Akalis in their present troubles, but no sin can be greater than to disturb the public peace and trample upon justice. The Akalis paid no heed to the law and took possession of the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara by force. It behoved the public and the press to take notice of the use of force by the Akalis. But all kept silent. We are constrained to remark that the newspapers and the Congress party are inciting the Akalis simply because they are hostile to the Government. Responsible leaders should not by encouraging the Akalis create a critical situation. They should, on the other hand, induce the Akalis to give up their mistaken attitude. The

Government is right in announcing that it is protecting the Mahant. It is the duty of the Government to make it impossible for any strong party to take possession of any Gurdwara by force. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 474).

***Gulzar-i-Hind*, 16 September 1922**

“An Independent-minded Indian,” writing to the *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 16th September, says that *satyagraha* is really tantamount to the violation of law. Since the Akalis do not obey the orders of dispersal the police is justified in dispersing them by force. If the authorities had not interfered with the Akalis, other sections of the people also would have become refractory and lawless. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 476).

***Al-Bushra*, 16 September 1922**

Al-Bushra of the 16th September writes: –

“It is the duty of every Government worth the name to protect the life and property of its subjects and when it fails or neglects to carry out this most sacred of its duties, its days are numbered. This protection does not extend only to individuals against individuals but even to individuals against classes or communities. If some class or community takes to aggression and begins to rob others, it is the duty of the Government to take action against it and bring it to book for the wrongs it has done. It is this principle that is at stake in the (Guru-ka-Bagh) affair and which Government rightly is trying to uphold.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 476).

***Gargaj Akali*, 16 September 1922**

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 16th September publishes a communicated article, in the course of which the writer says that the attention of the whole world is turned to Guru-ka-Bagh. It is not known, however, why our Rajas and Maharajas have so far remained unaffected. It is useless to make a request to the Maharaja of Patiala so long as Pandit Kaul and his companions are present in the State. But it is proper to appeal to the Maharaja of Nabha, who is the true servant of the Sikhs and has been moved at the hardships suffered by them, as also to the Maharaja of Sangrur, Maharaja of Kapurthala and the President of the Council of Regency, Faridkot, to remit large sums of money for the relief of the wounded Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 474).

Municipal Gazette, 19 September 1922

The *Municipal Gazette* of the 19th September publishes a communication from "A Truth-loving Nationalist," who defends the position taken up by the Government and deprecates the conduct of certain non-Sikh leaders and newspapers in patting the Akalis on the back. If the Sikhs wish to reform their Gurdwaras, they should act according to law. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 476).

Akash Vani, 24 September 1922

The *Akash Vani* of the 24th September (received on the 2nd October) remarks that what could not be achieved in Bardoli has been fully accomplished by the Akalis in Guru-ka-Bagh. Whenever practical work has to be done in the service of the country, the Panjabis have come forward, placing their lives in danger and suffering all sorts of troubles. The life of the Punjab is bound up largely with the Sikhs. We feel proud that only the Sikhs of this Province have fully acted on the lines laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 489).

Satjug, 18 October 1922

The *Satjug* of the 18th October states that one Bhai Saudagar Singh writing from Gurdaspur reports that Akali jathedars are touring from place to place, saying that the Sikh religion, is in danger in consequence of the present struggle between the Sikhs and the Government, which wants to destroy the Sikh organization, and that it is therefore the duty of all followers of Nanak to go to Guru-ka-Bagh to participate in the struggle. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Sikhs other than the Akalis do not consider the latter's action in thus taking possession of Gurdwaras to be lawful. If any non-Akali is, therefore, moved by this appeal into taking part in the struggle, he will not only be responsible for his own doings, but will also go against his own sect. There is nothing like sacrifice; but there must be some object in making it. Is it an act of sacrifice to make people suffer hardships merely to have an Udasi Mahant replaced by an Akali? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 526).

Nihang, 29 October 1922

The *Nihang* of the 29th October remarks that in 1919 thousands of our innocent and unarmed brethren were killed in a trice in the Jallianwala Bagh by bloodthirsty and tyrannical officers and cruel and oppressive subordinates. On the other hand, the Ottoman Caliphate, acknowledged by our Muhammadan brothers, nay, the whole of India, was broken to pieces. The result was that

there was mourning in our houses. We asked for “the price of the blood” of the Jallianwala Bagh martyrs, not in cash, but in the true sense of the term. We also demanded that the Caliphate should be restored to its original condition. The tyrants did not, however, concede our demands. And why should they do so? What hope can we entertain from the murderer and the cruel one? The mother of Madan Mohan refused to accept monetary recompense for the death of her son in the Jallianwala Bagh. She said that she wanted the murderer and would take blood for blood. This wave of awakening is attributable solely to the efforts of the Congress. It is the Congress which has created a sense of self-respect in the minds of the Indians, who have been slaves for 150 years. Recently a movement was started in the Punjab for the reform of the gurdwaras. It wanted to purge the gurdwaras of sinful and wicked Mahants. But the “so-called” Government interfered with the movement and espoused the cause of the Mahants, who belong to the same class and profession as the Government, in opposition to the Sikhs. It wounded the Akalis in a cruel and inhuman way to retrain them from obtaining their legitimate heritage. *Jatha* after *jatha* was beaten and gold earrings and buttons were removed from their persons. The whole Khalsa Panth is ready to carry on the crusade. Will not the Congress turn its attention to the matter? The Akalis have taken this step in defence of their religion. The Government, which is given adroitly to characterize all religious movements as political agitation, has similarly dubbed this purely religious spirit also. It has challenged us by saying that it has chains and collars for 10,000 Akalis. Is it not, then, the duty of the Congress to stand by us in this religious war? It should announce that the Hindus and Muhammadans also should join their Sikh brothers, daily or by turns, at Guru-ka-Bagh and fill jails along with the Sikhs, who have always helped the country in times of trouble. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, pp. 554–555).

Muslim Outlook, 21 November 1922

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 21st November writes: –

“The sacrifices undergone by the Akalis in the cause of religion, their non-violence in face of the beatings, their undaunted resolution to court arrest and humiliation, rather than submit to what they regarded as wrong, have evoked the heart-felt sympathy of even those who were not at one with them as to their non-violent methods. ... Difficult as the position has been for all parties, we may still claim that our confidence in the humanity of the Governor of the Province has not been belied and, although the solution appears to come from a third party, we are not without conviction that it was a logical sequence of the attitude taken by His Excellency himself, to whom it was due that, in the

first instance, the right of access of the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara was restored to the Akalis and later the beating of jathas was stopped on September 14th and only arrests were permitted to the police. We trust that his painful episode in the history of the Province will now be finally closed and forgotten." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 594).

***Siyasat*, 22 November 1922**

The *Siyasat* of the 22nd November remarks that the Sikhs have displayed to their fellow-countrymen an astonishing example of their spirit of sincerity and sacrifice which should teach a lesson to every other community. Although even the stoppage of arrests constitutes a marvelous success for the Akalis, still we will consider it complete only when all their demands are conceded unconditionally. We think time for this has drawn near. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 594).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 24 November 1922**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th November states that the Sikhs demand the release of their co-religionists imprisoned in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair or the Gurdwara reform movement. But the Government can reasonably refuse to accede to the demand so long as the Parbandhak Committee does not give an undertaking that the Sikhs will not forcibly seize any other Gurdwaras and will accept the Gurdwara Bill. The Government only wants the Sikhs to obey the law; in fact, no Government, be it of the Sikhs themselves, can tolerate the use of force. Besides, if those connected with the Gurdwaras suggest amendments in the law on the basis of practical experience, Government will have to accept them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 594).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 6 December 1922**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 6th December remarks that the Government should not have allowed the Akalis forcibly to seize the Golden Temple and take from it the keys of the place by holding out to the last. If it had then followed the dictates of law and justice, instead of those of expediency, it would not have had to witness the spectacles of thousands of Akalis taking possession of Guru-ka-Bagh by force and the police silently leaving the Bagh at night. If a party can disregard law and the rights of other people and can get its demands fulfilled by a show of force, of what use is Government then? This shakes the confidence of the masses in the Government and the former can assert that the latter does not consider it derogatory to bow before the strong. By taking possession of the Darbar Sahib, the Nankana Sahib and Guru-ka-Bagh, the

Akalis have made the defeat of the Government known far and wide. Will it continue to be similarly defeated by the Akalis? Apparently it thinks only of expediency, but this can sometimes lead to serious consequences. Why does not the Government act according to law and suppress unlawful doings? If the present state of affairs is allowed to exist the result will be very bad and the rights of no section of Punjabis will be safe at the hands of the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th December 1922. No. 50, p. 624).

***Shanti*, 15 December 1922**

Writing to the *Shanti* of the 15th December, a correspondent endeavours to show that Akali activities are most detrimental to the interests of the Hindus. It is true that so far the Akalis have been observing non-violence, but they are quite capable of resorting to violence on an opportunity offering itself. They will then see that their dreams regarding (the re-establishment of) Sikh rule are fulfilled. Will the Hindus as well as the Muhammadans feel satisfied if the prophecy, which the Sikhs have been flaunting at their meetings and according to which a Sikh from the Kabul side will establish Sikh rule in the Punjab, turns out to be true? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd December 1922. No. 51, p. 636).

9 The Rawalpindi Incidents

***Khalsa Advocate*, 4 May 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 4th May writes: –

“After dispersing the city people the Akalis were expelled from the railway station. Outside the railway station the Akalis sat together to chant hymns. Here they were so mercilessly and inhumanly beaten by the police and the British Infantry with the butt ends of the rifles that all of them become senseless. Bayonets were thrust in the bodies of the Akalis lying senseless on the ground, causing serious injuries and bleeding. At the same time care was taken that none should expire instantaneously. Not only this but they were also dragged by their *keshas* (hair) in the that condition and kicked on their private parts. A gun was also fired in the air to terrorize the people. Those who went to fetch them were also assaulted; but they, not minding the danger, did not swerve from serving their brethren lying flat on the ground. ... It has been publicly said that all Akali jathas released previously from Campbellpur and Attock had invariably been breaking journeys at Hasan Abdal and no objection had ever before been taken to it, at least so far as our knowledge goes. May we then ask what special conditions had grown up for the exception taken on

this occasion? Apart from this, travelling without tickets does not constitute an offence in the technical sense of law. How then this action of the authorities could be justified?" (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, pp. 250–251).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 4 May 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 4th May writes that the good and grateful Government sent the mounted, foot and *danda* police for the reception of the Akalis released from the Rawalpindi jail. As soon as the Akalis stepped out of the jail they were surrounded by the police and asked by the Deputy Superintendent not to cross the civil lines. On their refusal to obey the order the *danda* police wounded them with *lathis*. One foot constable struck Risaldar Sardar Ranjodh Singh with a stick, while a mounted constable put his hand into the Resaldar's *kara* and started his horse. The Resaldar had to run with the constable's horse and was rescued by Sardar Sohan Singh, leader of the Sheikhpura district. Many an Akali suffered severe injuries. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 251).

***Khalsa* , 5 May 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 5th May observes that several police officers have developed a craving to beat peaceful Akalis to such an extent that they have no desire to give up this habit even at a time when their superiors are trying their best to allay the Akali agitation. Brutal habits appear to have taken a firm hold of them. As regards the affair itself, we reserve our comments till fuller and reliable details are available; but meanwhile we must inquire of the Government under what law force was used on the Akalis at Rawalpindi, as we know that travelling without a ticket or obstructing a public path are no criminal offences. We would further ask Government whether the police force at Rawalpindi was so small as to be unable to cope with the peaceful Akalis and justify the use of the military for the purpose. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 251).

***Bande Mataram*, 5 May 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th May states that according to the Congress Committee's report, the undue oppression practised by the bureaucracy on the brave Akalis has greatly bridged over the gulf between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Rawalpindi. They have composed their differences and are engaged in serving and dressing the wounds of their Akali brothers. Again, as ordered by the Congress and Khilafat Committees, a general *hartal* was observed throughout the city to protest against the improper oppression on the part of

the bureaucracy. We hope that the Hindus and Muhammadans of other places also will unite in expressing abhorrence at this cruel act of the bureaucracy and will realise that as long as they are not delivered from the bondage of the irresponsible bureaucracy they will have daily to suffer oppression at its hands. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 251).

***Kesari*, 5 May 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 5th May observes that the authorities of Rawalpindi have acted most foolishly and have, by beating the Sikhs to unconsciousness and inflicting such injuries on them over a trivial matter, afforded a strong proof of their incapacity. We call upon the Government forthwith to dismiss these incapable men from their posts. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 251).

***Tribune*, 5 May 1923**

The *Tribune* of the 5th May writes: –

“The Government has after all issued a *communiqué* concerning the Rawalpindi incidents. ... The *communiqué* makes the significant admission that ‘a few of the Akalis were knocked down’ but denies that any was hurt. The *communiqué* does not attempt to explain on what grounds and in accordance with what law some of the public roads were closed to the Akalis. Nor is it clear what the authorities mean by Akalis marching in ‘military formation.’ To the unsophisticated mind it would appear that the only fault of the Akalis was that instead of spreading themselves pell mell over the whole road like a disorganised mob and obstructing the traffic they formed themselves into rows of two or threes and went through the town on their way to the railway station in a peaceful and orderly manner. The Government, in our opinion, has entirely failed to justify the calling in of the police to use force against the released Akalis under the circumstances set forth in the *communiqué*. ... We are not concerned with the question whether the released prisoners did or did not contravene the railway rules in breaking journey at Hasan Abdal, because that question does not arise. On the railway authorities taking objection, the Akalis had purchased fresh tickets from Hasan Abdal to Rawalpindi, and did not, therefore, go against any of the railway rules. ... What is alleged against them is that they refused to leave the precincts of the railway station and a large crowd assembled. To disperse them, the *communiqué* says, police, a company of British infantry and force of cavalry was employed. It is not even alleged that the Akalis in the slightest manner departed from their creed of non-violence. ... The most amazing statement made is that though no reliable estimate (from the official point of view) is available of the number of Akalis injured, it is

believed that very few sustained serious injuries. No reliable estimate of the injured being available, it is interesting to inquire on what grounds that belief is based. ... As against this belief, harrowing details of the incident have been published in the press, which the Government could easily have verified or disproved had it wanted to do so. The Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee states in its *communiqué* that at least 423 persons received more or less injuries, and are receiving treatment in their improvised medical wards. In the face of this and similar other statements published in the press, the Government has not right to plead ignorance as to the number of persons injured by its agents." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, pp. 251–252).

Tribune, 6 May 1923

The *Tribune* of the 6th May writes: –

“It is difficult to avoid the impression that the Akalis in the Punjab, even when they are released from jails, are being cruelly pursued. It is impossible to understand the recent incidents, as reported so far, on any other hypothesis. Not a single act likely to lead to a breach of the peace by the Akalis has been alleged by anybody in connection with the latest incidents. Their worst fault seems to have been an infringement of railway rules in having broken journey before travelling a full hundred miles. But the heavens did not fall on that account. No public peace was disturbed. No loss was inflicted on the railway. The Akalis moved in a body singing religious songs. How did their presence on station platforms and elsewhere in large groups harm anybody? Some inconvenience to other travellers may have been caused, but nobody complained of this. Why did the officials at all interfere with the peaceful progress of the released Akalis? ... If they moved in hundreds was it their fault? Why were they not released in small batches and sent to their destinations in charge of trusted leaders of the community, if the authorities considered their marching in large batches by itself was likely to cause danger to public peace? The act of the release of Akalis was itself intended to allay all excitement and enable the public to forget the cruel wrongs already inflicted on a people whose voluntary aid in Amritsar on the side of law and order was even officially commended. It is an inconceivable blunder to have, at this time, given cause for fresh sores and for a revival of bitter feelings. Will the Government hold a thorough and impartial enquiry and deal with officials in a manner that would restore future confidence in them and pave the way for constructive work instead of continued strife?” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 252).

Loyal Gazette, 6 May 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 6th May states that the police in collusion with the Goras attacked the Akalis and so cruelly beat them with the butt-ends of their guns, *lathis* and boots that those who witnessed the scene could not restrain themselves from shedding tears. According to an announcement of the Shiromani Committee, these cruel people dragged unconscious Akalis by their long hair. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is said to have been tyrannical, but such savage punishments were never inflicted even in his time. Dealing of blows on the private parts, dragging the Sikhs by their hair and beating unarmed and peaceful people with *lathis* are incidents to which there is no parallel in the history of civilization. All this is happening in the time of a Governor who is known to be the noblest and mildest member of the Punjab Commission. This rigour has been practised on the Sikhs at a time when, because of the reforms, the Government is said to be more responsible to the people than it was ever before, when the Punjab has got a new Legislative Council and when the whilom Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Diwan is one of the members of the Executive Council. The fact is that the present Government is extremely weak and has not prestige with subordinate officials or the public. The higher authorities do not call for explanations from their subordinates for their doings: they consider it best for them to endorse all the acts of the latter. The Rawalpindi incident will rekindle the fire of the resentment among the Sikhs. All official and non-official Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council should have no relations with the Government as long as the latter makes no reparation for this deplorable occurrence. It is also time that a pathetic account of the brutal beating which is being inflicted on non violent Akalis in the Punjab was published and laid before the world and the members of the League of Nations. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 263).

Kesari, 6 May 1923

The *Kesari* of the 6th May writes that the incarceration of the prisoners and the oppression practised on them constitute the blackest stain on the Government. For some time past the Government had been devising a plan to make amends for its mistake and, at last, issued orders for the release of all prisoners. By their inhuman treatment of 450 Akalis, however, the Rawalpindi authorities have greatly humiliated it. The incident cannot be atoned for as long as officials responsible for the incident are not adequately punished. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 264).

***Nation*, 7 May 1923**

The *Nation* of the 7th May publishes the following from a correspondent: –

“I was in Rawalpindi on the night when the Akalis were got hold of the police and the military on the battle-field adjoining the railway station. When I saw the wounded in the morning I was horrified. During the war I have seen the wounded brought in and placed upon improvised beds showing each one his ill-dressed wounds. The spectacle of the wounded Akalis was not dissimilar. The only difference I could see was a difference between the arts of war and the arts of peace. ... At Pindi the Akalis were overwhelmed although they offered no resistance and suffered atrocious injuries – some of which are unmentionable in print. They suffered these injuries not as warriors upon the battle-field but as unresisting lambs led to the sacrificial altar. Christ, gentle reader, was crucified on that dreadful night. Let me ask a question or two. Was the Akali assemblage an unlawful body? Had it been declared an unlawful assembly? Was the Riot Act read? Was any attempt made to arrest the Akalis? Did they resist? ... The simple fact is that the men on the spot lost their heads in perpetrating one of the foulest atrocities against an unresisting body of men and there is none to question their deeds.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, pp. 252–253).

***Khalsa*, 9 May 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 9th may writes that the incident will deal a severe blow to the rule of the British Government. Only cowardly and irreligious nations use force against innocent and unarmed persons. The Government *communiqué* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* article are a bundle of lies and mis-statements. Even if it is admitted that the Akalis were really to blame the law did not allow the local officers to take the unlawful steps which they too in their intoxication with authority. It is clear from the Government *communiqué* that the Akalis left the station platform on their being ordered to do so. And even if they did not obey the orders to leave the road the Government could arrest them under the law. We fail to understand why this legal steps was not taken and why the Akalis were declared to be an unlawful assembly and beaten like this. Sections 127 and 128, Criminal Procedure Code, could not be applied to them. It was unlawful to beat them so mercilessly. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 264).

***Gurdwara*, 9 May 1923**

The *Gurdwara* of the 9th May writes that the oppressions practised on the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners had not yet ended when there occurred the Rawalpindi incident. It has led us to believe that the Government has no prestige left, not

only with the public, but even with its own officials. On the contrary, officials exercise so much influence over the Government that they fearlessly do whatever they like and force the latter to have a veil thrown over their misdeeds. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 265).

***Nation*, 9 May 1923**

Gurdit Singh of Rawalpindi writes to the *Nation* of the 9th May: –

“Even the smallest pretest is made most of by our ‘guardians’ of ‘law’ and ‘order’ to resort to the most brutal methods of punishment to prevent any alleged impending outbreak of disorder. ... If there could have been some excuse, some technical quibble of the law, in the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, there appears to be not even the shadow of a justification in the new act of horror perpetrated in Rawalpindi between the night of 30th April and 1st May. ... Thus the ‘glorious battle’ was fought and won in less than an hour, resulting in a complete triumph. When the history of England’s achievement in India comes to be rewritten, let us hope this episode shall also find its due place of prominence. The anxious question, however, is asked: Why this terrible display of power over a trifling matter and who is responsible for it? ... If the Punjab Government is not party to this affair, as we believe it is not, let it publicly condemn this action of those who are responsible for it and suitably deal with the culprits. If the Government has courage to perform this little act of justice, the deep discontent in the minds of people, especially the Sikhs, can be allayed and conciliation effected. If, on the other hand, it seeks to whitewash the criminal blunders of its officials, then farewell to all hopes of friendship between itself and the Sikhs ... Now or never is the time for the Government to rise equal to the exigencies of the occasion and show to the people that it stands for Right and Justice.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, pp. 265–266).

***Satjug*, 9 May 1923**

The *Satjug* of the 9th May writes that Mahatma Gandhi exhorted those Sardar Bahadurs who are in the habit of saying ditto to Government officers to abstain from starting the Gurdwara movement. He told that this step on their part would prevent the cart of Swaraj getting out of the mud of slavery, but they paid no heed to this. Indeed, how could they have listened to him, seeing that they had been sent by the Government on this mission? These selfish traitors deceived the Akalis into associating with them by throwing to them the bait of the Gurdwara. They secured help from the Congress and (other) Indians, but proved insincere in the end. They gave up non-cooperation by writing to Feringhi officers that they were prepared to send an Akali *jatha* to render

help in connection with the Amritsar riots. In other words, by abandoning the path of Swaraj they afforded the fullest proof of their dishonesty and treachery to the nation. Again, the Akalis, who would have gone to jail for the sake of Swaraj, were caused to be imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara. This means that the country has been treacherously treated through the Akalis being kept out of the army of Swaraj. It cannot be said that these selfish people have received and will receive in future from the bureaucracy in secret in return for these services. The whole world knows what cunning the Akalis have displayed to please the Government on the occasion of the Hindu-Muslim riots at Amritsar and how they have dragged through the mire the principle that 'the Khalsa is born to help the poor and punish the tyrant.' Considering the Hindus to be oppressed and innocent people, they should have fought the Muhammadans and bravely prevented them from practising high-handedness on the Hindus. But how can they do an act of virtues when their mind is filled with feelings of dishonesty and deception? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, pp. 268–269).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 10 May 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 10th May writes: –

“The bureaucracy says in its *communiqué* about the Rawalpindi incident that the Akalis were forbidden to march on the cantonment road and were beaten on their refusal to obey this order. Is the country under martial law even in these days that an office should issue any order he may like? What right had this proud bureaucracy to restrain the Sikhs from using a public road? When the order given was unlawful the Akalis were right in disobeying it. The *communiqué* states further that the Akalis marched in 'military fashion' of marching and under what order is it forbidden? If you have to stop a particular fashion of marching why not do it openly by means of legislation? It is sheer dishonesty to manufacture words which are intelligible to no one. It is thus that the bureaucracy – the supporter of lies – attempts to camouflage the atrocities perpetrated by the police and military on the 29th April. The offence of the Akalis consists in not leaving the station compound. Why should they have left it? Cannot the Akalis, like other passengers, wait at a railway station for the arrival of the next train? Their staying in the station compound and waiting for the arrival of the train was quite lawful. To order them to leave the place constituted an insult to the law of the land. Again, what law is there which countenances their being cruelly beaten, pierced with bayonets and dragged by their long hair on their not leaving the place? Our benevolent Government says that the police and military were successful in driving them to the Dharmsala. These words would show that being afraid of the police the

Akalis went to the Dharmsala. The lying bureaucracy has not used clear words and has kept a loophole (for escape). (But) how can facts be concealed? The Akalis were beaten to unconsciousness on the spot and their senseless bodies removed to the Dharmsala on *charpoy*s and in lorries. And yet the lying bureaucracy praises the self-restraint displayed by the military and police." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 265).

***Akash Bani*, 13 May 1923**

The *Akash Bani* of the 13th May affirms that there was hardly an Akali who was not carried to the city on a charpoy. The hair of the men was pulled and they were charged with the butt-ends of guns until they became unconscious. The Gorashahi, which professes to be civilized, has always employed brute force to give prominence to its civilization. Nay, it makes use of the kind of brute force which never commends itself even to the most barbarous Government. If it was an offence on the part of the Akalis not to leave the railway compound, our "benign" Government could have consigned them to jail. As long as we do not Swaraj we shall be oppressed by the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 26th May 1923. No. 21, p. 276).

***Loyal Gazette*, 13 May 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 13th May remarks that the cruel and tyrannical treatment accorded to the Akali prisoners under the direction of the local authorities demanded that the Governor should have paid a visit to Rawalpindi, seen the wounded with his own eyes, suspended the officers responsible for the incident and reassured the oppressed by promptly ordering an impartial enquiry. But His Excellency (only) published a *communiqué* on the basis of the information furnished by the self-same officers, declared the oppressed Akalis to have been guilty and whitewashed all the oppression by the officers responsible for the occurrence. These proceedings have afforded proof of the incapacity of the present Punjab Government. It is time that the Punjab Legislative Council passed a vote of censure against this Government and recommended to the Secretary of State a speedy change in its personnel. The members of a Government under which a dreadful massacre took place at Nankana Sahib but which failed to sift the matter to the bottom, a Government which created a complication in connection with the keys of the Golden Temple but (ultimately) suffered defeat and cause irreparable injury to British prestige, a Government which permitted the illegal beating (of Akalis) at Guru-ka-Bagh but in the end was shamed into discontinuing it, and a Government under whose rule the deplorable Rawalpindi outrage has occurred and which has contradicted all statements about the occurrence on the *ipse dixit* of the guilty,

the members of such a Government should be declared to be unfit to perform their duties and should be relieved of their charge for the sake of the Government itself in the interests of justice. They should be succeeded by better rulers and the reins of the administration places in the hands of the latter. Had there been a responsible national Government in the Punjab it would have had no other alternative than to resign. As, however, the present Government is responsible not to the people but to Parliament, the Punjab Legislative Council should request the Secretary of State for India to transfer the administration of the province into better and stronger hands. The present Government of the Punjab has proved itself to be extremely weak and unpopular. This is necessary to prevent the Government becoming a puppet in the hands of officers subordinate to it. No other provincial Government has permitted savage beatings like those administered to the Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh and Rawalpindi. The Rawalpindi incident is attributable to malice and enmity on the part of some local officers, who were opposed to the proposal of releasing Akali prisoners. Could such treatment have been accorded to the people in England for first breaking journey and then trying to resume travelling to their destination? It has now been considered a sacred doctrine that in political matters lower authorities should be upheld at all costs. The present Legislative Council, which will soon cease to exist, should try to pass a vote of censure against the Government in connection with the Rawalpindi incident. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 264).

***Khalsa*, 21 May 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 21st May publishes extracts from the Sikh Enquiry Committee's report about the Rawalpindi incident and asks if there could have been anything more cruel than attacking the Akalis with bayonets. It was an act of the rankest cowardice to attack the charpoys of unconscious Akalis (? to attack Akalis lying unconscious on charpoys). It is clear that the improper idea of prestige had turned the officers at Rawalpindi quite mad and they practised greater severity than the law allowed them to do. If the higher authorities fail to take notice of this, their contention that they are the 'guardians' of law and order will prove to be only an idle gossip. If it is the duty of the ruled to remain within the bounds of law, it is incumbent on Government officers also not to overstep its limit. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 2nd June 1923. No. 22, p. 287).

***Khalsa*, 25 May 1923**

Commenting on Major McNeil's report the *Khalsa* of the 25th May writes that the statement by Major McNeil that seven Akalis were wounded with sharp

weapons corroborates the report made by the (non-official) Enquiry Committee that Goras had attacked (the Akalis) with bayonets. Is there any other civilized country in the world where such excesses can be committed under the cover of the maintenance of prestige? Major McNeil's report also shows that beating was inflicted (on the Akalis) in a very ruthless manner. The local officers have resorted to boundless repression and if the Punjab Government connives at their doings, subordinate officials will get out of hand. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 2nd June 1923. No. 22, p. 287).

Khalsa Advocate, 25 May 1923

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th May writes: –

“Major McNeil examined only 38 Akalis. ... Is there any civilized country, we venture to ask, where for the sake of clearing a road at the dead of night the perpetration of such barbarities could be permitted. ... If the whole matter is to be viewed from the point of law then there remains no doubt about it that the local authorities did transgress their proper bounds. Let alone serious injuries, the very use of fixed bayonets cannot be justified on any grounds, especially when we remember that the charge took place at dead of night, when with no stretch of imagination even it could be contended that they were seriously blocking any traffic at all. We submit with all the emphasis at our command that if the Punjab Government connived at or attempted to whitewash the unwarranted and unjustifiable excesses of its subordinates at Rawalpindi, the subordinate officers are sure to accelerate their pace and the day will not be far off when the Government would find that under the pretext of clearing the roads corpses of some unfortunate people will be rolling in dust in their last agonies.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 2nd June 1923. No. 22, p. 287).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 27 May 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 27th May states that Sardar Sangat Singh will move at the next session of the Punjab Legislative Council that an enquiry be instituted into the cowardly attack made on the Akalis at the Rawalpindi railway station. The bureaucracy will only say “forget the past” just as it did when the resolution about the Guru-ka-Bagh affair was moved in the Council. But even if the resolution is adopted it will go to the same Government which threw the resolution about the release of the Sikh religious prisoners into the waste paper basket. Even if it is granted that the resolution will be carried and will be accepted by the Government, no useful purpose will be served thereby, since all the five members of the enquiry committee are to be appointed by the Government. It will make no difference whether they are selected from

among the Councillors or outsiders, as there are many sycophants, both in and outside the Council. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 2nd June 1923. No. 22, pp. 287–288).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 2 June 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 2nd June says that the Punjab Government has not considered it necessary to make an enquiry into the tragic occurrence at Rawalpindi. It has only issued *communiqués* in support of its officers like Bowring – *communiqués* which like others are a tissue of lies. It regards itself as one of the parties, the other being the Indian people. It has egged on its bureaucrats against the people and tries to screen whatever oppression the former may practice. The result of this attitude on its part is that the bureaucratic Lahore dog (the *Civil and Military Gazette*) is ready to prey upon our legs at all times and in every connection. So far not at single Indian newspaper had placed any credence in bureaucratic *communiqués*. But not that Mian Fazl-i-Husain's paper, the *Muslim Outlook*, has reposed a little faith in the *communiqué* about the Rawalpindi incident, the Anglo-Indian papers feels puffed up and says that the Muhammadans have begun to disbelieve the Akalis. Does the organ of Fazl-i-Husain at all represent the view of the Muhammadan community? If this henchman of the bureaucracy has any sense of self-respect, let it advise its auth, the bureaucracy, to step into the arena and have an open and impartial enquiry made into the case. *Communiqués* based on the statements and reports of the delinquents will satisfy only a fool or win praise from a sycophant. Again, our friend entreats the Shiromani Committee to endeavour to have the Babar Akalis arrested for the Doaba murders. You may go on practising every kind of oppression on the Akalis and try to defame them by making all sorts of false allegations against them, but the Shiromani Committee should leave off its real work to assist you! If the Babar Akalis commit murders they are doing a bad thing, although from no evil motives. Your goonda officers and goonda police loot hundreds of respectable people in broad daylight on the road to Guru-ka-Bagh, but you do not take them to task for this. We do not wish to imitate you and are, therefore strongly condemning the conduct of the Babar Akalis. It is no business of ours, however, to help the bureaucracy and divert our attention from the reform of the Gurdwaras and the religious prisoners rotting in jails. We are making every effort to advise the Babar Akalis and will continue to do so; but what effect can our advice have when the bureaucracy is working havoc in the Doaba and the Akalis visiting the towns are being arrested under section 109? If it wishes that our advice should have some effect let it stop arresting innocent people and torturing those confined to jails. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 9th June 1923. No. 23, p. 298).

10 Babar Akalis in the Doaba

Desh Sewak, 4 May 1923

Writing about the recent murders in the Doaba, the *Desh Sewak* of the 4th May states that 250 arrests have already been made. Nine Akalis, who came from their villages to make purchases, have been arrested. Police constables say that they have orders to arrest the Akalis wherever they may come across the latter. It is clear from all this that the bureaucracy is bent upon destroying the Akalis under the pretext of preventing breaches of the peace. In other words, it wishes not only to efface the Akalis of the Doaba but also to deal a severe blow to the Sikh community and break the Sikh organization. It is necessary at this juncture that jathas should be sent to the Doaba to fill the stomach of this hungry witch, the bureaucracy, for ever. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 266).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 14 May 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 14th May learns that the Babar Akalis are roaming about freely and the police do not go near them. When, however, they leave a village the latter go and arrest all the people who may have given food and drink to the former through fear of their lives. Will not the bureaucracy legislate that whoever is looted shall be imprisoned for the offence of having been plundered? Peaceful people are now beaten to fires. If they oppose the Babar Akalis their lives are in danger; but if they even talk with the latter the bureaucracy comes down upon them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 26th May 1923. No. 21, p. 276).

Sant Samachar, 15 May 1923

The *Sant Samachar* of the 15th May says that according to Akali newspapers, the police are practising rigour in their efforts to find out the real culprits in the Doaba murder case. The journal of the Parbandhak Committee, the *Akali-te-Pardesi*, goes at length even of administering threats to the Government. It can never be admitted that the members of the Committee are ignorant of the identity of the members of the Babar Akali Jatha who have committed these murders. If they feel moved at the severity practised on innocent persons why do they not call upon the murderers to confess their guilt? The Government also should keep itself informed if the police practice high-handedness on the inhabitants of villages. It is the duty of the well-wishers of the country to help the Government in arresting the murderers. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 26th May 1923. No. 21, p. 276).

Loyal Gazette, 27 May 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 27th May observes that the punishment which is being meted out to poor Sikh villagers for the doings of the Babar Akali *jatha* is extremely terrible. The police have brought about the whole ilaka a condition similar to that prevalent during the martial law days. We appeal to the Government not to let the police act in an unbridled manner in the Doaba, no matter howsoever bad the circumstances may be. It should see that innocent persons are not subjected to rigour, that false cases are not brought against people and that the police do not take advantage of the Government action against the Babar Akali *jatha* to feed fat ancient grudges. If the present state of affairs is allowed to continue there is a danger of universal resentment being caused against the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 9th June 1923. No. 23, p. 298).

Muslim Outlook, 29 May 1923

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 29th May writes: –

“The recent assassination of two more loyalist zamindars – lambardar and a sufedposh – in Hoshiarpur district will send a thrill of horror through the Doaba. The murders are apparently the handiwork of the Baba Akali Jatha, a band of desperadoes who are bringing the name of the Punjab into disrepute by their wicked and cruel campaign and involving hundreds of their innocent compatriots in trouble. ... Public terrorization is not the right method of bringing the offenders to book. It is bound to defeat its own object. Reports are flying about that the police have set about their task in a most high-handed fashion. It is alleged that children and students of schools are being arrested under suspicion of complicity in crimes, that agriculturists are prevented from reaping their harvest and labourers from earning their living, that warrants for the arrests of 1,000 men have been issued, and so on and so forth. It is asserted, in short, that no careful discrimination is being made between innocent men and suspicious characters and the people are under the *raj* of petty officials with all its petty oppression and pinpricks.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 2nd June 1923. No. 22, p. 287).

Desh Sewak, 1 June 1923

The *Desh Sewak* of the 1st June says that truthful person fears no one. Our bureaucracy keeps this principle at arm's length, as its foundation are laid on falsehood, hypocrisy and sin. This is why in order to maintain itself it requires the Rowlatt Bill, martial law and section 124 and countless other sections. It is for the same reason that it is harassing the Doaba and indiscriminately arresting the Akalis for the sake of three Babar Akalis. All the (male) members of

several families have been arrested, so that there is no one to look after their crops and cattle. The condition of the womenfolk in such cases is indescribable. We would advise the bureaucracy to act with patience and courage: its purpose will not be served by the narrow-mindedness it is displaying. The bureaucracy is undermining its own foundations by persecuting all Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 9th June 1923. No. 23, p. 299).

***Bande Mataram*, 6 June 1923**

Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 6th June, Dr. Satya Pal condemns the activities of the Babar Akali jatha in the Jullundur Division and argues that we cannot oppose Government by force. The jatha is doing great harm to the advancement of India. It is sheer folly to expect to get Home Rule by means of murders and dacoities. The writer concluded by urging the Indians to hold fast to non-violence. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 16th June 1923. No. 24, p. 310).

***Desh Sewak*, 8 June 1923**

The *Desh Sewak* of the 8th June writes that as the foundations of the bureaucracy have been rendered hollow by sin and oppression it sees danger even in an ordinary thing. It knows that a mild storm will uproot its plant and throw it beyond the seas. It is, therefore committing further oppression and sin to maintain its tyrannical and sinful rule and is thus hastening its death. For the sake of three Babar Akalis it is so looting, disgracing and harassing Akalis in the whole Doaba that an increase in the number of Babar Akalis has been heard of. The Thanedar of Banga and the police (under him) have looted the houses of Bhai Lakha Singh and Pritam Singh, of village Bahlpur (Hoshiarpur District), on the pretext of searching them. They have removed ornaments and cash and have also arrested the Sikhs. No news is permitted to pass out. It is the duty of all patriots to render every help to the Doaba at this time of trouble. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 16th June 1923. No. 24, pp. 310–311).

***Tribune*, 9 June 1923**

The *Tribune* of the 9th June writes: –

“While we express our unreserved condemnation of the lawless doings of the Babar Akali Jatha, we cannot but disapprove of some of the measure adopted by the local authorities with the ostensible object of bringing the offenders to book. It is not only the right but the duty of the Government to trace the actual culprits and have them punished; but it is equally its duty to ensure that the innocent do not suffer with the guilty. ... The Government, in its turn, should not be so ill advised as to lose all sense of discrimination between

the innocent and the guilty, and permit its agents to resort to measures the only effect of which can be to terrorise the whole of the rural population of the affected area. These measures, which are not only illegal but extremely unwise, together with the Commissioner's order prohibiting the proposed inquiry by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, are bound to create a most unfortunate impression on the public mind." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 16th June 1923. No. 24, p. 311).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 10 June 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th June writes that the Government had to take necessary legal steps to end the terrorism caused by the Akalis in the Punjab. It will not also hesitate to adopt the requisite punitive measures for the suppression of the bloodshed and terrorism indulged in by the Babar Akali *jatha*. If the Government does not maintain peace and protect the oppressed it will not deserve to be called by that name. We feel constrained to advice the Akalis to desist from disturbing the peace and violating the law. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 16th June 1923. No. 24, p. 311).

***Kesari*, 10 June 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 10th June says that the reports received from the Doaba are most terrifying and sensational. The police are greatly harassing the people of the two districts to arrest only a few Babar Akalis. They are venting their spleen on poor villagers. The Provincial Congress Committee sent Swami Bal Sarup, Lala Faqir Chand and Sita Ram, *alias* Bande Mataram, to make a report after seeing things for themselves. They have, however, been arrested under section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code. This shows that the authorities are averse to the press or public getting reports of what is going on in the Doaba. The Shiromani Committee thinks that these proceedings are being taken to crush the Gurdwara movement. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 16th June 1923. No. 24, p. 311).

***Loyal Gazette*, 10 June 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 10th June states that when the members of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Shiromani Committee reached Jullundur they were prohibited from instituting enquiries. What harm could the Committee have done to the Government? The officers concerned have only increased misunderstanding about the Government. The latter should afford an opportunity to the Committee to enquire into the allegations regarding police oppression in the Doaba and not force people to believe that these allegations are

not groundless. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 23rd June 1923. No. 25, pp. 326–327).

***Zamindar*, 13 June 1923**

The *Zamindar* of the 13th June tells the conductors of the 'Babar Akali' movement that their fellow-countrymen do not support and like their methods of work. No one approves of their plan of repression, as it is endangering the peace of innocent people. Those who are being involved in trouble by the Government in consequence of the doings of the Babar Akalis can never sympathise with the movement started by the last-named. It is a gross mistake to consider that the cowardly murder of a few title-holders or admirers of the Government is a great achievement. Innocent and peace-loving persons are suffering the consequences of their mistake and they should, for God's sake and for the sake of the well-being of the country and the nation, abandon their present attitude and not get their fellow-countrymen crushed through repression on the part of the Government. We also ask the Government to say whether a civilized Government can take pride in terrorizing a whole population for the misdeeds of a few murderers. Having failed to bring the murderers to book the authorities are visiting their anger on the innocent masses. Is it human to arrest anyone merely at a sign from Lambardars and Zaildars and search houses without rhyme or reason? After all what fault have these people committed? Are they being punished because they have the misfortune of living in the Doaba? To crown all, some innocent persons are beaten before being arrested and thrown into jail. How long will the Government stick to its objectionable and reprehensible attitude? We express abhorrence at the universal repression practised by the Government. Those officials who are egging it into this unreasonable attitude and endangering the peace of thousands of the peace-loving inhabitants of the Doaba should feel ashamed of themselves, in that they are affording proof of extreme enmity and hostility towards their country and nation. All Hindus, Mussalmans and Sikhs should unanimously protest against the attitude of the Government in connection with the unjustifiable repression that is being practised in the Doaba. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 23rd June 1923. No. 25, p. 327).

***Kesari*, 18 June 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 18th June states that Swami Bal Sarup and Lala Fakir Chand, whom the Provincial Congress Committee sent to enquiry into the police excesses in the Doaba, were arrested and imprisoned under section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Shiromani Committee's deputation also was

prohibited from instituting enquiries, but the prohibition was withdrawn after a couple of days. Why have the authorities distinguished between the two deputations sent on one and the same mission? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 30th June 1923. No. 26, p. 338).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 25 June 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 25th June considers it absolutely futile to hope to gain success by committing murders in the Doaba. It is utterly foolish for a few men to try to end the days of the Government and offer open defiance to it. We have just learnt that the Babar Akalis have announced that they will pay attention to those also who sell foreign-made cloth. The killing of any one for such a fault will be much more regrettable than the murder of toadies. It is a mistake to think that Ireland obtained freedom by means of violence. We request those are attempting to get Swaraj or complete the reform of the Gurdwaras by means of violence to reconsider their course of action and give it up. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 7th July 1923. No. 27, p. 345).

Milap, 2 July 1923

The *Milap* of the 2nd July refers to Sir Charles Yate's suggestion that the *ilakas* inhabited by the Babbar Akalis should be made over to the Sikh States and asks why the whole of the Punjab should not be entrusted to these States, why the Frontier Province should not be made over to Afghanistan and why the Government itself should not remove to Calcutta from Delhi, nay, to London, so that it may live at home in peace. If our voice can reach them, we would tell the Babbar Akalis also that secret societies cannot lead to success, that the establishment of such societies will do evil to India and that the Government should be reformed in an open and constitutional way. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 354).

Paisa Akhbar, 4 July 1923

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th July states that the Babbar Akali Jatha has left nothing undone to drag law and order through the mire. It has overawed rustics, and as the generality of the Akalis and the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee have secretly expressed their sympathy with its doings it has been greatly encouraged and become a pest for the people of Doaba. Extremist newspapers have condemned the measures which the authorities have been forced to adopt to maintain peace and order. Again, some extremists, among whom Pandit Sanatanam is one, have strongly protested against what the Government has done in the matter. The authorities are justified in adopting preventing and punitive measures against the Babbar Akalis. Every well-wisher of the country should

not only condemn the conduct of all those who would pay no regard to law and order, but should also help the Government in adopting preventing measures against them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 354).

***Babar Sher*, 4 July 1923**

The *Babar Sher* of the 4th July remarks that Sir Charles Yate's proposal shows that the bureaucracy has become so tired of the religious disputes of the Sikhs that it is ready even to abandon the disturbed areas. These disputes are not, however, confined to any particular area and prevail throughout the Punjab. By interfering in the Sikh religion the bureaucracy has entangled itself in the skein for nothing. And in order to extricate itself it should make over the whole province to the Sikhs and betake itself to the other side of the Jumna. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 354).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 5 July 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 5th July observes that the (implied) confession is significant that Indian Princes can rule better than the British Government. Does not Colonel Yate remember, however, that not only the Doaba but the whole of the Punjab, of which the English took forcible possession, belonged to Maharaja Dalip Singh? Why does not the bureaucracy end the matter once for all and make over the whole province to rightful heirs? If it wishes to do this (only) after events like those of the Doaba occur (everywhere), may God fulfill its wishes! The bureaucracy allowed a free hand to the preachers of violence during the Guru-ka-Bagh fight; but now that it has come to taste of the fruit of that propaganda cries have burst forth even in England. The truth is that the preaching of violence can be checked only with non-violence. It would be better, therefore, if the bureaucracy makes over the tract to peaceful Akalis rather than to the States, so that the former may restore peace and order by preaching. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 354).

***Zulfiqar*, 16 July 1923**

The *Zulfiqar* of the 16th July remarks that the Parbandhak Committee should afford practical proof of the feelings of abhorrence it has expressed for the method of work followed by the Babar Akali Jatha. It should not allow absconding Babar Akalis to join its fold and should help the Government in arresting them. Similarly, the Sikh Rajas should not afford shelter to the reptiles. Elsewhere the paper publishes a letter the writer of which says that the Congress and Khilafat Committees believe in non-violence and can have not sympathy with any Jatha or Dal which commits murder and dacoity in the

name of nationalism. It is extremely necessary that these bodies should adopt resolutions condemning the shameful attitude of the Babar Akali Jatha. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, pp. 386–387).

Akali, 8 August 1923

A Hoshiarpur correspondent writes to the *Akali* of the 8th August that it is not known whether the bureaucracy is searching for the Babbar Akalis or wants to crush the Akali movement in the Doaba. House searches, dishonouring women, arrests, beating poor villagers with hunting crops, blockading villages, prohibiting villagers from going out till 10 and 11 AM to answer the call of nature, and the harassment of wayfarers are tyrannies by practising which have being wrought in the Doaba. How is it that the bureaucracy's secret place has not yet succeeded in arresting a handful of persons who, it is said, are confined to two Tahsils only? It is clear that this mischief is being wrought by Government officers themselves, who had been on the look-out for a pretext to practise repression in the Doaba. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 425).

Tribune, 10 August 1923

The *Tribune* of the 10th August writes: –

“Lahore is no the district or even the division where the alleged offences are said to have taken place. This will undoubtedly be inconvenient to the defence. But the words feature of the trial is that it is proposed to hold it in jail and *in camera*. Secret trials in jail of persons accused of serious offences can never inspire public confidence and are reminiscent of the Middle Ages, which one would have thought the British administration of justice had long outgrown. The measures taken by Government in the matter of the so-called suppression of the Babbar Akali movement have evoked strong adverse criticism in the press, to which the Government has not thought it fit to give a reply. The trial of the Babbar Akali cases within the closed doors of the Central Jail will lay the Government open to the further charge that the accused were not treated fairly.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 425).

Akali, 12 August 1923

The *Akali* of the 12th August says that the illegalities committed in the name of law at Guru-ka-Bagh and the savage treatment (of Akali prisoners) in the District and Central Jails of Multan further injured the wounded hearts of the Sikhs. It is said that in consequence of this state of things some of our brethren in the Doaba lost self-control and began to murder pro-Government people.

Government calls these political murders. We cannot at present say what the actual facts are, but no one will defend the repression which the Government has practised on the law-abiding people of the Doaba on the pretext of these murders. We shall not blame the bureaucracy for inflicting appropriate punishment on any person who is guilty of a political crime. But no innocent person should be crushed on this pretext and the bureaucracy should not be allowed to suppress the movement of non-violence by practising repression. We should render all possible help to the Doaba Rakhshak Committee in conducting the defence. Assistance should also be rendered to the families of those who are treated as political criminals in connection with the Doaba murders. If the families of the murdered are in distress, they, too, should be assisted. We strongly appeal to the public in general and the Sikhs in particular to give pecuniary help to the Doaba Rakhshak Committee. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 439).

Kirpan Bahadur, 16 August 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 16th (received on the 21st) August says that the Lahore conspiracy case was tried in jail when many Sikhs were sentenced to death. The case of the Maharaja of Nabha was also tried *in camera* and the result is before our eyes. The Babbar Akali conspiracy case, too, will be tried in secret in the Central Jail, Lahore. This is highly objectionable. Government lays itself open to diverse suspicions by holding the trial *in camera*. We would strongly urge it to hold the trial in open court. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, pp. 4449–450).

Akali, 17 August 1923

In its issue of the 17th August the paper [the *Akali*] asks why the accused in the Babbar Akali cases have been dragged to Lahore from Jullundur. Their unfortunate relatives who have to abandon household duties to go to Lahore will have to suffer material losses, while their families will suffer many hardships in their absence. It is said that with a view simply to harass these persons the Criminal Investigation Department got Government to apply to the High Court to sanction the trial of the cases at Lahore, saying that the witnesses would not give true evidence at Jullundur through fear of the Babbar Akalis. But the other side of the picture is that the police will bring witnesses to Lahore to exercise undue pressure on them. And as usual these cases will be tried within closed doors in the Lahore Central Jail. It is said that even press reporters will not be admitted. Is the bureaucracy taking this step to afford the public no opportunity to criticise the doings of the police? If it wishes to administer justice in accordance with its own wishes “by spreading the net of difficulties in the

way of the hearing of these cases”, it should use a Dyerian order and shoot all the Babbar Akalis. Government wishes to use the sword of rigour, force and power in the name of law and justice, but India is already acquainted with the character of their law of justice. If it is necessary to try the cases at Lahore *in camera* no difficulty should be placed in the way of press reporters. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 439).

***Watan*, 17 August 1923**

The *Watan* of the 17th August asks all political associations in the country to announce publicly that they have nothing to do with the Babbar Akalis. Otherwise, it will be generally believe that this seditious movement has been started at the instance of the Congress and other allied bodies. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 449).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 18 August 1923**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 18th August denounces the atrocities perpetrated in the Doaba and expresses surprise at the boldness of the tyrants in killing people without any scruple. It is hoped that Government will strain every nerve to bring the offenders to book and expel the Babbar Akalis from the *ilaka*. It is its first and foremost duty to guard the lives and property of its law-abiding subjects. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 449).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 22 August 1923**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 22nd August affirms that the Babbar Akalis are deliberately defying law and order. Every act of theirs is rebellion. They think that Government exists in name only. It is injurious to Government and people alike to make no effort to suppress the offenders. No Government can tolerate such a state of affairs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 449).

***Nation*, 24 August 1923**

The *Nation* of the 24th August writes: –

“We are informed that interviews are being refused even to the nearest relatives of the accused in the Babbar Akali cases. But we hope that better counsels will prevail. Nothing can be gained by secrecy and it was an audaciously wrong move to demand the exclusion of Press representatives from the hearings.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 450).

***Khalsa*, 25 August 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 25th August notes that the Babbar Akali case is still *sub judice* and it is not permissible under the law for newspapers to publish articles likely to be prejudicial to or in favour of the accused. But we find the *Akhbar-i-Am* openly violating this law. The Punjab Government should take action against the paper. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 449).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 6 September 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 6th September refers to the Associated Press message about the rounding up of the Babbar Akali gang as showing the nature of the fight that took place. The military and police should only arrest an offender and have him punished by a regular court of law, but no one should be killed merely on suspicion. If the Babbar Akalis had offered resistance the police would have been justified in opening fire in self-defence. Our policy differs from the Babbar Akalis, who rely on the sword, while we favour non-violence. But we know very well that they have forced to act as they did by the repressive policy of the Government and whatever they have done they have done for the freedom of their motherland. We offer our sympathy to their families and hold the Government responsible for their deaths. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 476).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 September 1923**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 12th September regrets that attacks on loyal people by the Babbar Akalis have not yet come to an end. Why is not the *jatha* arrested at an early date? Government has smart detectives in its service and should send them to the Doaba to arrest the miscreants. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 490).

***Desh Sewak*, 14 September 1923**

Commenting on the official communiqué about the rounding up of the Babbar Akali gang, the *Desh Sewak* of the 14th September asks whether Government officers had no other alternative than to kill the Babbars. Could not three to four hundred men of cavalry capture the Babbars by wounding them or prevent them from finding their way into the jungle? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 490).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 18 September 1923**

A special correspondent writes to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 18th September that blood boiled in the veins of the American Sikhs on hearing that tyrannies

had been perpetrated in the Doaba under the pretext of (arresting) Babbar Akalis and that the families of the Doaba Akalis who had made unique sacrifices were in a pitiable condition. They collected Rs. 37,000 for the relief of these families, out of which a sum of Rs. 10,000 was remitted to the Doaba Khalsa Diwan. They will also soon remit Rs. 20,000 in response to the appeal of Master Sundar Singh of Lyallpur for five lakh rupees to start two newspapers. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 507).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 8 October 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 8th October refers to the fear of a correspondent of the Anglo-Indian newspaper of Lahore that violence is likely to be committed, as the *Akali-te-Pardesi* is hinting that people should become Babbar Akalis. But we point out that this is altogether incorrect. When we like to persuade people to become Babbar Akalis, we shall persuade them openly. It is, however, correct that we do not consider non-violence to be our creed. We are practising it by way of political expediency. We shall try to achieve our object by non-violence; but if we fail to do so, we shall have to abandon it. The Gurus too acted similarly. They offered their own heads as well as those of their Sikhs in a peaceful manner; but when the tyrants did not refrain from practising oppression even after that, Guru Gobind Singh was compelled to take the sword in hand. If we too are compelled, we cannot say what steps we shall take. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, p. 548).

Akali, 19 December 1923

The *Akali* remarks that setting fire to a house with the knowledge that there are living human beings inside is an instance of cruelty which cannot be met with anywhere except under the "civilized regime" of the English. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd December 1923*, No. 52, p. 651).

Kesari, 20 December 1923

The *Kesari* condemns the methods adopted by the Babbar Akalis to overawe the Government, as also the latter's determination to exterminate them, in which attempt it has gone the length of setting fire to a house. The Babbar Akali leaders should stop their movements, which is harmful for the country and the nation, and surrender themselves to the Police. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd December 1923*, No. 52, p. 651).

Akali, 22 December 1923

The *Akali* reports that the threatening notice recently pasted at Amritsar and purporting to emanate from the Babar Akalis is the work of some policeman or enemy of Magistrate Hardial Singh and Sub-Inspector Surain Singh, who have been asked to look after themselves. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924*, No. 1, p. 9).

Akali, 29 December 1923

Writing about the alleged burning of Akalis by the police, Akali states that the most tragic incident in connection with it occurred when, after the setting of the house on fire with petrol, an innocent man shouted from inside at the top of his voice that he was not a Babar Akali and should be allowed to go out. The heartless policemen paid no heed to this and instead of allowing the man to go out gave the indifferent reply that although he was not a Babar Akali he would burn nevertheless. Is a parallel to such devilry and destruction of human lives to be met with these times in any other country? We draw the attention of the All-India Congress Committee to the whole affair and pray for a full investigation into the savage act. A report about this event should be disseminated in other countries, so that the world might know what devilries the English, who are called civilized, commit in India. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924*, No. 1, pp. 8–9).

Desh Sewak, 24 April 1924

The *Desh Sewak* has received from a very reliable source the report that the satanic myrmidons of the bureaucracy are conspiring to resuscitate the Babar Akali movement by instigating *goondas*, hooligans, etc., in the Doaba. The object is to practise every sort of repression in order to crush the spirit of patriotism. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 152).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 13 July 1924

Elsewhere a correspondent writes to the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] that the tyrannies, that were perpetrated in the Doaba under the pretext of suppressing the Babar Akalis, cannot be described. About 55 punitive police posts have been established and great oppression is practiced at the time of realizing the tax. The police is taking the approvers to village after village and the man whom they dub as a Babar Akali is arrested. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924*, No. 29, p. 245).

Kirpan Bahadur, 12 October 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* remarks that the Panth is still in anguish on account of the atrocities perpetrated in the Doaba by the myrmidons of the bureaucracy on the pretext of quelling Babar Akali disturbances. The satanic acts committed by the tyrannical police of Patiala have, however, exceeded all bounds. Malwa has rendered the greatest service to the Panth recently, with the result that the tyrannical police of the bureaucracy is hammer and tongs after the Panthic workers there. Their houses are broken into by these dacoits, who attach property worth Rs. 1,000 to recover a fine of Rs. 100 and thus fill the coffers of the bankrupt bureaucracy. Is there any Sikhs who is not shocked on hearing of the attachment of the trousers of sister Punjab Kaur who was asked to pull them off? Even a most tyrannical Government would not countenance such insult to women as are being offered by the satanic followers of the bureaucracy in these days. We warn these people to beware because, although the Khalsa have adopted non-violence, they are not prepared even for a moment to tolerate the insult that is being offered to their sisters-in-faith. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 18th October 1924, No. 42, p. 330*).

Babar Sher, 29 November 1924

The *Babar Sher* says that it is often stated that non-violence is not our religious principle. Our old principle is to destroy oppression by using the minimum force. Although the attitude taken up by the Babbar Akalis went against the policy of non-violence adopted by the country and the nation, yet whatever they did in their solicitude for the welfare of the country gave a shaking to the bureaucratic rule. The bureaucracy had to use all its strength to stem the tide, because the attitude of the Babbar Akalis had the effect of pinching it. The congress has been making strenuous but non-violent efforts for the last forty years to obtain legitimate rights for Indians. But to say nothing of the grant of rights, greater oppression is being practised on Indians. Formerly *goras* used to kill Indians by kicking them with boots, but now they have begun to maltreat Indian women also. At one place filthy abuse is used towards them, at another their faces are spat at and elsewhere military *goras* drag them about in order to outrage them. Formerly Indians used to be arrested and punished for sedition, but now they have to witness bloody and dreadful tragedies like those of the Jallianwala Bagh, Guru-ka-Bagh and Jaito. They are, moreover, tortured to death in jails. We will plainly say that as long as the bureaucracy is not pinched, so long will it not pay heed to the sufferings of Indians. There is time, therefore, for the Shiromani Committee to change its scheme to bring the bureaucracy, which is intoxicated with the wine of rule, to its senses. This will make the bureaucracy entreat the Committee for reconciliation. Since the whole community is ready to be shot in obedience to the Shiromani Committee's orders,

why does the latter hesitate to re-adopt the policy pursued by the first Shahidi jatha and goes on deliberately prolonging the question of Gurdwara reform by adopting a policy of “castrated non-violence”? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924*, No. 49, pp. 385–386).

11 Arrests and Releases of Prisoners

Jathedar, 27 August 1922

In a leading article the *Jathedar* of the 27th August remarks that the arrests made at Guru-ka-Bagh have created a stir in the *panth* and the world. The question now is how long will such arrests continue to be made and sacrifices offered. When the Government knows that the Sikhs will not rest unless the gurdwara reform is effected and when the beloved of the Guru realise that the gurdwara problem will be finally solved only when a law is framed for the purpose, why are not efforts made to enact law for the solution of the whole problem? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd September 1922. No. 35, pp. 413–414).

Tribune, 29 August 1922

The *Tribune* of the 29th August writes: –

“What is obviously a grave situation has again been reached in the mutual relations of the Government and the Sikhs. Already a very large number of arrests have taken place and among the latest arrests is that of Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh, one of the foremost leaders of the community. Into the merits of the incident at Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara of which these arrests are the outcome we have no desire to enter, because we have not the official version before us. But apart altogether from its merits, the matter clearly is one which is bound to fill all well-wishers of both the Government and the people with the most serious anxiety. We do hope it is not too late even now to set things right by a display of that statesmanship of which we have been told again and again that it has never failed. Above all we sincerely hope immediate steps will be taken by the proper authorities both to investigate the charges of unnecessary and unjustifiable assaults on persons either before or after their arrests, which have been made in the *communiqués* of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, and to punish the individuals concerned if the allegations are found to be true. The situation is difficult enough without it being necessary to render it worse by such proceedings.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd September 1922. No. 35, p. 414).

Tribune, 17 September 1922

The *Tribune* of the 17th September writes: –

“Now that the authorities have discarded the method of beating the Akalis and have reverted to the alternative method of arresting them, there are two things which we would earnestly press upon them. If they wish to have all the benefit of this undoubted change for the better, the first thing they should do is to suitably deal with, and as a preliminary measure transfer, those police officers and men, against whom specific charges of ill-treatment have been made either by the Shiromani Committee or others. The Government itself has declared it to be its intention to hold such an enquiry. But no such enquiry can be made with any expectation of giving satisfaction to those principally concerned, so long as these officers and men are on the spot and in the undisturbed enjoyment of their present powers. ... The second and equally important thing is that the higher authorities should keep a very vigilant eye upon such police officers and men as will in the future have anything to do with this affair. ... Already we have heard of at least one unprovoked and, of course, unauthorized assault. If such assaults are not to be common, the higher authorities must be particularly watchful.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 475).

Qaum Parast, 24 September 1922

The *Qaum Parast* of the 24th September remarks that now that the subjection to disgrace and beating of the Sikhs have been stopped, they are being arrested, prosecuted and punished. This is a palpable folly; for when the Sikhs did not give up their work by being beaten how can they be frightened by arrests and convictions, which they consider as no more than amusement? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 489).

Khalsa, 25 September 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 25th September says that each member of a jatha of 32 Sikhs arrested in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment and will, on release, be required to furnish security to be of good behaviour for one year. The Magistrate has been hasty in convicting the accused and should have awaited the decision in the case against Sardar Mehtab Singh and others. Great injustice has been done to the 32 Akalis referred to. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 490).

***Tribune*, 28 September 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 28th September writes: –

“We should like very much to know how long Government propose to follow the present policy. To arrest batches of Akalis and then either to sentence some to varying terms or to set them at liberty on the specious ground that they are insane is not surely calculated to inspire confidence in the soundness of the policy which the authorities are pursuing in the matter of the Akali struggle. The present lull in the Akali camp is, we believe, due to the fact that the terms of settlement between the Government on the one hand and of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee on the other are being discussed. As Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni in his letter rightly remarks: ‘Any further delay on the part of Government (in coming to a settlement with the Akalis) may be misinterpreted by them (Akalis) and, in any case, it cannot make a settlement, which must come sooner or later, smoother.’” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 490).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 5 October 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 5th October refers to the high-handed doings at Guru-ka-Bagh, and says that the bureaucrat, ‘this group of fools,’ has now hit on the device of intimidating the Sikhs by imprisoning them and beating them. The Khalsa should come forward. This non-violent war is likely to end soon. Diwans should be held everywhere and enlistment of men commenced. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, p. 504).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 13 October 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 13th October writes: –

“We admit we are at a loss to understand what beauty there remains in a Government in which law and order has to be maintained by throwing thousands of people into jails. If force alone becomes indispensable for keeping the subjects under thumb then it must be clearly understood that the arrangement cannot last long. We would therefore like to tender this advice to such of the officers as are determined to fight issues with the Sikhs to a finish more in their own interests, that repression alone would serve no useful purpose except that of delaying the settlement and further embittering the mutual relations. If even half of the time and energy which is being spent in this direction be devoted to the settlement of this question this unseemly dispute would soon see its end.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, pp. 514–515).

Khalsa, 13 October 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 13th October states that according to an Associated Press telegram, the Amritsar authorities have made arrangements for the arrest of as many Akalis as may offer themselves for the purpose. In other words, the local officers are bent upon ending this Sikh movement by pursuing a policy of repression. But repression has never proved successful in putting down a religious agitation. The number of the Akalis will steadily increase in proportion to the repression practised on them. And even if all of them are imprisoned, will the movement come to an end? Never. So long as the management of the Gurdwaras is not improved agitation will exist among the Sikhs in one form or other. The paper then expresses its inability to understand what pleasure there can be in living under a Government which has to imprison thousands of people to maintain the public peace. A Government which always depends on repression to keep its subjects in hand cannot last long. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, p. 515).

Siyasat, 26 October 1922

The *Siyasat* of the 26th October states that arrests continue to be made at Guru-ka-Bagh. Government officials first tried to bring the brave Sikhs to reason, as they thought, by beating them. On failing in this they began to make wholesale arrests recklessly. Lord Reading claims to be a great supporter of justice and equity. But there is not parallel in the past history of India to the new methods of practising tyranny and oppression invented during his Lordship's regime. British statesmen have learnt the lesson of practising repression. They know of no other method of administration. Let us see what these proceedings will lead to. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, p. 542).

Tribune, 29 October 1922

The *Tribune* of the 29th October writes: –

“The number of arrests at Guru-ka-Bagh has now reached the stupendous figure of 3,300. How long, we ask, is the Government going to wait before taking effective steps to bring about a settlement in this matter? Do they propose to wait till the figure has reached more than ten thousand, which is the number for which, according to a recent *communiqué*, they have asked their officers to make provision? Or do they propose to wait till the back of the Akali movement is broken? In either case the policy it is following is one which public opinion can never support. Undoubtedly arrests are better than beating, whether authorize or unauthorized? But you cannot arrest a whole community. Where a whole community is determined to assert itself in a particular

way, the question clearly is not one for the enforcement of law and the maintenance of authority, but for the exercise of the gifts of wise, courageous and far-sighted statesmanship, with a view of bringing about a settlement acceptable to and in the best interests of all concerned." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, p. 542).

***Partap*, 29 October 1922**

Writing on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair in the *Partap* of the 29th October, Thakar Singh, editor of the *Nihang*, avers that the whole Sikh community is now prepared to practice *satyagraha*. But will the Congress to which we owe this sweetest of fruits, *viz.*, this unprecedented peaceful war, pay no attention to the matter? The Government has thrown down a challenge to us by announcing that it has made arrangements for the imprisonment of ten thousand Akalis. Is it not the duty of the Congress to help the Akalis in observing *satyagraha* for religious purposes? It should announce that if the Government does not settle the question satisfactorily the Hindus and Muhammadans also will join hands with the Akalis. And it would be no wonder if common sacrifices should deliver the Indians from their long-standing bondage. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, p. 542).

***Panth*, 1 November 1922**

The *Panth* of the 1st November remarks that the Government has been overtaken by the mania to imprison 10,000 Akalis to secure respect for the law and destroy the rising aspirations of the Sikhs. We can confidently assert, however, that at least half, if not all, the Sikhs will court imprisonment to protect their gurdwaras and national honour. They will not abandon their demands. Will the Government never need help from the Sikhs and the communities which sympathise with them? Will the Mahants come to its help then? Sir Edward Maclagan should even now come to his senses. The Government could have easily left the gurdwaras in possession of the Akalis till the passage of the Gurdwara Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 555).

***Siyasat*, 5 November 1922**

The *Siyasat* of the 5th November writes that the oppressive and savage treatment which the officials of the bureaucracy have been meting out to the brave and valiant Sikhs is extremely heart-rending and disappointing. The Akali movement is connected with religion and the attitude of the bureaucracy is, therefore, all the more reprehensible. The *Siyasat* is confident that the Sikhs will continue to give proof of their determination and perseverance till the last and the bureaucratic officials will be forced to concede their demands.

If the English do not change their attitude, they will have to pay dearly for it in the near future, for by displeasing the various sections of the people they will find that no section will be able to carry on the administration with success. The arrest of 100 men every day is a unique phenomenon in the history of India. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 555).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 16 November 1922**

Writing to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 16th November, Bhai Gurdit Singh of Murree, who calls himself a moderate Sikh, says that the present critical condition of their community has filled the hearts of the moderate Sikhs with feelings of grief and rage. The Government should disabuse itself of the idea that they can only indulge in cajolery. They do not fear imprisonment and if the present repression upon their community continues for some time longer the moderate together with their families will also offer themselves for arrest. The Government is being blind-folded and it does not know that those who are pulling the wool over its eyes, want to drag it down a dark chasm where nothing will remain of it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 581).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 12 November 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 12th November writes that no value is attached in these days to an Indian's life. A European in his rage kicks his poor Indian servant and the latter dies; but the Judge decides that death was due to rupture of the spleen and acquits the accused. A large number of Moplas were packed into a small carriage, many of whom died of suffocation. The whole country raised a hue and cry, but without any result. During Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime many Canadians (? Indians from Canada) were hanged, but no information about them was given out. During the martial law days a gibbet was fixed at Kasur on the roadside and many scions of families were executed. General Dyer shot thousands of Mother India's sons and he was let off on the plea of an error of judgement. On the holy land of Nankana Sahib about 200 Sikhs were butchered in broad daylight; but the author of this, the Mahant, is enjoying his life. On the way to Guru-ka-Bagh hundreds of Akalis were severely belaboured and tortured, but the great Government called the proceeding as the use of the minimum force. At Panja Sahib the Sikhs who wanted to serve the Akali prisoners with refreshments were crushed under the railway train, of whom two have fallen martyrs and the injured will be prosecuted; but the Driver and the Station Master have been praised for doing their duty. Only a few days ago, Bawa Gurmukh Singh, motor-driver, was shot at Bhara Kahu by a British officer

for disturbing the Sahib's sleep. If his sleep had been disturbed by the barking of his dog, he would have perhaps given him milk and put him to bed; but here was an Indian and he shot him down. Such is the pitiable condition of the Indians! (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, pp. 580–581).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 12 November 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 12th November states that the Police Sowar, who shot dead a Sikh in Subbraon (District Lahore), has been sentenced by the justice-loving Session Judge of Lahore to three years' rigorous imprisonment – a sentence that has also been passed on several Akalis in the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. That is, on one side, the offender killed a man, and, on the other, he showed his intention of chopping wood. In the eyes of the Government both offences are equal! (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 582).

***Daler Akali*, 26 November 1922**

The *Daler Akali* of the 26th November says that the Sikhs fully see through the machinations with the aid of which Government has withdrawn the police from Guru-ka-Bagh. It cannot assuage the feelings of the Sikhs even by releasing Akali prisoners and stopping arrests. The Panth will continue the work of reforming the Gurdwaras as long as its sons are out of jails. If Government officers fail to come to a proper understanding with the Sikhs even now, it is expected that entrenchments like those set up at Guru-ka-Bagh will soon be formed at some other place. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 606).

***Panth*, 27 November 1922**

The *Panth* of the 27th November states that Sardar Mehtab Singh and other Sikh leaders are still being tried. This means that the Government has already decided not to release the Sikh prisoners. It will, however, have to set them free. Where is the fool who can think that the Sikh community will know rest while more than 5,500 brave Sikhs are rotting in jails? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 606).

***Khalsa Samachar*, 30 November 1922**

The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 30th November urges that the Sikh prisoners should be set at liberty. Recent reports from the Lahore Borstal and Attock jails show that the arrangements made by the Government for the board, lodging and clothing of the prisoners are anything but satisfactory. From this

consideration also their further detention in jail is most improper. Besides, as the Government has to release them in the end the sooner it does so the better will it be for all concerned. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 606).

***Tribune*, 9 December 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 9th December says: –

“The Punjab Government is making another mistake. Its decision to release those Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners who are either above 50 or below 18 is another illustration of that policy of conciliation in dribblets which in the case of the Martial Law prisoners failed to produce any wholesome effect. The only proper course for it is to release the whole body of these prisoners.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th December 1922. No. 50, p. 621).

***Panth*, 10 December 1922**

The *Panth* of the 10th December congratulates the Government on releasing 310 Akali prisoners from the Lahore jail and feels confident that other Akalis imprisoned in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair will also be set free. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th December 1922. No. 50, p. 621).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 15 December 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 15th December writes: –

“The Government seems to be persistently pursuing its ‘Bit by Bit’ policy in the matter of releasing the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners. After its surrender, although indirect, it would have been a redeeming feature in the whole episode if the Government had restored to liberty all those who were thrown into jail only on account of a technical offence. Let us hope the Government would still be wise enough to order the release of all the Gurdwara prisoners without any further loss of time and pave the way for a peaceful settlement of the whole question. It is really a serious complaint which the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee makes with regard to the non-return of the private property, by the authorities, of the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners now being released from the various jails of the province. It alleges that ‘the Kirpans that they wore at the time of their arrest are not being returned nor is any reason given by the authorities why’ ... We invite the attention of the Government to it and request it to kindly make enquiries into the matter and explain reasons which have led to this inexplicable conduct of the officials concerned.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd December 1922. No. 51, p. 632).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 25 December 1922**

Gopal Singh, ex-editor of the *Azad Akali*, writing to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 25th December, says that the Akalis have shown to the Indians how a most arrogant, oppressive, cunning and deceitful bureaucracy can be brought to its knees by means of non-violent *satyagraha*. By their sacrifices at Guru-ka-Bagh they have destroyed the prestige of the bureaucracy and raised the dignity of India. The bureaucracy has now begun to practice rigours upon the Akali prisoners, eight of whom have lost their lives. Again, those released from jails look as if they have just been dragged out of the grave. The bureaucracy is about to fall and the Khalsa is going to rise. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, p. 17).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 31 December 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 31st December thinks that the arrest of our working men like Sardars Gopal Singh of Sagri and Jagat Singh of Kahuta indicates that the Government is once more going to crush our organization. It is time that we too should prepare ourselves and the recruitment of the Khalsa should begin at once. Preparations should be made for sending fifty thousand men to jail, which means that the members of the various *jathas* should number no less than one lakh, so that there may be sufficient men to work outside the jails. The work should begin throughout the country and then we can hope for success. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, p. 13).

***Loyal Gazette*, 7 January 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 7th January things that the Government's failure to release Baba Kehar Singh, Sardar Kharak Singh and Sardar Mahtab Singh will clearly prove that the release of certain Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners is by no means ascribable to (any) feelings of sympathy (on its part for the Sikhs). (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th January 1923. No. 2, p. 28).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 30 March 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 30th March writes: –

“So long as a fully responsible Government is not established in this country and so long as Judicial and Executive functions are not completely separated and made independent of each other it is really idle to expect that Judiciary, as at present placed, can dispense justice untarnished by any executive consideration. A regard for the Executive has become their second nature, so much so that they seldom put to legal test the validity of their actions. When we go

through the judgement given by Nawab Aslam Hayat Khan, the Additional District Magistrate of Amritsar, in the protracted case of seven prominent workers of the Gurdwara Reform Movement we find an ample evidence of this mentality. The one important point to be decided in this case was that since the Gurdwara Guru-ka-Bagh has passed into the possession of the Akalis and since the land was entered in the revenue records in the name of that very Gurdwara, whether or not the Akalis had any right to cut wood from the *kikar* grove standing on that land for the Guru's free *langar*? But instead of making a searching enquiry into this very important issue the learned judge observe at the very outset that 'I am not concerned with the question as to who is entitled to the possession of the disputed lands, not with the fact of mere constructive possession.' With this so very important issue so off-handedly shelved by the learned magistrate it did not require any long stretch of imagination to anticipate the result. It was the first great initial mistake of the authorities to have launched the prosecution without getting a decision of a competent judicial court on this issue. The learned magistrate observes further that since Mr. Jenkins had upheld the possession of the Mahant on the disputed land and had convinced the five Akalis on the first day and the Police had been deputed to stop them, the Akalis ought to have found out for themselves that to proceed to Guru-ka-Bagh with a view to cut wood constituted a crime. But we aver that it was Mr. Jenkins who committed the first mistake. When the title to the land was under dispute, he, instead of referring the case for deciding the question of right of possession to a civil court, thought it proper to institute criminal proceedings and decide the case without even consulting the Revenue records. Exactly this very mistake was again committed by those officials who had posted the police there. Had they even cared to obtain an injunction from any competent civil court their action would have been taken the appearance of a legal procedure. But the learned Additional District Magistrate seems to have ignored these two important legal points and following in the footsteps of the blundering Mr. Jenkins and the local executive has only repeated their mistakes. ... To prove the actual possession of the land it was enough that the Akalis ever since they had taken possession of the Gurdwaras in January 1921, had been cutting wood from that *kikar* grove for consumption in the *Guru ka langar*. Not only the defence witnesses bore testimony to this fact but many of the prosecution witnesses also admitted it. The conviction of the Akali leaders is therefore neither warranted nor justified." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 7th April 1923. No. 14, pp. 182-183).

***Tribune*, 29 April 1923**

The *Tribune* of the 29th April thus comments on the official press *communiqué* regarding the release of the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners: –

“While congratulating the Government on the step it has taken, we have but two remarks to make. In the first place, we cannot help pointing out that the Government has waited for such a long time in taking the step it has done, that the sentences of most of the prisoners now proposed to be released have almost expired; and on that account alone, if for no other, the action of the Government will fail to produce any effect on the public mind. As to the reason for the action, we can only describe it as a slight to the legislature and the public of the province.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 5th May 1923. No. 18, p. 239).

Tribune, 1 May 1923

The *Tribune* of the 1st May writes: –

“The same bureaucratic defiance of public opinion, lack of imagination and narrow outlook, which characterised the wholly indefensible proceedings at the Guru-ka-Bagh, colour and disfigure the present action of the Government and materially minimize the good effect which it would otherwise have produced on the public mind. ... These prisoners are not released because the Government attaches any weight to the resolution of the Council, or because justice and equity demanded their release. Nor does the Government appear to have ordered the release of these men out of deference to public opinion. ... The other unfortunate part of the announcement is the exception made in regard ‘to persons who have been guilty of serious prison offences while in jail.’ ... These so-called serious prison offences were nothing else but shouting *Sat Sri Akal*, wearing black turbans, refusing to work, resorting to hunger strike and so on. To describe these as serious prison offences is the height of absurdity, and if no more serious prison offences are alleged against these prisoners, the only explanation we can find for their not being released is the anxiety to maintain official prestige and avoid the impression, as Sir John Maynard put it, that the release of the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners is not due to weakness of the Government.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 5th May 1923. No. 18, p. 239).

Khalsa, 2 May 1923

The *Khalsa* of the 2nd May congratulates the Government on its action in releasing the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners, even though most of them had served nearly two-thirds of their sentences; for the reason that the proceeding betokens the dawn of returning sense. Again, the reason assigned by it for its action shown that it has fully realised its mistake and wishes to employ all possible means to take itself out of a quagmire. The event also breeds the hope that the Government has thoroughly realised that its opposition to the Gurdwara movement was a mistake. We would urge it to set free the remaining prisoners also

and take in hand a (second) Gurdwara Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 5th May 1923. No. 18, p. 239).

Partap, 2 May 1923

Writing about the release of the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners, the *Partap* of the 2nd May remarks that although the action taken by the Government is commendable it has lost much of its value owing to its having been delayed. Moreover, the reason assigned for the release is not only ridiculous, but regrettable as well, for it means that the Government has not cared even a straw for the Punjab Legislative Council resolution recommending the release of these prisoners or for public opinion so clearly expressed in this connection. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 249).

Paisa Akhbar, 2 May 1923

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd May remarks that the event is indicative of a conciliatory policy on the part of the Government. It is to be hoped that the proceeding will have a salutary effect on the Sikhs and that in future they will as a class do nothing likely to disturb the peace or lead to the breach of the law. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 249).

Bande Mataram, 3 May 1923

The *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd May says that the Government is releasing Akali prisoner simply because some of their co-religionists have helped it at Amritsar. We can congratulate neither the Government nor the Akalis on this. Besides, what joy can the Sikh community feel at the release of these prisoners when its jewels like Sardar Kharak Singh, Sardar Amar Singh, Sardar Sardul Singh and others are still in jail and suffering unspeakable oppression? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 250).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 3 May 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 3rd May writes that the delay caused in taking action and the fact that other Akali prisoners are still rotting in jail takes all the grace out of the proceeding. Besides, the release of the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners cannot make us forget the atrocities perpetrated in the Multan jail. Oppressions like these have not so far been read about or heard of. In another place the paper asks why the reward for the services of Akalis outside jails has been given to their brethren confined in prisons. Will the bureaucracy release Mahatma Gandhi to-morrow as a reward for a good deed done by a Hindu? And even if it is granted that the Akalis who helped in the restoration of peace at Amritsar like their reward to be in the shape which it has taken, why have not all Akali

prisoners been set free? Why has a distinction been made between the Guru-ka-Bagh and other Akali prisoners? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 250).

***Siyasat*, 3 May 1923**

The *Siyasat* of the 3rd May remarks that perhaps the Government wishes to win the Sikhs over to its side. What had the Guru-ka-Bagh incident to do with the restoration of peace at Amritsar? The fact of the matter is that the Government had become tired of keeping the Akalis in jail and was seeking for a pretext to release them. We feel sure that the Akalis will not allow themselves to be deceived: they should know that the event is due not to any kindness on the part of the Government but to its weakness. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 250).

***Tribune*, 9 and 11 January 1924**

The *Tribune* says that the persons arrested might or might not have been guilty of a technical offence; but the police of letting them alone, which the Government had followed in spite of its indefensible proclamation of the S.G.P.C. under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, was the wisest in the circumstances. When will the Government realise that it is not the technicalities of the law but the demands of expediency and statesmanship which ought to be the determining factor in such cases? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 19).

***Babar Sher*, 27 June 1924**

The *Babar Sher* learns from a gentleman recently returned from Burma that the jail authorities there have received order to release all prisoner who have served 3/4ths of their sentences. He states that this is being done to make room for Akali prisoners from the Punjab, who will then be away from the eyes of the Sikhs and could be subjected to all kinds of tyrannies and rigours. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924*, No. 26, p. 227).

***Punjab Darpan*, 18 July 1924**

The *Punjab Darpan* states that rumours are in circulation that the Punjab Government will transport two lakh Akalis to Burma and all Sikh leaders will be banished to foreign countries. But so long as a single Sikh is alive it is difficult for the bureaucrats to seize their *gurdwaras*. Government should banish all Sikhs to the wilds of Siberia where they might for a colony of their own and then the bureaucracy might take the *gurdwaras*. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th July 1924*, No. 30, p. 250).

Punjab Darpan, 26 September 1924

According to the *Punjab Darpan* the courts of these days merely register the decrees of the bureaucracy. It is immaterial whether or not an Akali accused is guilty; the only concern of the courts is to award him a heavy sentence. Jailors, Police officers, Zaildars, Lambardars, Honorary and stipendiary Magistrates are all convinced that their advancement depends on their getting Akalis arrested and sentenced to heavy punishments. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 4th October 1924, No. 40, p. 317*).

Loyal Gazette, 26 October 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* tells Government that the Akalis wish the Gurdwara movement to come to an end soon. As many as 25,000 of their co-religionists have gone to jail and they have suffered all sorts of hardships and troubles for the attainment of this object. Certain interested persons, however, fear lest the Akalis and Government should come to a settlement and they should lose their means of support. They spare no pains in submitting wrong reports to Government and prejudicing it against the Akalis and the Gurdwara reform movement. The policy of "divide and crush" has emboldened these men. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924, No. 44, p. 346*).

12 Trials of Sikh Leaders***Tribune, 17 March 1923***

The *Tribune* of the 17th March writes: –

"Our first word must be an expression of surprise at the protracted nature of the proceedings. The accused had been in custody for exactly 6 months and 16 days. At least one of them is now found to have been innocent; the same finding might conceivably have been recorded as regards all seven. Who would have compensated them for their unmerited suffering for so long a period of six months, if it had? Who is to compensate even the one accused who has actually been found by the magistrate to have been innocent, and whose period of suffering has been only two hours less than that of the 6 persons whom the magistrate has found guilty? ... Our second word must be a similar expression of surprise at the nature of the sentence passed by the magistrate. The period for which a person is usually sentenced is either so many years, months or weeks. In this case the accused are sentenced to just 6 months and 16 days – exactly the period for which they have been in jail – not a day more or less. Had the magistrate started with the deliberate object of saving the face of the

prosecution, he could scarcely have acted differently." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 24th March 1923. No. 12, pp. 157–158).

***Partap*, 17 March 1923**

The *Partap* of the 17th March writes that the Government is in an awkward position. If the accused had been acquitted the Government would not have known how to deal with the Akali prisoners who are in jails for similar offences. The order of the court is intended only to extricate the Government from an awkward position. The proper course for the Government to adopt was to release all the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners as soon as it had made over the shrine to the Parbandhak Committee. It did not do so and the result is that it has had to suffer shame on every occasion. We cannot congratulate the Government on the theatrical performance which it started six months ago. It appears that the reins of the Punjab Government are not now held by sensible people. Mistake after mistake is being committed, with the result that the gulf between the rulers and the ruled is being widened. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 24th March 1923. No. 12, p. 158).

***Loyal Gazette*, 6 May 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 6th May says that the reason assigned by the Government for the release of the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners is most ridiculous. If the Government had been as pleased with the Shiromani Committee as it professes to be it would have first of all released the President of the latter, *viz.*, Sardar Kharak Singh, its Vice-President, Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal, and the members of its Working Committee – Gyani Sher Singh, Sardar Hari Singh and others. Again, why has an invidious distinction been made between the Guru-ka-Bagh and other Akali prisoners? The only way to improve the situation is to release all Akali prisoners and pass a Gurdwara law acceptable to the whole community. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 263).

***Akali*, 26 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 26th October 1923 writes that in deciding to hold the trial of Sikh leaders *in camera* Government is actuated by the fear of its deceptions being exposed. Will this case be tried *in camera* and in the house of murderers because justice will be murdered there? Lord Reading murdered statesmanship and justice by consigning Mahatma Gandhi to jail. In the bloody drama of Guru-ka-Bagh, nobility, humanity and civilization were murdered. In meting injustice to the Maharaja of Nabha all treaties and the fundamental laws of

constitution were murdered. By stopping the *akhandpath* in Jaito, insulting the gurdwara, the diwan and Sangat, religion and spirituality were murdered. Now by bringing the charge of rebellion against the Shiromani Committee, accusing it of waging war against the King and declaring the *Jathabandi* of the Sikh Panth to be unlawful, Government has attacked its own judgement and the Providence of God. There are signs to show that whatever justice remains in the bloody houses of the murderers will now be murdered. We would advise Lord Reading that if he denies the Providence of God and wishes to exert his powers, and if in his opinion righteousness and justice can be tested on the touchstone merely of guns, machine-(guns) and bombs, he should deport without enquiry the authorities of the Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal under Bengal Regulation No. xxx of 1818 so that the world may witness the bier of law, justice and statesmanship of Government and every person should shed tears of blood. In the bloody history of the martyrs of India, the account of the murder of justice should be written in characters of blood. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 584).

Babar Sher, 26 October 1923

The *Babar Sher* says that it is no secret now that the myrmidons of the bureaucracy had a hand in the massacre of two hundred Akalis at Nankana Sahib, that is, a conspiracy was hatched with Naranu for the massacre of Akalis. It was also in consequence of a conspiracy with the Mahant of Guru-ka-Bagh that they were beaten and arrested. Dr. Bakhshish Singh goes about saying openly that conspiracy was laid to entangle the Maharaja of Nabha in which the doctor was made to prepare bombs. Secret plots were hatched to wrest his State from the lord of Nabha and the simultaneous arrest of all the leading workers of the S.G.P.C. is also the result of a broad and deep-lad conspiracy to destroy the very existence of the Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 18).

Tribune, 28 October 1923

The *Tribune* of the 28th October writes: –

“We must enter our strong and empathic protest against the decision to hold the Akali leaders’ trial in the Amritsar jail instead of in the ordinary court. ... The fact that the case in connection with which this procedure has been resorted to is one of the greatest importance, one that which no other case in these many months has excited public interest in a large measure, makes the decision of Government all the more amazing and indefensible. We do hope better sense will yet prevail and that in its subsequent stages the trial will be held in the ordinary Criminal Court.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 585).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 20 November 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* observes that the brain of the bureaucracy has turned, seeing that it charges Risaldar Sunder Singh, *ex-President* of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, with sedition and also grants him a medal for good conduct. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st December 1923*, No. 49, p. 628).

***Tribune*, 21 and 23 November 1923**

The Akali leaders' case at Amritsar continue to attract general attention. The *Tribune* reproduces from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) the contributions of its representative, in which the whole country is asked to cast in its lot with their Akali brethren who are not only fighting for the purification of their own religion and the management of their own religious institutions, but also to create a real force in the country to check all oppression and unrighteousness, to educate the general public to learn to work under one organization and to show in a practical way how Satyagraha and non-violence can be practised. Vital questions of far reaching importance are involved in this matter. Liberty of the press, freedom of speech and the right of association are involved. It is no longer a religious question or a Nabha question exclusively. Neither the Congress nor the Khilafat Committee can afford to remain idle spectators, nor absolve their duty by merely sympathizing with the Akalis, but they should actually join and make common cause with them. The correspondent is fully satisfied with the leaders' decision who have unanimously accepted the challenge of the Government on principle and definitely committed themselves to render all possible assistance to their Sikh brethren. The papers publish Lala Lajpat Rai's appeal as President of the Akali Defence Committee, a body different from the Akali Sahayak Committee formed at the leaders' conference. The *Tribune* associates itself with the appeal whose object is to organise and help in the legal defence of the leaders under trial, a perfectly legitimate, constitutional and lawful object. But this is only one-half of its object, the other and equally important half being, by means of propaganda both Indian and foreign, to place the whole truth about the Sikh situation before the world. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th November 1923*, No. 48, p. 620).

***Babar Sher*, 9 December 1923**

The *Babar Sher* remarks that the proposed transfer of the leaders' case from Amritsar to Lahore with neither result in economy nor end the alleged intimidation of witnesses by the Akalis at the latter place. The case had better be tried in England instead of India. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th December 1923*, No. 51, p. 644).

Gurdwara, 19 December 1923

The *Gurdwara* alleges that Government is trying to produce false witnesses against the accused. Bhai Teja Singh Buchchar [Bhuchar] and Bhai Kartar Singh, who refused to do this mean work, have been thrown into jail. The ex-employees of the Gurdwara Committee are being offered various temptations to do this dirty work and any one refusing to do it is threatened with imprisonment. What difference is there between such a rule and the regime of Nadir Shah? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924, No. 1, p. 9*).

Tribune, 18 January 1924

The *Tribune* remarks that the announcement that the second batch of the S.G.P.C. arrested members will not defend themselves in court serves as an indication of the further blow that has been given to people's already weakening faith in the administration of justice in this country. The allow police investigation in a case to proceed outside along with the trial of the case inside the court, with the result that the prosecution is enabled at any stage to supply the link which appears to be missing or which the defence has shattered by cross-examination, is alone sufficient to impress an accused person with the futility of defending himself. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924, No. 3, pp. 27-28*).

Punjab Darpan, 19 January 1924

The *Punjab Darpan* observes that if the members of the Punjab Legislative Council who play into the hands of the bureaucracy are allowed to squander public money any further, the country will be involved in the throes of disorder, the responsibility for which will be at the door of both the bureaucracy and the Concillors. Again, it is strange that while Government professes to have run short of funds and is raising loans it is also bent on spending lakhs on worthless cases in order to crush the religious movement of the Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th January 1924, No. 4, p. 36*).

Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate, 22 January 1924

The *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* remarks that when a bureaucracy cannot deviate a community from its ideal even by striking its members with bludgeons and bayonets, trampling them under the hoofs of horses, crushing them under railway engines, causing them to be burnt alive in kilns after sprinkling oil on them, getting them hacked to pieces and their bodies turned into minced meat and subjecting them to other tortures, it resorts to diplomatic tactics to gain its end. We have learnt from a reliable source that Government has hit upon

a new move to destroy our religious movement, *viz.*, to cause dissensions in the community by employing its agents to create against all the prominent workers of the S.G.P.C. the suspicion that they are C.I.D. men in league with Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd February 1924*, No. 5, pp. 42–43).

***Loyal Gazette*, 10 February 1924**

In criticising the statement of the *Bande Mataram* that the conduct of the Akali leaders in defending themselves against the charges preferred against them was totally opposed to Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-cooperation and non-violence, the *Loyal Gazette* retorts that the paper itself offered defence in the liberal suits brought against it, opposed the boycott of the Councils and did not utter a word of protest when Lala Duni Chand, Barrister-at-law, and other Congressmen resumed practice. It wants to create misunderstandings against the Akali leaders in the name of the principle of non-cooperation, which it has itself broken and which has been abandoned by the whole Swaraj party. The Akalis possess sufficient intelligence and can see through the trickery of the *Bande Mataram*. They also know that the Akali leaders have offered a defence under the orders of the Shiromani Committee. The very nature of the charges brought against them demands that a defence should be offered. The case is a veritable godsend for bringing to light the excesses committed by Government in connection with the Nabha affair and the Babbar Akali movement. The illegal acts committed by Government during the trial will also be brought to light and a recital of them will startled the whole civilised world. Fear of Government prevents the *Bande Mataram* even from publishing the *communiqué* issued by the Parbandhak Committee. What right has it, then to create misunderstandings against the Akali leaders? Do not shoot arrows at us at this critical juncture. Do not stir up civil war among the Akalis with the object of strengthening the hands of our enemies. We have not started this war of non-violence by relying on your support. God willing, we will achieve victory single-handed. Do not think that by collaborating with Government or helping it indirectly you can harm us or check our movement. We do not consider you more powerful than Government. If we defeat Government by our sacrifices we shall get over your opposition also. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th February 1924*, No. 7, pp. 58–59).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 1 March 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* learns that the Sikh leaders will now be tried in the Lahore Fort. They will be the guests of the bureaucracy in the fort which was once the seat of the throne of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The whirligig of time has brought

them to a place befitting their position and dignity. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 99).

Gurdwara, 8 March 1924

The *Gurdwara* writes in a Supplement that it is rumoured in official circles that government is thinking of withdrawing the case against the first batch of Sikh leaders and banishing some of them from the country. It has perhaps come to realise that it cannot prove the charge of sedition against them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 118).

Akali, 12 March 1924

The *Akali* asserts that according to a correspondent, these patriotic people [the Sikh leaders] are immured in a cell at 6:30 PM and taken out at 6:30 AM. The result is that they cannot rise early and perform their daily religious services. This is tantamount to interfering in their religion. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 109).

Kesari, 2 April 1924

The *Kesari* publishes a message from one of the convicts, Amar Singh, ex-editor of the *Loyal Gazette*, who says that he never expected anything better from Government. He exhorts his friends to unite and sacrifice themselves to shield their *gurdwaras* from insult, religion from ruin, nation from disgrace, and the Akali movement from destruction. They must, with their united strength, fly away from the net spread for their community to prevent their falling victims to "the fowler of death." If they march onwards in great numbers, the gates of jails will open; otherwise the Sikhs imprisoned there will die and those outside suffer living and ignominious death. They must either effect the release of Sardar Kharak Singh, Mahtab Singh and other servants of the Panth or offer themselves for arrest at the gates of jails in large numbers. No nation can be effaced by oppression and tyranny. While remaining non-violent, they must not tarry on the path of sacrifice taken by them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924*, No. 14, p. 131).

Loyal Gazette, 20 April 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* says that the court has not even observed the usual formalities of law. The case should be referred to some international commission and the Gurdwara Committee should send copies of judgement to the newspapers of England, America, Afghanistan, Italy and Turkey to enable the world to see what kind of justice is administered by British courts. Some Sikh members

of the Punjab Legislative Council should also move that all cases decided by Sardar Hardyal Singh under sections 17 (1) and 17 (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act during the last six months be referred to three Indian Judges of the High Court and their verdict obtained as to the Sardar's fitness for retention in the Judicial Department. The paper has lost all confidence in British courts and considers it futile to appeal against such flagrant injustice as is committed by Hardyal Singh. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 154).

Sardar, 20 November 1924

The *Sardar* remarks that the representatives of the bureaucratic Government, from the highest down to the lowest, always try to excel one another in raising the cry of law and justice. The British Government is also fond of impressing on the world by means of proclamations that it loves law and justice. The examples of law and justice which Lord Reading is presenting to the world are well known. The arbitrary and savage acts which the bureaucracy is committing to suppress the Akali movement and destroy the Sikh heroes go to show how far our rulers really love law and justice. The manner in which the bureaucracy has disgraced the law by declaring the sole representative body of the Sikhs, *i.e.*, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, to be an unlawful association constitutes a black page in the history of the British Government in India, on studying which future generations of the English will have to hang their heads in shame. At the suggestion of the Government Advocate, Mr. Anderson, who is hearing the case of the Akali leaders in the Lahore Fort, we learn with surprise, turned out of the court-room Press reporters and other men who had gone there to hear the case. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd November 1924*, No. 47, p. 370).

13 Treatment of Prisoners

***Khalsa Advocate*, 10 June 1921**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th June writes: –

“We invite the immediate attention of the Government to the statements in the press of the highly provoking and grossly insulting treatment being meted out to Sikh prisoners at the hands of the jail authorities of the Montgomery Central Jail. Their mendacious audacity is stated to have risen to such a high degree of temperature as to force the Sikh prisoners to salam them by taking off their turbans. His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan will thus be able to see

how the subordinate Government officers are undoing what the Government has done in the past to ally the Sikh unrest." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 11th June 1921, No. 23, p. 251).

***Panth Sewak*, 1 March 1922**

"A POLITICAL PRISONER AT MADRAS" writes to the *Panth Sewak* of the 1st March that the severities practiced on the Sikh prisoners there are greater than those perpetrated at Port Blair. No arrangements exist for medical aid for them in case of illness. What greater severity could there be than the flogging of Bhai Jwala Singh and others? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 18th March 1922. No. 11, p. 130).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 13 April 1922**

A correspondent of the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 13th April states that the diet of all the political prisoners in the Ferozepore jail has been changed to that of ordinary prisoners for the offence of shouting *Sat Siri Akal*. The diet is not worth looking at. Interviews have also been stopped. Among the prisoners concerned there are men who have never delivered a lecture or said a word against the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 29th April 1922. No. 17, p. 200).

***Bande Mataram*, 21 May 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st May complains of the attitude of the jail officials towards political prisoners. The former are on the look-out for pretexts to punish the latter. Jailors and even Superintendents of Jails sometimes disregard humanity and morality in their dealings with the prisoners. Unfortunately, the reins of the country are in the hands of incapable and merciless men and there is no chance of the present state of affairs improving. The paper learns that the report that the hunger strike of the Sikh prisoners, who were imprisoned in the Jullundur Cantonment for keeping *kirpans*, has come to an end is not reliable. The number of prisoners who were on strike on Sunday and Monday is stated to be above one thousand. The revelations made about the Lucknow jail are very painful. One death has already taken place there. It is stated that prisoners have been deprived of their lungis, though they cannot offer prayers with half trousers. Besides, they were handcuffed and their beards were forcibly cut. They think this is an attack on Islam. Fasting prisoners are kept standing in the sun. A jail official, being displeased with two volunteers, had them beaten so severely that blood came out of their mouths, ears and noses. After being beaten, they were punished with solitary imprisonment. Attempts are made to secure written statements from the prisoners that they

are living comfortably. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 3rd June 1922. No. 22, pp. 254–255).

***Akali*, 21 May 1922**

The *Akali* of the 21st May refers to the hunger strike in the Lahore Central Jail and says that the demands of the strikers number nearly fifty. Some of these concern the Punjab Government but the major portion can be satisfied by the jail officials according to existing rules. The Government should give speedy attention to the matter and thereby save many precious lives from useless destruction. Such brutalities will not happen under swaraj, but if the beloved of the Guru dies in the attempt to reform the jails, the stone-heartedness of the present Government will go down in history and be exposed before the whole world. Do not the Punjab Government, the Councillors and the Ministers realise that any disagreeable incident will bring them ever-lasting shame? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 3rd June 1922. No. 22, p. 255).

***Qaum Parast*, 21 May 1922**

The *Qaum Parast* of the 21st May reports that in the Lahore Central Jail 15 military Sikh prisoners are on hunger strike since the 7th May. Some of them are in a critical state and are passing blood. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 3rd June 1922. No. 22, p. 255).

***Shamsher*, 17 August 1922**

The *Shamsher* of the 17th August remarks that reports received from the Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh jails say that the jail officers did not allow Muhammadan prisoners to pronounce *azan* and when the latter refused to obey the order of the former they were punished according to jail regulations. It is needless to mention how common the practice of injuring the religious feelings of Sikhs has become in these days by depriving them of the *kirpan*. Report has also been received that the sacred thread of Radha Mohan Gokalji, founder of the Asahyug Ashram, Nagpur, has been removed. When the Islamic religious practices are thus insulted and no pain is spared in disgracing Sikh and Hindu religions, how far is it right to assert that the Government does not interfere with religious matters? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 26th August 1922. No. 34, p. 404).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 24 November 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 24th November writes: –

“We invite the immediate attention of the Punjab Government to the facts stated in a recent press *communiqué* issued by the Shiromani Committee with

regard to the specified instances of ill-treatment in the Jhang and Attock Fort jails. We think it is time now to take deterrent action to make their recrudescence a remote possibility. For the Government should remember that the Akalis now placed in jails are no misdemeanors of a criminal type. They are rather a class of religious enthusiasts who are mostly men of means and social status and whose sacrifices have been prompted from the best of motives. The bitter memory of the most barbarous and indecent treatment now being meted out to them in His Majesty's jails will leave such heart-burning and ill-feeling to be nursed for a long time to come as will prove not very conducive to the promotion and cultivation of good-will between the two adjuncts of the administration of the country. The details surely are of a very shocking and revolting nature and the interests of good government and the dictates of humanity require that the sooner they are put an end to by an executive action the better." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, pp. 594-595).

***Tribune*, 28 November 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 28th November writes: –

“Both the *communiqué* (of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee) and the telegram (from a Sikh gentleman published in the issue of Sunday last) state that one of the Akali prisoners has died at Attock, while the telegram adds that 82 more prisoners are ill, two of them dangerously. We put it to the Government that this is far too serious a state of things for them to keep silent about and that the silence that they have maintained during the last few days has done an indescribable harm already. The public mind is in a state of grave disquiet, which, coming on the top of all that has happened during the last three months, can only materially aggravate a situation almost as bad as bad could be. In this matter of the Akalis the authorities have from the first unfortunately proceeded from one mistake to another, and even when they have done the right thing they have usually taken all the grace out of it by being too late. Is it too much to hope that they will turn over a new leaf even now and by one supreme courageous stroke of statesmanship try to recover the ground they have lost? Why cannot an immediate conciliatory statement disclosing all the facts of this deplorable case be made at once, accompanied by a promise to mete out such exemplary justice as the situation may call for, and why cannot all the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners be released now that the matter is settled, as all the keys prisoners were released in a batch when that matter was settled?” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 595).

***Tribune*, 29 November 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 29th November says: –

“The circumstances under which twenty-two Akali prisoners are alleged to have been recently released from the Lahore Borstal jail do appear us to call for an immediate enquiry and an authoritative explanation. Several of these prisoners appear to have been seriously ill at the time when they were released, while one died soon after his release. No wonder that the impression should prevail that the release of the men at the particular time was due to the anxiety of some officials or officials to avoid the consequence of the treatment to which they are alleged to have been subjected. We have no hesitation in saying that this impression will continue to prevail unless and until a more satisfactory explanation is forthcoming.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 607).

***Zamindar*, 1 December 1922**

The *Zamindar* of the 1st December writes that the Akalis in the Attock fort are being subjected to suffering with the object of compelling them to apologise (to the Government). Is this the just and humane treatment of which Sir John Maynard so often boasts? In the matter of jail persecutions the present Government in India have thrown into the background the persecution of the Dark Ages and inflicted severe sufferings on the Akalis for their readiness to make the greatest sacrifices for the sake of their religious rights. The shocking atrocities perpetrated at Guru-ka-Bagh and the sufferings inflicted by the jail authorities, which have melted the heart of the whole world, have not moved the representatives of the British Government in India in the least. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 607).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 1 December 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 1st December says: –

“Close at the heels of the death of Bhai Hari Singh in the Amritsar jail have followed the deaths of two more Akali prisoners from sufferings in the Lahore and Attock jails. All these are attributed by the Shiromani Committee to the chill and cold contracted by the deceased accommodated in *chholdaris* [small tents] with an inadequate supply of warm clothing and blankets. This culpable neglect of duty on behalf of the Jail Department has been widely commented upon in the columns of almost the entire provincial Indian press and yet the Government has not seen its way either to issue a satisfactory explanation of these sorrowful happenings or by improving the clothing arrangements to put a stop to them. This deplorable state of affairs surely does not

reflect well on the resourcefulness of the Government. Are we to understand that Government has become wantonly callous to suffering and grown careless of all considerations of humanity in willfully exposing the helpless victims to the inclemencies of the weather in order to give them a lesson? In case the Government is incapable to make adequate arrangements for the necessary supply of warm clothing we would invite its attention to the offer made by the Shiromani Committee in its latest *communiqué*." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 608).

***Tribune*, 2 December 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 2nd December writes: –

"In a *communiqué*, the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee refers to the case of a prisoner who, it states, had been released from the Borstal jail on November 27th and left lying outside the jail in a condition of high fever and who being unable to move lay there with indifferent covering in severe pain and agony from morning till evening when some official taking pity on him phoned to the Lahore Gurdwara Committee and asked them to take him away. The case is specific in all its details and we should like very much to know what explanation the authorities have to offer. ... The whole thing calls for a searching enquiry and an immediate explanation, especially in view of the fact that this is not the first case in which this very complain has been made, that in at least one case a man is actually known to have died soon after his release. If the Punjab Government has any regard for public opinion, it should put an immediate end to this sort of thing and should issue a statement both informing the public what action it has taken regarding the allegations made against the jail authorities and reassuring it regarding the future. A word about the blankets. The Committee tell us that the blankets besides being insufficient are thread-bare and have big holes here and there, to boot. We have seen one of these blankets ourselves and have no hesitation in corroborating the statement." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 607).

***Tribune*, 3 December 1922**

Commenting on the Punjab Government press *communiqué* about the treatment of Akali prisoners at Attock, the *Tribune* of the 3rd December states: –

"How has the Government arrived at the conclusions which it has just made public? Did it hold an enquiry of its own through an officer unconnected with the jail – which is the very least that the Government can do in such a case pending fuller enquiry by an independent Committee – or has it in this matter only relied upon the version supplied to it by the men on the spot? Secondly

were the prisoners left without water for two nights and one day by way of punishment for their refusal to bring water, or because the authorities were unable to get water brought for them from that distance? If the first, do the authorities maintain that this was the best of the most suitable form of punishment to them for their alleged offence, assuming that it was a jail offence at all? Is this punishment provided for by the jail rules? If the second, does the state of things reflect credit on those responsible for the administration of the jail? One last word. The *communiqué* says that there was no *general* beating of the prisoners, hanging from trees, etc. Does the use of the word *general* mean that some of the prisoners were treated in the manner alleged?" (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, pp. 607-608).

Siyasat, 6 December 1922

The *Siyasat* of the 6th December says that either the Government can withdraw the Gurdwara Bill and release all the Akali prisoners or it can again try to force the Akalis to obey it. It will have to face no difficulties if it adopts the former course; but in the other event the Akalis will restart their struggle and the Government will again have to search for some Knight to wriggle out a difficult position. Signs are not wanting to show that the Government is not prepared to tread the right path. The Deputy Commissioner of Attock refused to see the Parbandhak Committee's messenger in the matter of the alleged oppression on the Akalis there. Again an Akali prisoner called Nikka Singh, who was suffering from fever, was turned out of the Borstal jail, Lahore, with no one to look after him. Nor is this all; the trying Magistrate has acquitted the six constables who were prosecuted for beating two Akalis at Tera village to death. Incidents like the above show that the Government has not as yet realised its mistake and that it wishes to sacrifice the interest of the Sikhs at the altar of its prestige. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th December 1922. No. 50, p. 624).

Tribune, 29 December 1922

The *Tribune* of the 29th December writes: -

"The *communiqué* attacks the finding of the visitors that there was a general beating of the prisoner by jail officials at the time of arresting the alleged ring-leaders and pushing back the prisoners, on the ground that the jail staff 'was so slender that there was no possibility of a general beating of prisoners in the mutinous mood shown by the latter.' To realise the utter untenableness of this position, it is enough to remember that the number of prisoners, whose 'mutinous mood' and 'general disturbance' the 'slender' jail staff succeeded in quelling, was no less than 1,400. It is taxing public credulity a bit too much

to assert that about 20 or 30 unarmed individuals could succeed in putting down a general disturbance, in which no less than 1,400 sturdy stalwart mutinous Sikh prisoners, armed with various crude weapons, took part. The more probable explanation seems to be that the prisoners were unarmed, that they were not in a mutinous mood and did not resist the orders given to them, that they remained perfectly non-violent, that they offered no opposition and that the mutinous disturbance did not exist except in the imagination of some of the jail officials, who created and provoked general resentment amongst the prisoners whose religious susceptibilities they consciously or unconsciously wounded by their imposing one of the most harsh punishments prescribed by Jail Rules for the utterance by a few prisoners, who are in jail for their religious opinions, of the words *Sat Sri Akal*. A perusal of the official *communiqué* leaves no doubt in our mind that the findings of the visitors were absolutely justified by the evidence placed before them by the jail officials and the statements of prisoners examined by them. The fact that the jail authorities were not able to produce one single prisoner, out of no less a number than 1,400, to support their version of the affair lends support to the same view and throws more than ordinary doubt on the correctness of the official version. To dress up that version in the form of a Government *communiqué* does not make any differences and is only indicative of the present day tendency on the part of high officials to support their underlings through thick and thin." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, pp. 13-14).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 6 January 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 6th January asks why if in regard to the complaints about the Attock jail the Government had only to rely on the report of the jail officers, it sent two respectable gentlemen there and then insulted them. If it is in the right we challenge it to appoint an open and impartial enquiry commission. The result of the enquiry by the gentlemen referred to has been that increased rigour has begun to be practiced in the Attock jail and the officials are bent upon wreaking their vengeance of the Sikhs. An immediate but non-violent attack should be delivered to bring the Government to its knees. There is no other way to make this arrogant Government recover its senses. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 13th January 1923. No. 2, p. 28).

Khalsa, 11 January 1923

The *Khalsa* of the 11th January remarks that if the reports received by the Shiromani Committee about the treatment accorded to the Akali prisoners at Attock are correct, the officials of the Attock jail are engaged in banishing peace and order from the country and such higher authorities as have overlooked the acts of high-handedness mentioned in the reports are not the

friends of the British Government. We consider it wholly impossible for an ordinary person to make even the greatest criminal wear standing hand-cuffs in a state of nudity in the severe cold of Attock. It is one thing to punish a person to maintain law and order, but such oppressive acts are certain to create feelings of extreme hatred against the Government in the mind, not only of every Sikh, but of every Indian as well. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 20th January 1923. No. 3, p. 43).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 18 January 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 18th January remarks that the flogging of Sikh prisoners in the Attock and Multan jails and the subjection of Sardar Mangal Singh and Giani Sher Singh to unbearable tortures go to show that the Gurdwara reform movement is an eyesore to the bureaucracy and that the last-named wishes to deal such a blow with its rod of oppression as may crush the whole movement. Again, the Government affords protection to the Mahants only with the object of using them as puppets. The police spent the money of Mahant Sundar Das, the Gurdwara at Guru-ka-Bagh has been taken by its (real) proprietors and the Mahant himself is now in hiding. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th January 1923. No. 4, pp. 58–59).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 31 January 1923**

In another place the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of 31st January] writes that the climax of oppression has been reached in the Ambala jail, where the Sikh prisoners have not been allowed to read the sacred Granth Sahib, which is not only an outrage on religion, but also goes against the jail rules. They have gone on hunger strike by way of protest and 70 of them are lying in a state of unconsciousness. We cannot understand, however, why they should resort to hunger-strike, which can move only human beings having some sense of shame? What effect can it have on the shameless brutes who starved McSwiney, the distinguished Irish leader, to death? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 10th February 1923. No. 6, p. 85).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 2 March 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 2nd March writes: –

“In its *communiqué* issued from day to day, the Shiromani Committee continues to complain of the ill-treatment, and indifferent treatment, being meted out to the Gurdwara or Kirpan prisoners and Sikh prisoners suffering from various maladies. All this is being deliberately done, runs the sense of the s.g.c.’s *communiqué*, to force them to tender apologies. The Committee cites specific instance with specific complaints and all this furnished a sad commentary on the loudly proclaimed humanitarian methods of administering law and

justice. Would that the Government realise the result of these mistakes that are being committed by the officials consciously or unconsciously." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 10th March 1923. No. 10, p. 128).

Khalsa, 11 April 1923

The *Khalsa* of the 11th April states that the *communiqués* issued by the Shiromani Committee about the ill-treatment of Akali prisoners and the statements made by men released from jails are creating feelings of great disaffection for the Government in the hearts of the Sikhs. It is to the interests of the Government itself that the allegations should be enquired into by a committee consisting of both officials and non-officials and any officials proved to have been to blame should be suitably dealt with. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th April 1923. No. 15, p. 196).

Bande Mataram, 12 April 1923

The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th April remarks that the statements issued by the Parbandhak Committee and the Punjab Congress Publicity Bureau show that the jail authorities at Multan have far outdone the officers of other jails in practising rigours (on Akali prisoners). The stories narrated by released Akali prisoners are very painful and it is necessary to carry on a vigorous agitation against these savage oppressions. It is true that the Akalis did not go to jail in the belief that prisons were palaces of luxury. Nevertheless, this does not entitle the authorities to accord a shameful and cowardly treatment to these prisoners. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st April 1923. No. 16, p. 210).

Tribune, 13 April 1923

The *Tribune* of the 13th April writes: –

“We have received more statements about the alleged ill-treatment of Akali prisoners in the Multan jail. ... They do appear to us to call for an immediate and searching enquiry, not by isolated non-official visitor, but by an independent committee, whose verdict may be trusted to command public confidence. The least serious of these statements, let it be remembered, are as follows: – ‘A serious and determined campaign has been started to wring apologies. Ordinary criminals and felons have been replaced by Akalis in working at the oil press, well pump, grind-stone and pounding the *munj*. The amount of work assigned to Akalis is about double that taken from the worst criminals. For instance, one man has to grind 18 seers of corn within four hours.’ It is also stated that released Akalis with marks of severe beating on their bodies have reached the office of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. We do

hope the Punjab Government will realise the seriousness of the situation and will lose no time in directing an independent and searching enquiry into the matter." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st April 1923. No. 16, pp. 210–211).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 13 April 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 13th April writes: –

“Among the press *communiqués* recently issued by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, some contain serious allegations of thrashing and maltreatment in many other abominable ways being meted out to Akali prisoners in the Multan jail. In these *communiqués* not only accusations of general and vague character have been brought forward, but specific names and instances have also been given. Under such circumstances, we think the higher authorities will find no difficulty in finding out the truth or otherwise of those allegations. These allegations, serious as they are, together with the harrowing tales of woe which are being daily related by the released Akali prisoners, not only pain and lacerate the Sikhs’ hearts to a bleeding point but are likely to generate much disaffection against the Government. We, therefore, think that it will be more in the interests of the Government itself to institute a sifting inquiry into all these and other allegations of more or less similar nature through a Committee containing officials and non-officials and if the Government officials be found guilty of the barbarities complained of to award them deterrent punishment. We think it extremely unwise from the point of view of expediency even to have transferred the Superintendent and the Jailor of the Attock jail to Multan.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st April 1923. No. 16, p. 211).

***Nation*, 15 April 1923**

The *Nation* of the 15th April writes under the heading “To His Excellency”: –

“With due sense of responsibility we call your Excellency’s attention to the strange rumours which are on everybody’s lips regarding the brutal treatment being meted out to Akali prisoners in certain jails in the Punjab. ... If the rumours are true, if it is certain that men are being beaten to unconsciousness before their release and while they are in that condition, their thumb-marks are affixed to documents alleging to be apologies and condonations, if it is certain that some Akalis are being made to do manual work all day long in the sun and that some of them in the hands of perverse jailers are given fancy punishments such as ducking and the like, your Excellency’s responsibility is indeed great. And we feel constrained to remark that if the allegations made by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee in the *communiqués* recently

published by it are true your responsibility is indeed as serious. In the Punjab the press has been terrorized by the threat of civil damages and independent criticism and public exposure of scandals have become well-nigh impossible. Nevertheless, believing as we do that brutality must be put down and the cause of suffering humanity espoused at all cost we shall be compelled, your Excellency, in the public interest, to make known the horrors which rumour alleges are being perpetrated in certain jails in the Punjab, if your Excellency and your colleagues suffer either these rumours to go unchallenged or allow the facts to remain uninvestigated with an assurance that brutality will not be allowed to raise its head again in the Punjab against a helpless and often an innocent population. ... It is time for your Excellency to appoint an impartial committee to investigate the allegations made against your subordinates, because it is time for your Excellency to vindicate yourself before the bar of public opinion. But let it not be a committee like the Attock committee, whose report was suppressed. It is time to indeed face truth in the face." Elsewhere the paper says: "The matter of Akali prisoners in His Majesty's jails is one of the gravest public concern. Yesterday we published two *communiqués* on the subject one by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the other by the Punjab Government. The first *communiqué* makes grave allegations against the treatment of Akali prisoners. We are told that some prisoners who have served two-thirds of their sentence on the eve of their release are 'beaten mercilessly.' Some, it is alleged, were caned and when unconscious were let without protection in the midday sun. One was given nothing to eat for two days and is now confined in a solitary cell and several other cases are also mentioned of enforced hardship and privation to which Akali prisoners are being subjected. The public is entitled to know how far these allegations are true and what if any measures the Government is taking to put an end to them and any recurrence of the same in the future. The Punjab Government *communiqué* on the subject is an entirely unsatisfactory document. It purports to reproduce 'the remarks recorded in the Visitors' Book by a non-official visitor.' The public, we are in duty bound to say, is not going to be hoodwinked or fooled by a statement of the kind that is now published. Firstly the date of these remarks is not given and what is more important the name of this non-official visitor is withheld. Why does not Government publish his name? Is he a member of the Council, or of the Jails Committee and if so what is the opinion of his colleagues? The public wants an answer to all these questions. We do not know how far the allegations contained in the *communiqué* of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee are true, but if they are not certainly they need the earliest possible refutation. We suggest that Government immediately appoint a non-official Committee

to investigate the treatment of Akali prisoners in Multan jail." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st April 1923. No. 16, pp. 211–212).

***Nation*, 17 April 1923**

The *Nation* of the 17th April publishes the following: –

“The President of the Multan Congress Committee wires to us under date April 14: – Harrowing accounts of the Akali sufferings are daily coming ... On Friday 41 Akalis were released. They narrated awful stories of maltreatment. Of them, Bakhtawar Singh had three lower teeth shaken, about to fall, the result of blows given by two Groach convicts numbardars while in the cell. Kishan Singh’s right ear became deaf owing to blows received from the numbardars on the ear.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st April 1923. No. 16, p. 212).

***Bande Mataram*, 28 April 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th April writes that a few months back hardships used to be practised on Akalis in the Attock jail. These hardships seem, however, to have been as nothing in comparison with those to which Akali prisoners have been subjected in the Multan jail. As is evident from the announcements made by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, these hardships have been practised to secure apologies from Akali prisoners. On the one hand, the Akalis are requested to suppress disturbances at Amritsar, but, on the other, grossly savage treatment is accorded to their brethren for the sake of apologies. It is not shameful for the bureaucracy that under its law the jail should be the only place for those from who splendid work can be taken in quelling disturbances? But now that they have been put into jail, under what law is barbarous treatment accorded to them? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 5th May 1923. No. 18, pp. 238–239).

***Babar Sher*, 9 February 1924**

The *Babar Sher* has received fresh and reliable reports that the peaceful Akali prisoners in the Multan Jail are given the hardest labour and treated to the foulest abuses. Wadia’s law is above the regulations of the Jail Manual. Convicts undergoing simple imprisonment have to sweep spaces measuring about three kanals. It is also reported that Pathan convict-warders shoe-beat the sacred *keshas* of the Sikhs, while Mr. Wadia and Jailor Chaman Lala horsewhip the Akalis with their own hands. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 67).

Loyal Gazette, 17 February 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* writes that terrible and barbarous atrocities which are being perpetrated on Akali prisoners by the jail authorities of Multan are reviving the memory of Nadir Shah's regime in the country. The paper asks what act of oppression perpetrated by Nadir Shah, Timur, Farrukh Siyar or the officers of most tyrannical kings has not been practised upon the Sikhs by the Multan jail officials. It will be better to slaughter the Akalis outright. Is this the humanity, the noble-mindedness and the civilization of which British statesmen boast in conferences? The treatment which is being meted out to human beings in an Indian jail has never been accorded by even the most barbarous and tyrannical nation to any other people or its subjects. The Jail Department is in charge of Sir John Maynard, who is regarded by Englishmen as a gentleman with a literary taste. If his place had been held by an English of low morality, it is not known how poor Akalis would have fared. Humanity has been disgraced, the face of civilization blackened and the funeral of nobility paraded in the Multan jail. The responsible tyrannical officials may do what is still left undone, but the Akali movement will never die out and the Sikhs will not be pressed down. The All-India Congress Committee should appoint a Commission to enquire into the oppression and its report should be published, at the expense of the Sikhs, in all languages of the world to enable the West to form an estimate of what the British Government is doing in India in the name civilization and see what acts of oppression committed by the uncivilized inhabitants of Central Asia, the negroes of Africa and the members of the old Chinese Government have not been perpetrated in the British jail in Multan. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924, No. 8, p. 67*).

Akali, 31 March 1924

The *Akali* complains that Sikh prisoners in the Central Provinces are punished with standing handcuffs, manacled with chains and flogged over mere trifles. Driven to extremities, they resort to hunger strike, but even this has failed to move the stone-hearted authorities. Bhai Inder Singh of Noshera Punwan has died from hunger strike, and there is a similar unconfirmed report about Bhai Jawala Singh. It is complained that many Sikhs were tried with closed doors in jails and condemned to death, imprisonment for life or transportation to the Andamans. No appeal could be filed in these cases. The writer cannot restrain his tears of blood at this heart-rending tale, but he must listen to it till the bark of the arrogant Government drowns in the stormy sea of despotism and oppression. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924, No. 14, p. 132*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 10 May 1924

A correspondent of the *Akali-te-Pardesi* was told by Bhai Balwant Singh in the Amraoti jail on the 11th (? April) that he had worn only a *kachhehra* during both winter and summer since his transfer to the jail. He also stated that he and Bhai Rajindur Singh resorted to hunger-strike, as they were not allowed to cook their own food. The latter died eight months after and no body outside the jail knew of his death. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924, No. 20, p. 182*).

Punjab Darpan, 16 May 1924

The *Punjab Darpan* says that the atrocities perpetrated upon the Akali leaders, etc., in the Multan District Jail have lacerated the hearts of all Sikhs. The rigours to which they are being subjected are not resorted to in the case even of thieves and dacoits and it is to be feared that the consequence will prove disastrous for the bureaucracy. If Government, which reads the *communiqués* issued by the S.G.P. Committee on the subject, has even the least regard for the principles of rule, it should appoint a non-official enquiry committee and inflict exemplary punishment on the authors of the oppression practised at Multan. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th May 1924, No. 21, p. 191*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 16 May 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* remarks that the refusal to allow the Swami to read the Granth in jail savours of vindictiveness. The barge of Government has been so filled with sins that it will drown one of these days. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th May 1924, No. 21, p. 191*).

Loyal Gazette, 18 May 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* says that if Swami Onkaranand has really been prevented from reading the Granth in jail, the incident constitutes a fresh and improper attack on the Sikh religion, which the Sikhs cannot put up with. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th May 1924, No. 21, p. 191*).

Kirpan Bahadur, 22 May 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* reports that Akali prisoners in the Ambala jail have gone on hunger strike, as they were not allowed to pay respect to the Granth. The authorities of the jail have, however, begun to practise further rigours upon them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 31st May 1924, No. 22, p. 198*).

The Deposition of Ripudaman Singh

1 Relations between Nabha and Patiala

Akali, 9 June 1922

The *Akali* of the 9th June says that during the last two years several dangerous moves have been practised to withdraw the Sikhs from the service of their country and community. The first was made to separate them from the Hindus and Muhammadans and to crush the new movement among them by means of the Nankana tragedy; the second was to bring under control the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee against each other; the third was to put the Akalis and the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee against each other; while the fourth move aimed at inciting the Akalis by indiscriminate repression, fines, beating and injury to their religious susceptibilities. But none of these proved successful. The Government is now resorting to a still more dangerous move by creating ill-will between the Patiala State, the Shiromani Gurdwaras Committee and the Shiromani Akali Dal, while the Namdharis are being put against the Panth. Besides an apple of discord has been thrown between the Maharajas of Nabha and Patiala, both of whom are staring at each other like blood-thirsty enemies. At the same time, an attempt is being made that the Maharaja of Nabha may either make an onslaught upon the Akalis or the latter be pitted against the former. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 17th June 1922. No. 24, p. 274).

Babar Sher, 21 July 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 21st July 1923 considers the statement of the Maharaja of Patiala about the Nabha abdication to be most disappointing. It shows that he and the bureaucracy are one in secret or he had become a puppet in the hands of the clever bureaucracy. It is a pity that instead of siding with the Panth and helping courageously in the restoration of a brother to his *gaddi*, he sides with the bureaucracy. He should not forget that both Nabha and Patiala are equally an eyesore to it. Nabha has been taken and Patiala will fare similarly one day. The plots to undo the organization of the Sikhs will lead to Patiala also being soon finished. The Maharaja of Patiala should, therefore, decide whether he would like to be mentioned in Sikh history as a 'lover of the Panth' or as a 'traitor of the Panth.' (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 389).

2 Statements of Government

Akali-te-Pardesi, 2 July 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 2nd July asserts that the bureaucracy has been against the Maharaja of Nabha from the very beginning. This hostility dates back from the time of Sir Louis Dane. He desired the Maharaja to present *nazar* to the Political Agent on the occasion of his accession to the *gaddi* but the Maharaja refused. This Dane was the same Lieutenant-Governor who gave lease to the Cement Company in which he himself was a shareholder. Now that a quarrel has ensued between the Maharajas of Patiala and Nabha, the bureaucracy wants to make use of it to deliver an attack (on the latter). If there is any truth in our information we wish to tell (the Government) that the event will cause such an agitation in the Sikh community as will never be forgotten by the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 361).

Gurdwara, 11 July 1923

The *Gurdwara* of the 11th July states that the news of the abdication of the Maharaja will be received with feelings of deep sorrow and grief by the public in general and the Sikhs in particular. The official *communiqué* says that on receipt of sanction from the Secretary of State the Government of India will take the administration of Nabha into their own hands. Cannot the Sikhs knock at the door of the Secretary of State for the reversal of the Government of India's decision? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 375).

Babbar Sher, 14 July 1923

The *Babbar Sher* of the 14th July cannot understand why troops, machine-guns and ammunition were taken to Nabha when the Government had clearly stated in its *communiqué* that the Maharaja had gladly accepted the conditions and expressed a desire to abdicate. The question "Where is that Akali?" – asked by (certain Government) officials while entering the palace – and "What arms were demanded by the Akalis" – asked by a *Gora* officer on entering the fort – clearly show that *Gora* officers went with ammunition to arrest a leader of the Akalis, enemies of the bureaucracy, and not Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. To deport the ruler of an old State strictly faithful to the English after wresting all rights of administration from him, on the suspicion or charge of six ordinary cases having been decided in accordance with his will, constitutes such oppression and injustice to which there is no parallel in the history of the world. What causes the greatest astonishment is why the Government has

taken possession of the Nabha State whereas it had only to give a decree in favour of the Maharaja of Patiala. This justice is truly like that done by the monkey to the cats. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 374).

Babar Sher, 15 July 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 15th July writes: –

“The bureaucracy has mentioned with pride in its *communiqué* that Maharaja Ripudaman Singh has given up his *gaddi* voluntarily. If this is so, may we ask whether he has also voluntarily left his palace and agreed to be exiled? Why was, then, the palace surrounded by troops and machine guns and why was the Maharaja searched for in the palace and arrested? Why did he leave in tears? Were these tears of joy? No one who has a head on his shoulders and brains in it can believe on reading the terms of abdication that the Maharaja agreed to them willingly and cheerfully. He is made to say in his letter: ‘The Government will be responsible for the education of my son.’ The question arises what sort of education will be given to the Tikka Sahib. If he is sent to England to be educated, who will guarantee that he will not, Like Maharaja Dalip Singh, be converted to Christianity and retained there for good and that, like the Punjab, Nabha also will not become part and parcel of British territory? If the British Government has any scales of justice let it place on one side they tyrannies for which the Maharaja of Nabha has been held responsible and for which he has been deprived of his *gaddi* and sent into exile, and put on the other side the tyrannies perpetrated by its own officers at Guru-ka-Bagh, the Panja Sahib and Rawalpindi and in the jails of Attock and Multan. If the latter scale outweighs the other let it, if it has any sense of shame let in it, restore the Maharaja of Nabha to his *gaddi* with the same hand which deposed and exiled him and itself leave not only the Punjab but the whole of India.” Commenting on the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee’s *communiqué* about the Nabha abdication, the *Babar Sher* of the 15th July says that the action of the Committee in leaving the matter to be considered by their successors is a serious blunder. We would respectfully request them to put aside other things for the present and devote all their attention and energy to “the reformation of Nabha at the earliest moment.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, pp. 374–375).

Ziafat Punch, 17 July 1923

The *Ziafat Punch* of the 17th July says that Government is a past master in making arbitration. We wonder if it regards the Maharaja of Nabha as a stepson and the Maharaja of Patiala as a beloved son. Both of them referred their

dispute to it, but it has ordered the deportation of the Maharaja of Nabha. If he had abstained from outspokenness he would not have fallen on evil days. The policy pursued by the Government has disturbed the quiet nest of the Akali hornets for no reason. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 395).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 20 September 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 20th September writes: –

“Mr. Wilson Johnston told one of our friends that if the Maharaja of Patiala and Nabha came to terms between themselves, Government would not object (to this). Thus the myrmidons of the bureaucracy are laying all the blame at the door of the Maharaja of Patiala. ... We hope he will clear his position and plainly express his views about the atrocities perpetrated at Jaito? The time has arrived when he will have to clear himself.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 513).

3 Speculations and Opinions on the Reasons

***Kesari*, 8 July 1923**

A correspondent writing to the *Kesari* of the 8th July, states that Rao Sahib of Kharwar (Rajputana), who held rather independent views and used to evince considerable interest in national and political affairs, was not only deposed, but also thrown into jail, after being first kept under surveillance. Again, Raja Gopal Das Desai, the ruler of a small State, displayed considerable sympathy with the movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. The Government promptly deposed him and took possession of his State. The affairs relating to the Maharaja of Nabha also have become most complicated. He has been most cruelly dealt with throughout: even those whom he never distrusted have dealt treacherously by him. The Maharaja has thus been so entangled in a net that he has himself offered to abdicate. If he is really deposed the act will constitute such an interference with the administration of a Native State as cannot lead to good results. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 361).

***Muslim Outlook*, 10 July 1923**

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 10th July writes: –

“This (the abdication) is a very drastic step indeed and is likely to cause great public excitement. ... It is ... open to doubts whether the punishment of deposition – because it amounts to nothing less – would not be

disproportionate to the offence." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 361).

***Nation*, 11 July 1923**

The *Nation* of the 11th July writes: –

“Though the dispute was long protracted, yet the public had hardly imagined that it involved such serious matters as those now released and that it will result in consequences so startling as those now before us. ... In spite of the statement made in the *communiqué* we are not sure whether the abdication was actually voluntary, or whether the situation created for the Maharaja was in itself so awkward and embarrassing that no choice but to abdicate was left to him.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 377).

***Tribune*, 11 July 1923**

The *Tribune* of the 11th June writes: –

“The abdication has been what in popular parlance is called an open secret for nearly a fortnight. ... But this fact takes nothing from the sense of profound regret with which the announcement will be received all over the country. ... What does concern the public is to enquire whether even if the findings of the Special Commissioner are correct in all their details, there is sufficient or, indeed, any warrant for the action which the Government of India has seen fit to take on the strength of them. Not that the universal regret felt at the disappearance from the scene of his activities of so notable a figure as the Maharaja of Nabha would be any the less keen, even if this question could be answered in the affirmative. But can it be answered in the affirmative at all? What are the charges against the Maharaja? ... If all these findings were accepted as gospel truth, ninety-nine persons out of a hundred would think that they do not justify the drastic action taken by the Government of India. Clearly, if a sovereign Prince could be deposed on the general suspicion that certain wrong or even oppressive measures taken by his Darbar or his police or other officials and affecting the rights and interests of another State had his *general approval and countenance*, the position of such a Prince would not be worth a day’s purchase. Not only is the phrase ‘general approval and countenance’ one of uncertain connotation, but even assuming that it implies guilty knowledge, most people would think that the guilt is not of such a kind as to unfit a Prince to retain his possessions. In our opinion the least that the Government of India should have done in this case before they came to the conclusion that the Maharaja was unfit to retain his powers was to refer his case to a Council

of Princes. ... Apart from the general reasons which make it obligatory on the representatives of the Paramount Power to exercise their extraordinary power of interference with the administration of a State with due caution and self-restraint, there were special reasons why they ought to have done so in the present instance. The Maharaja of Nabha has for long years enjoyed a reputation for sturdy independence, and it is a matter of common knowledge that he has consequently not been in the good books of some among the highest officials. ... The Government of Indian ought to be more than ordinarily careful in dealing with such a person, so that no suspicion of bias might attach to their action. We have no hesitation in saying, on the evidence at present before us, that they have not been even ordinarily careful in this case and that the public verdict will be against them." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, pp. 361–362).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 11 July 1923**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 11th July remarks that the mischief-mongers who had been continually prejudicing Nabha against Patiala will now heave a sigh of satisfaction. These parasites knew no rest until they had brought about the ruin of the Maharaja. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 377).

***Milap*, 12 July 1923**

The *Milap* of the 12th July says that the Government is fortunate, seeing that according to the official *communiqué*, the Maharaja himself went to the Agent to the Governor-General to ask for his removal from his State on certain conditions. It has not, however, been made clear in the *communiqué* whether these conditions were imposed by the Government or whether the Maharaja volunteered to subject himself to them. The Government had long been displeased with him, but had benevolently been forgiving his faults. He had been expressing his political views from time to time. He has inclined towards liberty from childhood and entertained a strong feeling against sycophancy. At any rate, the Government has, in the name of law and justice, got a golden opportunity to paralyse an independent minded ruler. But it has done nothing on its own initiative: the Maharaja himself has consented to abdicate his *gaddi*. The Secretary of State has not to approve the decision and the State will come under the control of the Government for at least 14 years. It is a pity that brothers should fight among themselves to ruin their own relatives and others should take advantage of this. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 377).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 13 July 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 13th July writes: –

“The news of the abdication of a Sikh Prince is an event of no mean importance in current Sikh history and therefore it has naturally caused much commotion. ... We have no means of arriving at a considered opinion regarding it even if we wished to do so. The whole case was conducted *in camera* and the *communiqué* merely gives a brief resume of the findings of the special Commissioner. But taking for granted that the charges were amply proved we maintain that the punishment meted out is too severe ... The offence of the Nabha Darbar amounts to a deliberate attempt to damage the Patiala State and its officials by unjustly throwing into prison some of the latter. Do not such cases occur often in Europe? What is the remedy used there? When it is brought home to a sovereign state that it had damaged another it offers an unqualified apology and adequate compensation for the wrongs done. It is widely known as a fact that had the Nabha Darbar offered merely an unqualified apology in the beginning and released the men wrongfully imprisoned with a suitable compensation paid to each, the Patiala Darbar would never have instituted any cases against Nabha. We are therefore surprised to learn that the Government has thought it necessary to go beyond the demands of the injured party itself. To say that ‘the Maharaja of Nabha visited the Agent to the Governor-General upon his own initiative and voluntarily expressed his willingness to sever his connection with the administration of the State’ will not save the Government from the accusation of harshness. Statements have been definitely made in the press that abdication was far from voluntary and even if it be voluntary it is no difficult to imagine that the prince must have done so to avoid a more humiliating fate, which he might have reasons to believe was in store for him. A man in desperate despondency sometimes does make such offers. It was for the Government to decide whether its acceptance will not savour of harshness, and we must say that the Government in accepting such an offer have not given proof of a very sound judgement. ... It would have strengthened the case of the Government if they had referred the findings of the special Commissioner to the Chamber of Princes. ... We think the Chamber will assert its right of having a say when one of their own kind is concerned. ... The Maharaja of Nabha is well-known for his independent views and it is within common knowledge that he was not in the good books of some of the highest officials. ... We are not sure that the Government of India have any right to take charge of the State even if the prince has voluntarily abdicated.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, pp. 375–376).

Milap, 13 July 1923

The *Milap* of the 13th July states that the *Akali-te-Pardesi* has given publicity to some particularly secret facts connected with the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha. If the Government does not issue a *communiqué* about their truth or falsehood, there is a certainty of the idea gaining ground among the public that the Maharaja was threatened and tricked into making an application for removal from his *gaddi*. It has been stated by the *Akali-te-Pardesi* that the Maharaja wished to re-call the letter which was secured from him by means of threats, but no one would bring it back. A perusal of the facts revealed by the paper impresses one with the idea that strange trickery has been practised on the Maharaja. If these allegations have even the least truth in them do they not show that His Highness did not voluntarily abdicate but was forced to do so? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 377).

Partap, 13 July 1923

The *Partap* of the 13th July is prepared to admit the correctness of the finding of Mr. Justice Stuart, but cannot reconcile itself to the punishment inflicted on the Maharaja. It appears that the Government has complaints against him which it does not wish to make public. To depose the Maharaja in consequence of his dispute with the Patiala Darbar is nothing short of tyranny. To justify its action the Government should prove that the Maharaja had been repeatedly committing mistakes and cared nothing for warnings. Again, the restrictions imposed upon him might suggest the suspicion that the Patiala dispute is not the only cause of his deposition. The allowance to be paid to the Maharaja will be conditional on his loyalty to the Government. Does the latter fear that after his deposition His Highness will engage himself in something inconsistent with loyalty or devote himself to political agitation? It was pointed out at the recent session of the Sikh League that the Government considered the Maharaja guilty of two serious offences – giving no help to it during the Great War and sympathizing with political agitation. The fact that the allowance has been made contingent on his loyalty lends support to the suspicion. As to the condition that he shall not enter the State without the permission of the Government, there is no meaning in it. It is quite impossible for him to (re-) take possession of the State immediately on entering it. To avoid perhaps its being blamed the Government has stated in its *communiqué* that the Maharaja has abdicated voluntarily. It means that the punishment which it wanted to inflict on him was much more severe and that the restrictions which it was intended to impose upon him were still more humiliating. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, pp. 377–378).

***Kesari*, 13 July 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 18th July publishes a communication from its special correspondent, who reports that two English officers went to Nabha on the 9th and took the Maharaja to Ambala Cantonment, where a special train was in readiness. It is not yet known where His Highness has been taken. The Government of India have magnified affairs in connection with an ordinary dispute between the rulers of Nabha and Patiala without caring in the least for future consequences. Those who heard the report express heartfelt sympathy with the Maharaja. The eyes of some of them were filled with tears and they remarked that it was not known what indignities the poor man was destined to suffer. Elsewhere the paper remarks that the way in which Napoleon made himself over to the English demanded that he should have been treated in a manner befitting his dignity. But he was kept in St. Helena like an ordinary prisoner to die there and the British officers accorded him an exceedingly bad treatment. Similarly, the Maharaja of Nabha has now been forced by circumstances to surrender his *gaddi* to British officers, from whose hands he refused to accept it. We imagine that the treatment accorded to him by the English will not be very good. He was deceived by the men who ate his salt for years and are now rejoicing in the State. His ruin has been brought about by the very men who were employed by him on high salaries to serve and help him. When the Nabha-Patiala case was being heard in the Ambala Cantonment several officials of the former State committed treachery by showing even the most important papers to the opposite party. In their heart of hearts they wished to ruin the Maharaja. His Highness's present condition should serve as a warning to those men of position who lived near him. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 379).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 14 July 1923**

The following, says the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 14th, are the real causes which have led to the deposition of the Maharaja: –

- (1) That the Maharaja held liberal views while a young man and was closely connected with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other nationalist leaders.
- (2) That when young the Maharaja began to afford proof of his deep love for the Panth.
- (3) That there was a quarrel between the Maharaja and the Government on the occasion of the former's installation on the *gaddi*. The Government wanted to install him through its own representative, while the latter wished to ascend unaided the *gaddi*, which he had inherited from his father.

- (4) That while other Rajas and Maharajas used to invite Lieutenant-Governors and others to their States, entertain them in a hospitable manner and flatter them, the Maharaja of Nabha never cared for them. Sir Louis Dane became a bitter enemy of the Maharaja.
- (5) That the Maharaja has not opposed the Akali movement.
(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 376).

***Nation*, 14 July 1923**

The *Nation* of the 14th July writes: –

“The drastic step taken by the Government in the case of the Maharaja cannot but make us suspect that there is something beyond the ordinary need of justice which is responsible for the forced abdication. ... We deeply regret the decision of the Government and hope that the Government will see its way to withdraw the abdication and adopt some other method of settling the Patiala-Nabha dispute.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 377).

***Bande Mataram*, 14 July 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th July says that non could have even dreamt that the long-standing Patiala-Nabha dispute would terminate in the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha. It is difficult for us to say how far the facts on which the decision of the Special Commissioner is based are well founded. These facts and details have not been laid before the public. At any rate, if the punishment for the Maharaja's offence is that he should be deprived of his *gaddi*, have the English the right to remain in India for a single day? It is no secret that the grossest injustice is daily done in British courts. The police institute false cases against people of set purpose. Again, police and court officials take bribes from the people to their heart's content. Men harm their enemies by offering bribes to the officials. These facts are known to the higher officers, nay, even to the Governors and the Viceroy, but nothing is done to remove the men (from their posts). It is needless to mention how law and justice have been deliberately and ruthlessly murdered in political cases in order to harm the movement for (the country's) awakening and how a mean spirit of revenge, enmity and vindictiveness has been displayed (? by Government). The Governors and the Viceroy know all this, nay, all these proceedings have been taken at their instance. There is, however, no one to question their authority. Is not all this ascribable to the fact that the object of all that they are doing is to benefit British capitalists and that they have His Majesty the King-Emperor's brave troops at their back? As for the Maharaja of Patiala, it is no matter of pride for him that the Maharaja of Nabha should be deposed in this way. The manner

in which the dispute between them has been settled has undoubtedly brought about the ruin of the defeated party. It has not, however, added to the dignity of the victorious party. On the other hand, it has become quite evident that all the Indian Princes are in reality *jagirdars* of the foreign bureaucracy. The powers which they enjoy have been granted to them merely to practice oppression on their subjects and to prove that the Indians are wholly ignorant of the art of government and that it is essential for Indian to be governed by the English. The press *communiqué* issued by the Government shows that the Maharaja abdicated of his own free will. In the first place, the ruler of a State cannot give up his *gaddi* unless he is prepared to lead the life of a *sanyasi*. Secondly, the conditions mentioned in the *communiqué* show that he was compelled to sever his connection with his State to escape a worse punishment. The condition that the Maharaja shall remain outside the State and obtain the permission of the Government of India to visit it or other places is not such as a person can impose on himself of his own free will. The facts connected with his abdication indicate that the Maharaja was offered the threat that he would be arrested and prosecuted if he did not consent to leave the State. Again, if the Maharaja had voluntarily abdicated why did British troops go to the State with machine guns? The fact is that the Government was highly displeased with the Maharaja on account of his independent mindedness. It tried to depose him on several previous occasions also. The Patiala-Nabha dispute is merely a pretext. If some weight can really attach to the offence for which the Maharaja has been removed from this *gaddi* the Government should have, before deposing him, beaten the drum of its own departure (from the country). (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, pp. 378–379).

***Kesari*, 15 July 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 15th July remarks that under normal conditions the abdication would have been an ordinary affair. The method, however, which the Government has adopted to deprive the Maharaja of his rights and powers has imparted unusual importance to the incident. Evidently there was no such dispute between His Highness and the Government of India on the basis of which the former could be awarded such a severe punishment. The deposition of the Maharaja will cause great unrest among the Sikhs and it is just possible that the Government may find it difficult to control the situation. The correspondence in connection with the deposition ended on the 6th July. In other words, the Maharaja was forced to accept the terms on that date and the Government of India published its *communiqué* on the 7th. On the 8th an English officer reached Nabha with a large number of troops and the Maharaja was sent to some unknown destination. The fort and other places were occupied to

humiliate His Highness, who is said to have voluntarily made over his State to the English. All the State officials drawing salary of more than Rs. 100 were collected and it was announced at a Darbar that in future the orders of the Maharaja would not be carried out. If the Government had deposed the Maharaja after a war it would perhaps have been justified in making such an announcement. But when, in its own words, he voluntarily made over his State to it, this was most undesirable and there is no reason why the rulers of other Native States should not be on the alert in consequence of this ill-treatment (of the Maharaja of Nabha). Considering the way in which the Maharaja was forced to accept terms and the Government took charge of Nabha, we can only say that the Government has forcibly occupied the State and the result will not prove favourable for it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 379).

Parkash, 15 July 1923

The *Parkash* of the 15th July considers the punishment inflicted upon the Maharaja as very severe. That it could not have been inflicted in consequence only of the Nabha-Patiala dispute is partly borne out by the fact that an allowance for the Maharaja has been fixed on the condition of his remaining loyal to the British Government. The contention of the *Civil and Military Gazette* that the Maharaja held extreme political views also confirms the impression that his abdication is due to some other causes also. At any rate, the condition to which the ruler of an important Sikh State has been reduced is deplorable and tragic in very truth. Feelings of indignation against the Government will become still more intense among the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, pp. 379–380).

Loyal Gazette, 15 July 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 15th July states that ever since his succession to the *gaddi* the deposition of the Maharaja had been believed to be inevitable in well-informed circles. The responsible officials of his State did not let him make peace with the Patiala State and have pulled him down from his *masnad*. The Government also has fed fat its old grudge against him on the pretext of settling the Patiala-Nabha dispute. It is strange justice that a dispute should take place between the two States and Nabha should be made over to the Government of India. It is difficult to find a better specimen of the method of "division by the monkey." The Government of India should have only got compensation awarded to the Maharaja of Patiala and not taken the administration of Nabha in its own hands. What loss did it sustain that it has taken over charge of the State? If such exemplary punishments can be awarded to

Governments in connection with false cases, can the Government honestly say that the cases brought against Lala Harkishan Lal, Dr. Kitchlew, Diwan Mangal Sain and others during the martial law *regime* were not false and got up with the knowledge of Sir Michael O'Dwyer? If so, did the Government of India, on releasing Lala Harkishan Lal and others, make over the administration of the Punjab to some one else and declare itself unfit to rule? Even the pension of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was not confiscated. Mr. Thompson, his Chief Secretary, was appointed Political Secretary to the Government of India. If a third Power scrutinizes these cases several officers will be encamping at Dera Dun to-day. The most objectionable thing is that the Government has taken the administration of Nabha into its own hands, although under the agreement with the State it cannot do so. To occupy the State and then to make over its administration to Mr. Ogilvie is tantamount to sprinkling salt on the wounded hearts of the Sikhs. The States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha were granted by the Gurus and the Sikhs will never tolerate that their management should be transferred to non-Sikhs. The Government cannot now confiscate a Sikh State or quietly take charge of its administration. The Sikh community is awake and will oppose such acts by constitutional and non-violent agitation. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 389).

Haryana Tilak, 16 July 1923

The *Haryana Tilak* of the 16th July affirms that the offence for which the Maharaja has been deposed is one of which the Government of India itself is most guilty. All its inferior as well as superior officers injure the nationalists in broad daylight without any reasonable excuse. It is, therefore, unjust and unfortunate that the Maharaja should be deposed for an offence for which a Sub-Inspector of Police will not receive even a warning. We quite agree with the *Tribune* that the question of his deposition should have been referred to the Chamber of Princes. By failing to do so the Government of India has reduced the rulers of Native States to a status of inferior to that of an ordinary British peer. Let us see how this stern action on its part will be viewed by the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 394).

Milap, 16 July 1923

The *Milap* of the 16th July writes that the Government dare not accuse the Maharaja of the desire to destroy the British Government in India. It cannot also say to him that he is being deprived of his *gaddi* for having given no *naz-rana* to the Resident or for holding independent political views and having presided at the Social Conference. His deposition has made the position of Indian Princes most critical. The well-wishers of the country should attend to

the matter and have it enquired into by a special commission, which should consider the following points:—

- (1) Was Maharaja Ripudaman Singh enamoured of the Akali movement?
- (2) Is it true that he gave no *nazrana* to the Resident and sent him word that the former was no servant of his?
- (3) Is it true that he lent his motor car to Guru Ram Singh's followers, which had the effect of greatly displeasing the Government?
- (4) Is it a fact that he has been giving pecuniary help to the Akalis and that this aroused suspicions in the mind of the Government?
- (5) Is it true that he supplied no recruits during the Great War, that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was greatly displeased with him and that when the Maharaja offered to subscribe 45 lakhs towards various funds Sir Michael O'Dwyer refused to accept the offer?
- (6) Is it a fact that questions were asked on the above subject in the Legislative Council and O'Dwyer was snubbed by wire from England and asked to explain why he had refused the offer?
- (7) Is it true that while at Simla the Maharaja used to stay in a bungalow adjoining that of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and to see the latter frequently, which caused a shock to the delicate heart of the Government?
- (8) Is it a fact that he used to view political movements with keen interest and even displayed sympathy with them now and then?
- (9) Is it a fact that the Maharaja presided at the Social Conference held at Lahore in 1909 simultaneously with the National Congress?
- (10) Is it true that great threats were held out to the Maharaja to disgrace him and that he was compelled to write humiliating terms?
- (11) Is it true that the Nabha-Patiala dispute originated over a woman?
- (12) Is it a general principle that a Raja, Judge, Magistrate or Munsif failing to do justice in six cases is removed from his office? How many Judges, Magistrates and Munsifs in British courts retain their appointments, although their judgements in six cases have been set aside?
- (13) Is it a fact that the Government of India have not so far done injustice even in six cases and should not sever its connection with the administration, because it does justice in every case?
- (14) Is it true that Mr. B.N. Sen has been appointed to a high post in the Nabha State owing to his services?

The paper also wishes to know whether there exists any agreement between Nabha and the Government of India under which the latter could not depose the Maharaja of that State and whether the Patiala-Nabha dispute could not be settled except by deposing the Maharaja. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, pp. 393-394).

***Sant Samachar*, 17 July 1923**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 17th July says that there are hundreds of officers several of whose judgements can be considered to be unjustifiable in the eyes of law. The Government has, however, never punished any one on that account in the manner (in which it has punished the Maharaja of Nabha). It is generally believed that the Maharaja has been punished, not only for the above offence, but also for loving his country and community. It will be better if the Government reconsiders the whole matter and awards some other punishment to him. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 391).

***Siyasat*, 18 July 1923**

The *Siyasat* of the 18th July remarks that the Maharaja has not been deposed for his failure to enquire into certain cases, but there were several other matters which perturbed the Government. Why did the Government depose him and get its conditions accepted by him when the dispute was between Patiala and Nabha and why is one of the conditions about his remaining loyal to the British Government? Again, if the Maharaja was really to blame why was he not tried in open court or why was not the matter referred to the Chamber of Princes? At any rate, there is no denying the fact that the action of the Government in deposing the Maharaja has greatly excited the Sikhs, who view the deposition of an able, learned, educated, enlightened and sympathetic ruler like him with feelings of extreme pain and indignation. In view of the experiences gained by it in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, the Government should have the wisdom to reconsider its decision. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 395).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 18 July 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 18th July says that according to Mr. Narsingha Rai, Minister of Nabha, the Maharaja was asked by write to sever his connection with the Akalis. This is the most serious charge for which His Highness has had to suffer trouble. We will not allow Nabha to be converted into a non-Sikh State. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 376).

***Partap*, 19 July 1923**

The *Partap* of the 19th July states that the Government has not specified in its *communiqué* the nature of the charges preferred against the Maharaja. If the charges consist in oppression having been practised on the State subjects and His Highness's unsatisfactory behaviour in the matter, the sympathies of the public will be with the Government. If, however, the charges are of an entirely

different character it will be difficult for the public to endorse the decision of the Government. We have no knowledge as to the sort of treatment accorded by the Maharaja to his subjects, but we can assert that there are Princes in India who mete out the worst treatment to the people under them. If the Government were to depose a Chief because of the clamour of his oppressed subjects not a single person would view its action with feelings other than sympathy. The freedom enjoyed in British India is unknown in the Native States, whose subjects have no rights and against whom the door of advancement is closed. This is due to the Government having so far shown its solicitude only for the rulers of the States. We want to know what is the offence of the Maharaja and what were the previous complaints against him regarding which he implored a pardon. If those complaints were based on his ill-treatment of the State subjects we have no objection to make to his deposition. If, however, they were of a different nature the Government should clearly state them before the public. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 395).

***Zamindar*, 19 July 1923**

The *Zamindar* of the 19th July states that according to the *Loyal Gazette*, one of the causes of the Maharaja's deposition is that he was very closely related to Mahindar Partab and that when on the eve of his departure from the Province Sir Louis Dane wanted to visit Nabha the Maharaja put him off by saying that he was on tour. These are the real causes of his deposition; the Patiala-Nabha dispute is merely a pretext furnished by "accidental events." If this pretext had not been found for some time, the Government would perhaps have found some other pretext for the removal of its personal grievances. At any rate, the deposition is most regrettable and the more we examine it the more sullied we find the 'skirt of Government' to be. Anyone possessing the least sense of justice or acquaintance with the present situation in the country cannot for a moment hold the action of the Government to be just or wise. There is yet time for it to reconsider its decision and abstain from kindling a fire which will not lead to any good results. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 395).

***Desh Sewak*, 20 July 1923**

The *Desh Sewak* of the 20th July writes that it has already state that the real object of the Government was to ruin a man with a sense of self respect and love for his community. Another reason is that the Government wants to replace him by a puppet whom it may use for ruining the country and who may invite its officers and Viceroy, Princes and Dukes to his States, hold Durbars and thereby impoverish himself and increase the prestige of the Government

in the eyes of the people. Just as the Punjab has been swallowed up attempts will first be made to do the same thing with Nabha. The child of four, who has to ascend the *gaddi* at the age of 21, will be given an education like that imparted to Maharaja Dalip Singh. If a pretext (to take over the State) has been found now, one might also be found when the Tikka attains his majority. Millions of people under this Government laid down their lives in the Great War from selfish motives or to avert an imaginary future danger. Can we not do anything for this sacred cause? The Government has been able to prove only six cases in injustice during a reign of twelve years. It suspects that they were decided at the instance of the Maharaja or with his knowledge and for this reason it has turned him out and itself taken possession of his State. We admit that the Hindus have passed centuries in slavery and the Muhammadans also lost their rule long ago. The Sikhs, however, were ruined only yesterday. They should not sully the name of the Guru (Gobind Singh) whose children were dismembered before his eyes, whose father fell a martyr while he was only a lad and who became homeless for his community and country. Death is far of there, as the war is of a non-violent character. If you are men and want to live, rise for God's sake, undo this act of injustice and thereby prove your love for your community, remove this stain and afford proof of your (spirit of) sacrifice. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 392).

***Kashmiri*, 21 and 28 July 1923**

The *Kashmiri* says in its combined issue dated the 21st and 28th July that whether the Maharaja abdicated voluntarily or was advised by the Government to do so, there can be no gainsaying the fact that the oppressions practised by his officials on innocent people have culminated in his deposition. The excesses which the Maharaja committed on his own subjects and on those of another have resulted in the deprivation of all his powers. The Government should undoubtedly refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the Native States. When things become intolerable, however, it feels compelled to interfere. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 408).

***Babar Sher*, 22 July 1923**

Writing under the heading "Where is that Akali?: What arms did the Akalis demand?", the *Babar Sher* of the 22nd July observes that the whole world wonders how, in spite of the Indians being alive and numbering 33 crores, only 4 lakh foreigners can govern them against their will. When, however, the people of other (countries) come to know that in order to keep the Indians under control the foreigners' resort to deep moves and tricks to make the former fight among themselves and are providing means to keep them divided, they take

pity on the condition of the Indians, instead of regarding them with feelings of contempt. Stupidity has placed such a thick veil over the intelligence of the Indians that although they have been playing for years in the hands of clever people they are still unable to act with intelligence and distinguish between a friend and a foe. For example, when Baba Ram Singh very wisely began to organise his followers, the bureaucracy instantly became the enemy of the Kukas and knew no rest until it had banished their leader out of India. But look at the folly of the Kukas. Instead of preaching to the Panth about the organization started by Baba Ram Singh, they separated themselves from it. The bureaucracy took advantage of this not only to crush them but also to banish the very idea of organization from their minds and make them mere puppets in its hands. And to-day the Kukas whose organization once bewildered the bureaucracy is always on the alert to break the organization of the Indians and this is the reason why a handful of foreigners are fearlessly ruling 33 crore Indians, nay, are perpetrating on them whatever tyrannies they may please. No stone was left unturned to crush the Akali movement, but as the number of Akalis immediately rose from thousands to lakhs, the bureaucracy had not the courage to declare this movement to be unlawful. If, on one side, the Akalis have been beaten, looted or thrown into jails, on the other, the prestige of the bureaucracy has been mixed in the dust. Just now the whole country is engaged in a non-violent war with the bureaucracy, but the struggle that is in progress with the Sikhs has eclipsed all others. As soon as this living but small community began to organise itself to maintain its existence against larger communities the bureaucracy instantly forgot its services of the past seventy years and became its mortal enemy. And in order to strike at its organization the bureaucracy openly confronted the Akali movement in fields like Nankana Sahib, Guru-ka-Bagh, Rawalpindi, etc. But when it saw that instead of being crushed, the movement had rendered its six-feet-long bludgeons and bayonets, armours and weapons useless and all its tricks proved abortive, it petulantly took a step on the score of its giant strength which was improper in the eyes of the world. It seems that it has determined in a condition of confusion that if the Sikh States are finished it will become easy to put an end to the Akali movement. For some time past the bureaucracy has made itself a party against its Indian subjects, particularly the Sikhs. It has declared on several occasions that it cordially sympathises with the Gurdwara movement, but can this statement sound true to any intelligent person? While Sardar Arur Singh was manager of the Golden Temple, *khillats* used to be granted to murderers like Dyer from the Durbar Sahib; but in the time of the Shiromani Committee the chairs of the Government officers who came to see the illuminations were removed from the clock tower, no police constable is allowed to enter the precincts of the

temple and no special consideration is shown to the whites and Government officers. Akali Jathas may now offer prayers at the Durbar Sahib before going to confront the bureaucracy, feelings of contempt may be expressed at the oppression and repression practised by the bureaucracy, *communiqués* exposing the lies of the bureaucracy may be issued by the managers and *khillats* may be offered to the Akalis wounded and imprisoned by the bureaucracy. Again, a bureaucratic *communiqué* may say that the Maharaja of Nabha has relinquished his *gaddi* voluntarily, but the managers of the Golden Temple contend that the bureaucracy has treated him in a high-handed manner. Are not all these things rankling in the breast of the bureaucracy and piercing its heart like an arrow? What is the offence of the Maharaja of Nabha? Only this, that he sympathised with the Akali movement. When, therefore, such tyrannical treatment can be meted out to an independent ruler for his sympathy with the movement, how can a person calling himself an Akali be sympathised with by the bureaucracy and escape being ground in the bureaucratic mill of tyranny? The questions "Where is that Akali?" and "What arms did the Akalis demand?" asked the *Gora* officers at the time of the arrest of the Maharaja plainly show that the bureaucracy fully believed that Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was an accomplice of the Akalis and that if they have ever to fight against the Government they will be supplied with arms from the Nabha fort. Why should not this belief on the part of the bureaucracy, which has reduced the Maharaja of Nabha to his present condition, prove a source of still greater oppression for the Akalis? Not only the Shiromani Committee but every Sikh shall have to fall a prey to this belief or whim on the part of the bureaucracy. Remember, therefore, O Khalsaji, that the bureaucracy has still greater attacks to make on your organization. Leave all other matters aside and first organise yourselves, that is, 40 lakh Sikhs. Wherever you may set up an entrenchment then, success and victory will kiss your feet. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, pp. 402-403).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 1 August 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 1st August writes that the Government of India have neither forced the Maharaja to abdicate nor do they intend to seize the State. The present arrangement have been made with the express permission of the Maharaja himself and will assuredly be improved in future. In another place, the paper publishes as letter from "A well-informed correspondent," who says that the Government was entitled to make Nabha pay adequate compensation to Patiala, get the Prime Minister of Nabha and other delinquents dismissed, have trustworthy Prime Minister of its own appointed, or curtail the powers of the Maharaja, etc. Deposition, however, is a punishment which makes one's

hair stand on end and is not likely to produce a wholesome effect on the ruled in these days of agitation. In these days hearts should be won and not broken, especially of a community which has rendered distinguished and prominent military service to the Government. The matter should be placed before the Chamber of Princes even now. Commenting, the *Paisa Akhbar* suggests that in view of the agitation among the public and in order to reassure the Indian Princes the Government should publish a correct account of the abdication. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 420).

Akali, 4 August 1923

The *Akali* of the 4th August says that if Lord Hardinge had not been Viceroy at the time the Maharaja would have been deposed in 1912. Dane brought *naz-rana* from other States, but the ruler of Nabha did not let him enter his territories. If an imperial court were asked to give its decision about the nominal and imaginary charges brought against the Maharaja, as also about the oppressions practised by Dyer and O'Dwyer, the savage and illegal acts of high-handedness committed at Guru-ka-Bagh and the Central and District Jails at Multan and the thousands of cases brought against the non-cooperators, its finding would be that the British nation had no right to remain on the face of the earth. The Government states that the Maharaja has abdicated his *gaddi* of his own accord. It will be better if the bureaucracy also voluntarily severs its connection with the administration. Elsewhere, the paper remarks that the bureaucracy is always raising the cry of law. The illegalities committed by it in the name of law are, however, far more serious than acts of brigandage and cruelty. The despotic and tyrannical kings of the past did not commit such oppression as has been practised by the bureaucracy under the cover of law and justice. It is a past master in giving its intrigues and acts of cunning the appearance of law. What has become of the Princes' Protection Act? The bureaucracy has laid its hands on a Sikh State in order to weaken the Sikhs. The result of this reprehensible act is that the Sikhs of Nabha and Patiala are throwing off their sleep. A public meeting of the subjects of the Nabha State should be convened, the members of the Shiromani Committee, other Indian leaders, officials of the State and the English Agent there being also permitted to attend it. If it is decided by a majority of votes by the people of Nabha that the Maharaja is disliked by his subjects, the Sikhs will leave alone the question of his reinstatement. As it is, they cannot tolerate "this national insult" and the present agitation will continue as long as even one member of their community is alive. It is incumbent on the bureaucracy to save the situation; otherwise the Sikhs are ready to die for the honour of their community. In another place, the paper publishes a communication from "A Sikh graduate," who remarks that it

is stated, on the one hand, that the Maharaja consented to leave his *gaddi* voluntarily, and, on the other, an exhibition is made of troops and machine-guns, loyal officials of the Maharaja are dismissed or interned and particular individuals are being stopped from visiting His Highness. To depose the Maharaja of a brave and self-respecting community like the Sikhs, who holds the position of Khalifa, is a hard nut to crack. The bureaucracy has committed the mistake of laying its hands on this brave community, which gives up life for the sake of religion, rescued for the former's sinking barge during the Mutiny by relying on its boastful words and saved its neck from the iron grip of Germany. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, pp. 418–419).

***Akash Vani*, 5 August 1923**

The *Akash Vani* of the 5th August states that according to the *Akali-te-Pardesi*, the Maharaja has been deposed owing to his pro-Akali leanings. The agitation carried on by the Akalis has so far been religious in character and it cannot be called a sin to render help to them. If the allegation of the *Akali-te-Pardesi* is well-founded the Government has set at naught the proclamation of Queen Victoria, which prevents it from interfering with religious affairs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 430).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 11 August 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 11th August states that the Maharaja did not give a single soldier for the European war. The Patiala-Nabha dispute was a mere pretext on which the bureaucracy has fed fat its old grudge against him. His broad-mindedness, patriotism and national spirit are the cause of his deposition. This is why his subjects are ready to sacrifice their all for this sake. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 441).

***Nation*, 15 August 1923**

The *Nation* of the 15th August writes: –

“We have certain information of a most serious nature in our possession. At present we are not at liberty to disclose the details, but with the facts before us we are convinced that it can be shown out of the statements made by the responsible authorities themselves that the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha was obtained as the result of a farcical display of charge-sheets which were meant to hoodwink the credulous. On the evidence before us we cannot but conclude that no offence was ever proved directly implicating the Maharaja and we challenge the Government of India to disclose the facts. ... If a man is to be made to abdicate because in six cases of the most ordinary nature justice does not, in the opinion of a Special Commissioner, seem to have been done to

certain individuals, then we make bold to assert that there is not a Government in the world which could last two weeks if the same criterion were applied in every case. ... But the ways of our bureaucrats are devious in the extreme. They are the real extremists in India. A simple crossing of the territory by a few Nabha officers along the usual route followed by all into Patiala is in the opinion of our bureaucracy a violation of territorial rights which implies disloyalty to Government. ... A few cases of alleged injustice are construed by our bureaucrats as a violation of the 1860 Treaty because the State promised to 'look after' its subjects and afford them protection. And in neither of these two particulars is the complicity of the Maharaja established except by what we may term a mere flourish of the pen. We do not hide the fact that the situation which has arisen is singularly serious. The Government of India should nose no time in settling this matter in consultation with the leaders of the Akali movement. The time is not for riding the high horse of prestige. The time is for bold action and a statesmanlike gesture." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 443).

Gurdwara, 22 August 1923

The *Gurdwara* of the 22nd August remarks that Queen Victoria announced in her Proclamation that the religions of India would not be interfered with. The Government, however, not only administered the affairs of the Golden Temple, which is the central religious place of the Sikhs, but kept it in its possession in the true sense of the term. Again, the fact that a *khillat* was given from Sri Akal Takht to tyrannical Dyer, who thirsted for Indian blood, shows that the bureaucracy did not hesitate to make unlawful use of the temple. It does not also hesitate to ruin people for their connection with religious movements. If this is not so, what does it signify that, according to the Akali, the Government of India wired to the Maharaja of Nabha to sever his connection with the Akali movement? Government should declare Empress Victoria's Proclamation to be null and void and issue another to the effect that the religions of the people will be interfered with in accordance with its wishes. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 460).

Kirpan Bahadur, 31 October 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 31st October writes that some people wonder what harm the Maharaja of Nabha could do to the bureaucracy if he held liberal and patriotic views and sympathised with the Akali movement. When the bureaucracy found both the rich and poor inhabitants of starving, unarmed, unclothed and slave India exclaiming with one voice that they would sink the boat of bureaucratic oppression it concluded that it might have to leave India

much sooner if the ruling princes, *raises* and *jagirdars* who possessed troops and war material joined hands with the agitators. This is the chief reason for the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha and the day is not far distant when, in order to weaken the Sikhs still further, hands may be laid upon Patiala, followed by Jind, Kapurthala, Faridkot and Kalsia. The turn of Hindu Rajas will come next and then of Muhammadan Nawabs. It is the duty of the country to take concerted action to restore the Maharaja of Nabha to his *gaddi*, as this will mean strengthening the position of all Indian Princes. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 10th November 1923. No. 45, p. 598).

4 Protest and Agitation

Jat Gazette, 4 July 1923

The *Jat Gazette* of the 4th July hopes that Government will act with wisdom and abstain from taking a step likely to create a sensation in the country. It is probable that the Maharaja has committed some mistakes, but deposition is the severest punishment and there are not sufficient grounds for its infliction. The Maharajas of Nabha and Patiala should be formally warned to dismiss the officials who tried to make the fight with each other and to appoint better men as their advisers, etc. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 361).

Desh Sewak, 13 July 1923

The *Desh Sewak* of the 13th July fears that Nabha will fare like the Punjab, which was lost to the Sikhs. This Government continues to loot Indian in the usual manner. The Maharaja of Nabha has sacrificed himself for the nation and the country. The Khalsa Panth and the Shiromani Committee should realise their duty to the Sikh State of Nabha. The Punjab has already been lost and if Sikh States are also usurped in this way, the Sikhs will be swept out of existence. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 375).

Babar Sher, 13 July 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 13th (received on the 23rd) July writes: –

“Ah Panth! Despite the existence of 40 lakhs lions in thee, the able and lion-hearted son of His Highness Maharaja Hira Singh has been deposed and banished on the strength of machine-guns for the sole offence of loving thee. Will there be rejoicings in the palace of Patiala on receipt of the news of the ruin and misery that have overtaken Maharaja Ripudaman Singh? Will the faithless servants of Nabha receive liberal rewards and *khillats* from the

Patiala treasury? Will not the ill-treatment accorded to a national hero make the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee do its duty? Indians are striving to obtain Swaraj, but the bureaucracy is determined to end what (? liberty) there already exists (in the country). Who could have expected to witness the dreadful happenings at Guru-ka-Bagh after the terrible massacred of the Jallianwala Bagh or the Rawalpindi tragedy after that? Similarly, after the painful exile of Maharaja Dalip Singh who could have expected to see the scene repeated? As long as the bureaucracy is in possession of our country the horrible tragedies of the Jallianwala Bagh and Guru-ka-Bagh and the terrible scene of the misery of Dalip Sing [Singh] and Ripudaman Singh will be witnessed not once but many times." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 388).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 14 July 1923**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 14th July remarks that the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha brings out the reality that the British Government can never tolerate that the ruler of any Native State should dishonour law and that kings and beggars are equal in its eyes. We are sorry that the late Maharaja Hira Singh's son should be deposed like this and sincerely sympathise with him in his misfortune. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 392).

***Islah*, 7, 14 and 21 July 1923**

In its combined issue dated the 7th, 14th and 21st (received on the 26th July), the *Islah* expresses regret at the deposition and pitiable condition of the Maharaja of Nabha. It cannot, however, criticise the decision of the Government unless it has the judgement of Mr. Justice Stuart before it. The Sikhs who have held meetings at Amritsar and challenged the decision of the Government should know that it is unwise and imprudent to oppose the Government in every matter. The question regarding the *ex*-Maharaja of Nabha is not a religious one and should not be utilized for spreading agitation among the masses. The Sikhs should think twice before they take any action. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, pp. 407-408).

***Revenue Gazette*, 15 July 1923**

Writing about the mass meeting of the Sikhs held in the Baoli Sahib, Lahore, to protest against the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha, the *Revenue Gazette* of the 15th July (received on the 20th July) says that in their zeal to champion the cause of the Maharaja of Sikhs are about to commit a gross blunder. Because of this improper zeal, they will weaken their organisation. The Government

is no mere figure of clay after all. The Guru-ka-Bagh question was a religious one, whereas the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha is a political matter, which should be tackled with wisdom. After all, what are the achievements of the Maharaja of Nabha that he should be considered entitled to much fervent support? So far as our knowledge goes, his subjects were crying at his hands, his officials were dissatisfied with him and he was incapable of carrying on the administration of his State. In these circumstances, the enthusiasm displayed by the Sikhs is blind and meaningless. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 393).

***Kesari*, 16 July 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 16th July states that all the Sikhs whose views the editor has had occasion to study are of opinion that in taking over the administration of Nabha the Government has incurred a very serious responsibility. The agitation which the Sikhs will start will surpass even that carried on against the partition of Bengal. They will know no rest until they have ensured the safety of the Nabha State. Elsewhere the editor reports that he had a conversation with an Akali youth who passionately remarked that every Sikh would try to ensure the safety of Nabha by carrying on a peaceful agitation. The Editor finds a great deal of truth in this and would again tell the Government that it has committed a blunder in deposing the Maharaja. Again, the method adopted by it to bring about the deposition is most unstatesmanlike and imprudent. It should make amends for its mistake even now, or it will have to feel sorry for its action. Elsewhere the paper says that the offence for which the Maharaja of Nabha has been deposed and the way in which his State has been taken possession of are so sensational that it will not be surprising if all the ruling chiefs in the country remain on the alert in future. Even if it has been proved that the Maharaja got up false cases against some officers of the Patiala State how has the Government of India the right to occupy Nabha? Has it done so by way of compensation for the trouble it had to take in hearing the Patiala-Nabha case through one of its officers and pronouncing judgement in it? If this is so, it will have to be admitted that the Government has taken a very big fee. It is necessary that the matter should be discussed in the Princes' Chamber. Again, the Government should be asked to reinstate the Maharaja and express regret for its action. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 393).

***Kashatri Sewak*, 16 July 1923**

The *Kashatri Sewak* of the 16th July says that the deposition of a fearless and popular ruler is really a most painful and instructive incident. The servants

of the Maharaja, both Indian and English, have proved treacherous and disloyal to him. It is painful that His Highness has been separated from his only son. The order forbidding the officials of the State to write to the Maharaja is another act of rigour. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 394).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 18 July 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 18th July observes that the Muhammadans (in India) are ready to make every sacrifice for distant Turkey. But attempts are being made to cut off our arms in our very presence in the hope that the Sikh Panth will quietly put up with the disgrace inflicted on the Maharaja. There is nothing wrong in any of the decisions delivered by His Highness himself: fault has been found only with those given by his officials. Would a Governor be dismissed if it is proved that a Deputy Commissioner under him is corrupt? If not, is not the position of the Maharaja equal even to a servant of the Government? The move has been made to shatter our political power. The hand (? of the Government) has first been raised against the ruler of Nabha. If we fail to save him from this high-handedness we shall never be able to save any (Sikh) State. The cordial relations existing between the Panth and the (Sikh) States will come to an end through fear of the Government of India. The status of Princes will be so reduced that they will become the servile slaves of Government officers. A slave has no religion and when the slavish ruler find that their conversion to Christianity pleases the Government of India they will not hesitate to take even that step. We earnestly appeal to the Panth that the times being critical every member of it should become ready to sacrifice his all. Elsewhere, the paper publishes a letter from Bhagat Singh, *Pardesi*, Secretary, District Sikh League, Amritsar, who earnestly requests all members of the League to hold *Diwans* in every village and agitate against the deposition of the Maharaja. People should be informed of the true facts and the deep moves made by the Government. As soon as orders are received from the Central Sikh League or the Shiromani Committee they should jump into the fire of sacrifice but remain non-violent. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 390).

Nation, 22 July 1923

The *Nation* of the 22nd July writes: –

“It is obvious that the Maharaja was victimized into surrender by certain officials. The questions were put are: –

- (1) Will Government publish the complete despatches relating to the Nabha abdication?
- (2) What was the part played by the Governor-General in Council in this affair?

- (3) What had the India Office to say to the whole affair?
- (4) Is it true that the threat of deportation was levelled at the Maharaja's head?

It seems a grave injustice has been done to one of the most independent Maharajas in India who has now to pay the price of his independence, with the result that the Akali community is in an uproar of agitation." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 407).

Babar Sher, 23 July 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 23rd July says that during the three years' regime of that angel and incarnation of justice, Lord Reading, justice have been completely filled with prisoners. The justice done in the case of the massacre of 200 innocent Akalis at Nankana Sahib, the grant of promotions to the perpetrators of unbearable oppression at Guru-ka-Bagh, the acquittal of those who crushed the people under a railway train at Panja Sahib in broad daylight – all these high-handed acts have been done under the patronage of this very Viceroy. The banishment of the Maharaja of Nabha on the plea of the Patiala-Nabha dispute has also taken place in his blessed *regime* and by his blessed and just orders! Is there a single condition in the *sanad*, dated the 5th May 1860, granted to the Maharaja that has been violated by the deposed ruler of Nabha? Again, it is nowhere stated in the treaty that the Maharaja shall be deposed on his violating any term. And is there any condition to the effect that on the Maharaja quarreling with the ruler of a neighbouring State he shall be sent into exile? On the contrary, it is affirmed that the Government shall not interfere in any affair of the State. We have also come to know that there is no law under which Government can take possession of a Native State. It was for this reason that it had recourse to special legislation for the purpose of taking temporary possession of the estate of Raja Mahindar Partap. Is it not, then, a piece of sheer injustice quietly to swallow up the Nabha State? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 406).

Hariana Tilak, 23 July 1923

The *Hariana Tilak* of the 23rd July thinks that the Government has committed a serious mistake in deposing the Maharaja and has, by (thus) inciting the Akalis, involved itself in trouble from which its honourable escape appears to be difficult, provided, as is expected, the Sikhs rush into the field. It is not known how the idea about the Maharaja of Patiala also being opposed to the deposition of the ruler of Nabha came to prevail among the Sikhs. His Highness is the same potentate whom the Akalis were not prepared lately to call a Sikh. They must have come to their senses now. In the absence of their patriotic

leaders they sometimes play into the hands of enemies posing as their friends. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 407).

***Jat Gazette*, 25 July 1923**

The *Jat Gazette* of the 25th July contends that the Government has absolutely no powers to depose or reinstate rulers of Native States. Had not the Maharaja the right to have his case tried by a commission of his peers and was not the matter worthy of being laid before the Chamber of Princes? The Government has committed a serious mistake in deposing the Maharaja and its attitude will create feelings of discontent even among the Indian Princes.

Elsewhere the paper remarks that although the statement issued by the Maharaja of Patiala indicates his sincere friendship for the Government it cannot but lead to his being regarded as "a share-holder in this disreputable matter." What consequences more dangerous than deposition could there be? Does the Maharaja of Patiala think that the State of Nabha would have been confiscated or its ruler sent to the gallows? The present is the age neither of Lord Dalhousie nor of barbarism. Neither of the above measures could possibly have been adopted. Indeed, the step already taken against the Maharaja of Nabha is an extreme one. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 407).

***Gurdwara*, 30 July 1923**

The *Gurdwara* of the 30th July (received on the 3rd August) observes that the demand of the Maharani to be entrusted with the administration of the State till the Tika Sahib attains his majority is perfectly legitimate. This is the only way in which the Government can save itself from the daily growing agitation among the Sikhs against the forcible abdication of the Maharaja. It has to avenge itself on His highness and has done so. It should now act with wisdom. Elsewhere, the paper states that it was announced at the Darbar held after the so-called abdication of the Maharaja that according to the *sanad* granted to Nabha in 1860, the State should be administered by a representative of the British Government and that rebellion, mal-practices, intrigue and bribery would be put down with a strong hand. But if the Government itself also had observed the terms of the *sanad* it would not have interfered with the administration of the State. And are not the evils of rebellion, mal-practices, bribery and intrigue rampant even in the territory governed by the British Government? Again, if it is sought to be implied that the Maharaja was guilty of rebellion against the British Government the charge is entirely false. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 417).

Kirpan Bahadur, 30 July 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 30th July says that the Sikhs have no hesitation in calling the Phulkian States “Khalsa Turkey” and their rulers “Sikh Khalifas.” This is the reason why the deposition of one of their Caliphs has caused feelings of horror in the country from one end to the other. They have resolved that either the lord of Nabha will be restored to his *gaddi* or forty lakh Khalsas will, like so many moths, immolate themselves on the lamp of Nabha. News has also reached us that many Sikhs are disposing of their houses and other property and are eagerly awaiting the command of the Panth to sacrifice themselves and their families. They affirm that although in saving Nabha they might be machine-gunned, bombed, burnt with cannon balls, pierced with bullets and hacked to pieces with swords, still they will cheerfully proceed (to Nabha), singing together: –

We have placed our heads on our palm, O Panth
We must proceed to the lane of Nabha.

O, what a wonderful sight it will be when fine swordsmen, who could stand single-handed against multitudes, will, in obedience to the order of that peaceful *satyagrahi*, the 5th Akali leader, Siri Guru Arjan Dev, be hacked to pieces in maintaining the dignity of their Sikh Caliph and will not lift a finger in return. They have afforded proof of their non-violence at Guru-ka-Bagh and passed in the first paper of the test. The second paper about being blown from machine-guns is being set by the Divine hand and is the last paper for the Khalsa. If they get full marks in it no Power in the world will be able to practice oppression upon them. The Muhammadans have taken four years (to ensure the safety) of the Sultan of Turkey, because they depended upon the power of the sword. The safety of the Sikh Sultan can be ensured in so many days, seeing that we depend only on the principle of non-violence.

Elsewhere, the paper publishes a poem recited at a meeting of the Sikh League at Nankana Sahib. Some verses run as follows: –

Why has the bureaucracy run mad, O friends? It is practising extreme oppression.
Has not so much *zulm* satiated it that it has entangled itself at Nabha?
Just as happened at Guru-ka-Bagh, the Akalis will collect here (at Nabha) in multitudes.
Every Khalsa child will sacrifice himself for the State.
Thou hast come forth to-day to quarrel with the Khalsa and hast forgotten all thy obligations to him.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 417).

***Nation*, 1 August 1923**

The *Nation* of the 1st August writes: –

“We have before now tried to bring home to the Government the immensity of their folly in this particular affair. Even if the Government were not bound by solemn pledges, given solemnly to the State of Nabha, justice it self demanded a lenient treatment. Unfortunately, however, the Government has ceased to hear so reason. It will hardly realise that the policy being followed by it in the present case is as dangerous as the blind and autocratic policy of Lord Dalhousie. The bureaucracy by its unfortunate policy is heedlessly heading for disaster. In its ignorance it is playing with fire. Even now much time is not lost. There is ample occasion for a safe retreat. But Government realise danger only when it is too late.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 419).

***Khalsa Samachar*, 2 August 1923**

The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 2nd August thinks that the best way to restore peace is to reinstate the Maharaja and effect a compromise between him and Patiala by making him apologise and pay damage to the latter. If this cannot be done at present, it is necessary that the proposed Council of Administration should consist only of Sikhs and its personnel should command the confidence of the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 418).

***Gulzar-i-Hind*, 4 August 1923**

The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 4th August remarks that the Akalis have resolved to start passive resistance over the abdication of the Maharaja. The Government has no right to interfere with religious matters, but we are wholly opposed to the political powers of the Government being interfered with on the pretext of (safeguarding) religious freedom. If the Sikhs convert the Nabha affair into a religious question, merely because a few articles belonging to Guru Gobind Singh are in the possession of the ruler of that State, why should not the whole Punjab be the religious property of the Sikhs for the same reason, and why should not the Hyderabad State, which contains the cenotaph of Guru Gobind Singh, be made over to the Sikhs? The Government has, by following a vacillating policy, created a situation in India, especially the Punjab, which makes us fear that there will come a day that can be imagined neither by the Government nor the people. If the Sikhs go to Nabha with tied hands to practise passive resistance, what will the Government do? They are going there to receive a

beating and will, as usual, win the sympathy of the public. The Sikhs might have their heads cut off, but what will be the result? If the Government suffers a reverse in this case, it should bear in mind that the Sikhs will one day resort to passive resistance with a view to taking possession of the Punjab Government House. The Parbandhak Committee first employed the Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh and then on *kar-sewa*. Will it use them now to restore the Maharaja of Nabha to his *gaddi*? Why is all this taking place? Simply because the Government has Sikh soldiers under it and they are likely to get displeased if it does not yield to their community. Why are constant mischievous activities on the part of a section of the people being ignored? Does the Government really wish to establish Sikh rule in the Punjab? And will it accord or is it prepared to accord the same treatment to the Mussalmans for doings like these? If not, why not? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 431).

Nation, 7 August 1923

The *Nation* of the 7th August writes: –

“When history repeats itself in Nabha our only fear is that history may not unfortunately follow its precedents too closely. We earnestly hope that in this case, at least, as in the case of Kashmir, the Government will realise the abundance of their folly and order as soon as possible the reinstatement of Nabha. Those who press the Government still to defy public opinion and turn a deaf ear to ‘unscrupulous agitation’ are really the enemies of the people and the dead enemies of the Government; above all, they are the foul enemies of peace and order. Let these cheap reactionaries understand that even the best of Governments cannot to-day defy organized public opinion, and if there are any two questions in which public opinion is united to-day they are Kenya and Nabha.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 431).

Akali, 8 August 1923

The *Akali* of the 8th August publishes an article from “A Sikh graduate,” who says that “usurping,” “tyrannical,” and “crafty” are the three epithets a critic can propose for the present bureaucracy which sucks the blood of poor Indian and (still) boasts of (its) justice, equality of treatment and sense of recognition of the rights of others. “Bandar-bant” (division by the monkey), *viz.*, “divide and rule”, is the characteristic of this bureaucracy. “Do any arbitrary acts but uphold your prestige and dignity after ignoring public opinion” is the motto of this bureaucracy. It has gratified its old-standing grudge by removing Maharaja Ripudaman Singh from his *gaddi*, making him homeless and heaping disgrace

on him. Nor is this all. According to the adage "Firing one's bullet by placing the gun on the shoulders of others," it is now engaged in the useless effort to lay the responsibility for its usurping, high-handed and crafty action at the door of the Maharaja of Patiala. The cat was lying in ambush and leapt out to eat its victim as soon as the latter came within striking distance. No explanation is demanded for the barbarous beating and revolting oppression indulged in at Guru-ka-Bagh. No one has even the right to interfere with "these responsible representatives of the bureaucracy." The question whether its attack on the ruler of Nabha will satiate the bureaucracy will be answered by the times to come; but the answer depends upon the self-respect and sense of duty of the Khalsa. So long as the brave and self-respecting community of the Sikhs which dies for its honour possesses life, it will not shrink from making any possible sacrifice to maintain the dignity of its Caliph. The world shall see how the moths of the lamp of liberty and the enthusiasts who want to sacrifice their lives for religion will go forward to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their national honour. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, pp. 429-430).

Akali, 9 and 10 August 1923

"A Sikh graduate", writing to the *Akali* of the 9th and 10th August states that evidently the Government is prepared to use every means to combat the Sikhs. The bureaucracy fears that if it yields on the present occasion the Sikhs will demand the Punjab to-morrow. In view of such imaginary fears, it is devising plans to crush the Sikh community. The Sikhs also wish that it should be settled whether they have to lead the lives of impotent men by remaining in perpetual bondage or should maintain their past dignity and live like the self-respecting members of living nations. The present Government considers it an act of cowardice and weakness, as also derogatory to its dignity, to admit a mistake and make reparations for it. This is why it considers it a matter of shame and disgrace to recede after adopting a measure, lawful or otherwise. The bureaucracy is so proud of its power and the means of repression and intimidation at its disposal that it cares for no one and becomes prepared to commit one mistake after another. It deposed the Maharaja of Nabha to satisfy an old grudge. The Sikh community has decided to make every sacrifice to come out successful in the present test. It is absurd and vain to think that the demonstration of troops, the fear of airships and bombs, the roar of guns and cannon, the threat of repression and the fear of imprisonment and fine will cow down the self-respecting and brave lions of the Guru. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 430).

***Punjab Darpan*, 10 August 1923**

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 10th August writes: –

“Khalsaji, you should make every endeavour and sacrifice to restore the Maharaja of Nabha to his *gaddi*. If to-day the bureaucracy has taken possession of his State after deposing him, to-morrow it will swallow up Patiala and other Sikh States. You should accept no alternative but his restoration. He has received this punishment for sympathizing with the Panth and it is our duty to return that sympathy a hundredfold. We also ask the bureaucracy to give up such tactics. It is not yet too late; otherwise, like the Guru-ka-Bagh, it will be difficult for it to disenable itself from the affair, and then it will repent.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 430).

***Kesari*, 15 August 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 15th August affirms that the disrespect shown to the Maharaja on the occasion of his removal from Nabha was undoubtedly regrettable. But the officers concerned are alleged to have meted out improper treatment to the Senior Maharani and the eldest daughter of the Maharaja. These things are so painful that every one will regret if no notice is taken of them by the Government of India and especially Lord Reading. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 443).

***Gurdwara*, 15 August 1923**

The *Gurdwara* of the 15th August says that even the greatest Indian Prince cannot assert that he is the friend of England until amends are made for the oppression practised on the Maharaja of Nabha. If any sense of self-respect is left in the Native States, if they do not desire interference from the Government of India in their internal affairs or mutual disputes, and if they wish to live as friends of the British Government, they should take up the Nabha question and get reparations made for the high-handedness to which the Maharaja has been subjected. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 453).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 August 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 30th August notes that the strongest argument advanced by Sardar Joginder Singh is his letter to the *Civil & Military Gazette* is that the Nabha question is a political and not a religious one. We agree with him, to some extent, but we do not think that religion and politics are so different from each other as to have nothing common between them. We, however, assure the Sardar that the Panth will not do anything in a hurry and

without careful consideration. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 469).

***Akali*, 30 November 1923**

The abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha still finds an echo in the columns of the Sikh papers. The *Akali* publishes a translation of an article contributed to the *Nation* of America by Babu Basant Kumar Roy, who says that as a result of the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha great unrest is being caused. Babar Akalis have already challenged the supremacy of the British Raj in India and started guerilla warfare in the Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts, where the British Government has promulgated martial law. Thousands of Sikhs in the British army are showing signs of uneasiness. All the Indians are protesting against the deposition, which will hasten the day of the fall of British rule in India. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st December 1923*, No. 49, p. 630).

***Babar Sher*, 2 May 1924**

In a still later issue, the paper [the *Babar Sher*] reports that it is persistently rumoured at Amritsar that a compromise between the S.G.P.C. and the bureaucracy is in sight and all the demands of the Sikhs will be conceded, the Nabha question alone being the exception. This question was, however, considered to be religious from every point of view. The furious bureaucracy has thrust thousands of Sikhs into jails and dyed its hands with the blood of hundreds. Any reconciliation with the bureaucracy depends, therefore, on the solution of this question, and if it is put aside the manifold sacrifices made by the Sikhs will go in vain. If the S.G.P.C. takes even one step back the Sikh community will be reduced to the state to which the Congress degenerated after the Bardoli decision. The Panth has vowed that as long as even a one Sikh is alive he will fight for the Maharaja of Nabha and take rest only after his restoration to the *gaddi*. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 160).

5 **A House and Gift of the Guru**

***Punjab Darpan*, 6 and 13 July 1923**

In its combined issue dated the 6th and 13th July the *Punjab Darpan* appeals to the Sikhs to do something to save "this Sikh State – the gift of the Tenth Guru." Wherever a Sikh may be he should convey his feelings of resentment to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in strong words. The Shiromani Gurdwara

Parbandhak Committee also should take up the matter at once. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 375).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 10 July 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 10th July remarks that there is no Sikh whose heart will not be lacerated on perusal of the Government *communiqué*. Nabha is no State of the Maharaja's but the *gaddi* of the "Akali King" (Guru Gobind Singh) who granted the blessing 'thy house is mine' (to the forefathers of the former). To usurp it is, therefore, to interfere in the religion of the Sikhs in broad daylight, which the Sikh community can never tolerate. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 375).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 16 July 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 16th July states that the owner of the Phulkian States is the Akali leader, Sri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. To lay hands upon at State of his is to insult not only the Khalsa, but the Guru himself. How can the Sikhs, thousands of whom were slaughtered like goats for Guru-ka-Bagh, tolerate this? Who can doubt that they will not quietly put up with the insult offered to their community as long as there is life in them? We should be ready to sacrifice all that the Panth may demand for the safety of "this house of the Guru." We should leave aside our domestic affairs until the Maharaja is restored to this *gaddi* by the same hand that turned him out of the Hira Mahal in disgrace. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 375).

6 Warnings to Indian States

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 1 July 1923**

Adverting to the resolution of the Sikh League about the rumoured deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha, the *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 1st July observes that if the news is well founded, it will strongly advise the Government to refrain from sullyng its name by such an action. If the Maharaja of Nabha is deposed to-day, the ruler of Patiala might be similarly treated to-morrow and all (other) Sikhs Princes (*lit.* States) might meet the same fate next. The Sikh community is not going to tolerate this in any case. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28, p. 360).

***Babbar Sher*, 9 July 1923**

The *Babbar Sher* of the 9th July states that it has heard rumours to the effect that the Maharaja of Nabha will be deposed and deported to England. The

bureaucracy does not like the organization of the Sikhs, while the Maharaja is well known for his advocacy of Sikh organization. It should, therefore, be the foremost duty of the bureaucracy to weaken this powerful champion and thus destroy the organization. The turn of Patiala will assuredly come after that of Nabha. Indeed, a rumour is already afloat that the ruler of that State will also be interned at Chail. If rumours about the deposition of Nabha turn out to be true, the Sikh community will believe that the bureaucracy is bent on bringing the Sikh States to an end. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 374).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 12 July 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 12th July asserts that the voluntary abdication of the Maharaja is really tantamount to his deposition. His Highness has been practically turned out and the administration of the State will, to all intents and purposes, remain in the hands of the Government until his four years old son comes of age. His deposition will open a new chapter in the history of the Indian Princes. The present instance may possibly be quoted in future for visiting wrath on some other potentate. The Chamber of Princes should learn a lesson and take special action. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 380).

***Siyasat*, 13 July 1923**

It appears to the *Siyasat* of the 13th July that Lord Reading's Government wishes to adopt Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexing Indian States. We want to make it clear, however, that in spite of the tyranny and inhuman atrocities perpetrated in these States, no Indian can approve of the conduct of the Government in closing their careers on the ground of their mutual quarrels and establishing bureaucratic rule in them. If the Government has a regard for its friendly treaties with the Indian Princes and wishes to put an end to certain unpleasant conditions and remove certain irregularities (prevalent in their territories) it should give them sound advice, instead of taking possession of their States. The report about the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha will cause feelings of surprise throughout India. The justice done in the Patiala-Nabha dispute is contrary to all expectations. The findings of Mr. Justice Stuart shows that the Maharaja had been working against the officials of the Patiala State. The losses suffered by that State could have been made good and the Government could have arranged to settle the dispute and bring about a reconciliation between the two Princes, who could have been required to furnish adequate guarantees for maintaining friendly relations. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 380).

Zamindar, 15 July 1923

The *Zamindar* of the 15th July says that even if the charges brought against the Maharaja are true his deposition is a most regrettable and reprehensible act. If Indian Princes are to be deposed over matters like the Patiala-Nabha dispute, God alone can protect the Native States. Judging from the reports received, there is a strong suspicion that the dispute was not the only cause of the deposition. The present condition of the Maharaja is most distressing. The action of the Government will be viewed everywhere with pain and sorrow. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 380).

Vakil, 15 July 1923

The *Vakil* of the 15th July writes that if, as is stated by the Government, the Maharaja abdicated voluntarily, there was no need for the Agent to the Governor-General to go to Nabha with a detachment of troops and machine guns, enter the palace after forcibly passing the guards and surround it with machine guns. If the Maharaja was not forced to abdicate why was he not required to announce his abdication to the Darbaries before his departure – a practice which is observed on such occasions? The Government should issue a statement to satisfy the Indian public in general and the Sikhs in particular. ‘It would have been far better to refer the matter to the Chamber of Princes, which would have silenced criticism and prevented the public from indulging in wild conjectures. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 380).

Babar Sher, 19 July 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 19th July writes: –

“That the plots and pretexts resorted to in order to depose and exile Maharaja of Nabha are perhaps without a parallel in the history of the world. Although there is a great resemblance between the present event and the wresting of rule from Maharaja Dalip Singh, still the methods of treachery practised against the Maharaja of Nabha far exceed those used against Dalip Singh. The Nabha correspondent of the *Kesari* states that the Maharaja of Patiala has received the news with feelings of the deepest regret rather than pleasure. This may be so, but as long as the influence of the government of Pandit Daya Kishan Kaul prevails in Patiala its rule cannot express his real sentiments. The chief reason for this is said to be that certain matters connected with the murder of Lal Singh are such that if the Pandit gets angry with the Maharaja, it is apprehended that the latter will come to harm. The Maharaja of Patiala is now in the same condition in which the ruler of Nabha used to be and if he does not try, in consultation with the leaders of the Panth, to get rid

of this pest (his Chief Minister), the day is not far off when his States will be reduced to the present status of Nabha. The Maharaja of Nabha committed the greatest blunder in making over to the Government the case between him and Patiala. He thereby paved the way to his own destruction. But he was less to blame than his faithless officials, who always placed obstructions in the way of an amicable settlement with the object of fulfilling the cherished desires of the bureaucracy. When once the case went into the hands of the bureaucracy, both Patiala and Nabha became powerless and the latter was so entangled in a skein that it became impossible for him to extricate himself, while the confidence reposed by him in the bureaucracy was met with foul treachery." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 388).

Ramgarhia Gazette, 19 July 1923

The *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 19th July (received on the 5th September) characterizes the attitude of Government as demonical and affirms that it is contemplated that not only Nabha but all other Sikh States should be annihilated. These States nourished the plant of the bureaucracy with their blood in 1857, secured victory for it by rescuing it from the clutches of Germany after undergoing considerable pains and self-sacrifice and finally tried to preserve its safety in India. The English have accorded to the States the same treatment as was meted out to Maharaja Dalip Singh, whom they removed from the Punjab. They also created disunion between Rani Jindan and the Sikhs, made false promises after confiscating his Raj, wrested the Punjab through deception and converted to Christianity the brave Prince who died longing to see his motherland. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 483).

Nation, 22 August 1923

The *Nation* of the 22nd August writes: –

“We recently had occasion to ask the benign Government to throw some light on certain important matters pertaining to the so-called abdication. To our disappointment the Government has displayed an indiscreet silence. The questions which we asked remained unanswered. It is pertinent to conclude therefore that our statements made to the public were correct, because they stand unchallenged and hitherto uncontradicted. Truth needs no contradiction. ... But that occasion was enough to threaten and terrorise the Maharaja and thus compel him to accept the terms of deposition. We deliberately call it deposition, because, as we have previously asserted, the Maharaja in his last letter to the Government himself stated that there was no choice left to him under the circumstances but to abdicate. Abdication is always understood to

be voluntary and when it is dictated by a superior power it is nothing short of deposition. It was deposition for other reasons also. The Maharaja after he had signed the abdication warrant was forced to leave his territory and the State was taken over by the administrator with the help of the military. The palaces were searched, the Maharani was starved and locked with her daughter and the people were intimidated and repressed. ... Considering these propositions we naturally come to the conclusion that no member of the Indian ruling class can be safe on his throne if he manifests any independence of spirit or any progressive political tendency in despite of the dictate of the British Government or its agents. Is it surprising therefore that the case of Nabha may be used by the Government to serve as a deterrent to Rajas and Maharajas who may be similarly inclined? Other abdications we know are in the air, and it will not take long for Lord Reading if this policy is continued to make a clean sweep of all undesirable rulers, just as it did not take him long to clean up all undesirable public men. Lord Dalhousie wrote the prologue of this great drama. One wonders if Lord Reading will pen the epilogue and complete the farce!" (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, pp. 454-455).

7 Appeals to the King Emperor

Khalsa Samachar, 12 July 1923

The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 12th July thinks the proper course to adopt was for the defeated party in the Patiala-Nabha dispute to pay damages and apologise to the winning party. Deposition is a very severe punishment, seeing that there was a quarrel between two States and not that Nabha was at war with the British Crown. We would appeal to His Majesty the King-Emperor to issue a proclamation, as an act of clemency, disallowing the deposition and restoring the Maharaja to his gaddi on his giving an assurance of good behaviour. We did not understand why the administration of Nabha should pass into the hands of the Government of India. So far as the public knows, there exists an agreement between the three Phulkian States and the Government to the effect that on the gaddi of any of them being vacant the remaining two States shall arrange for its administration. Patiala and Jind and not the Government of India should, therefore, make arrangements about the administration of Nabha. If it may be said in reply that the Maharaja himself has made over the administration to the Government of India, we would say that he had no power to do so. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 375).

Gurdwara, 18 July 1923

The *Gurdwara* of the 18th July publishes an open letter to His Majesty King George V from its editor, who says among other things. – "... Your Majesty is fully aware that the Punjab belongs to the Sikhs and *vice versa* and that to grant a larger number of rights to any non-Sikh than to the Sikhs themselves is tantamount to doing justice to the Sikh community. The Sikhs requested Your Majesty's representatives to grant them equal rights with other communities, but their request was spurned with scorn, no regard being paid to their services and sacrifices. The result was that they were greatly disappointed and their feelings of loyalty were weakened. The rights of the Sikhs were destroyed, not because they had committed any offence, but only to make the different communities go on fighting for their rights and enable Your Majesty's representatives to enjoy themselves to their heart's content. The Sikhs gave up the idea of obtaining secular rights in their disgust of this move on the part of Your Majesty's servants. But as religion is their (sole) support they thought of safeguarding their religious rights and turned attention to the improvement of their religious places. To accomplish this work satisfactorily they formed a Committee which is representative of the whole community in the true sense of the term. But *badmashes* became obdurate at the instance of Your Majesty's representatives and threw obstacles in our way. Your Majesty's representatives openly helped these immoral persons in ways which are opposed to law, humanity, civilization, etc., and, in the name of Your Majesty and under the cover of Government and law, they practised oppressions on us to which a parallel is hard to find in past history. ... The painful and heart-rendering incidents which took place at Nankana Sahib, Guru-ka-Bagh, Punja Sahib, etc., will remain memorable as long as the world lasts. ... Your Majesty's heart will break on becoming cognizant of any one of the oppressions practised on innocent Sikhs at Guru-ka-Bagh by your unjust representatives. But why did the Sikhs put up with all this? The reason is perhaps to be found in the fact that they still have regard for Your Majesty's friendship. But I respectfully ask how long their patience will last. They are human beings and cannot work impossibilities. ... The whole country side (comprising the Phulkian States) was granted to a Sikh by the seventh Guru and the Tenth Guru called it "this home". The Sikhs have, therefore, the same regard for it as the Mussalmans have for Turkey. It is the Khilafat for the Sikhs. It is Guru Gobind Singh's "own house". They consider it their duty to sacrifice their all before allowing it to be overtaken by danger. ... The Maharaja of Nabha was Your Majesty's friend and did not, therefore, flatter your servants who mercilessly and deceitfully deprived him of his crown

and throne and gave it out that he was inimically disposed towards the Patiala State. O Emperor of India, this is a pretence and a piece of cunning. ... What is the Princes' Chamber meant for? The dispute could have been referred to it for settlement. ... Oppression has been practised on the Maharaja. ... Dacoits and highway-men are not accorded such bad treatment as has been meted out to the ruler of Nabha by the servants of the King. I think that if he had been guilty of open rebellion he would not have been humiliated and disgraced like this. ... Is it not an unlawful use of power and authority? ... The dispute is stated to have been between Nabha and Patiala ... The administration of the former State is, however, taken in hand (by the Government) and its ruler is deposed and removed from his capital as a prisoner under military escort. Is this not the worst specimen of "division by the monkey"? ... The Sikhs cannot tolerate that one of their Rajas should be deposed like this and deprived of the gift received from the Guru. The Maharaja of Nabha was your friend and not you subject. ... Being a Sikh he sympathised with Sikh movements. For this reason also the Sikhs cannot tolerate his disgrace and are in a state of excitement. ... They will be distrustful (of the Government), their faith in (British) justice will be shaken and their friendly ties with your Government will become weak. Your Majesty, the Sikhs now demand the restoration of the Maharaja to his *raj* and they are determined to have justice done to him." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, pp. 391–392).

8 SGPC Intervenes

Tribune, 13 July 1923

The *Tribune* of the 13th July writes: –

“There are some very important points in the Shiromani Committee's *communiqué* on the action of the Government of India in regard to the Maharaja of Nabha. ... The cumulative effect of these disclosures will be only to intensify the dissatisfaction with which the action of the Government of India is, we are convinced, all but universally viewed in this matter.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 377).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 15 July 1923

Writing to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 15th July, Gyani Sher Singh says that the Sikhs States, particularly the Phulkian States, signify the power of the Panth. The injury caused to the Maharaja of Nabha is, therefore, fatal for the Sikh Panth. The light thrown on the matter by Master Tara Singh and Bhai Didar Singh in the issue of the 11th instance shows clearly enough what the abdication of the

Maharaja really means. It is the duty of the Shiromani Committee and all other Sikh bodies to lay aside all disputes and start such an agitation on non-violent and suitable lines that the honour of the old Sikh State may not be injured. The Hindus, Muhammadans and all other countrymen of ours are requested to help in maintaining the honour of the Indian States. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 376).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 20 July 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 20th July writes: –

“To avoid serious clash between public opinion, which is up to present not possessed of full facts, and the Government, will it not be advisable for the authorities to take the leaders of Sikh public opinion or important Sikh bodies into their confidence? If the Government of India have a strong case, which it is alleged they were ready to bring into open courts, they are sure to gain by placing all the information, on which they were contemplating such strong action, before those who do not see eye to eye with them. The situation is very critical and we shall advise the Panth also to proceed with due caution in this matter ... A false step in the direction of getting redress may not only harm the Maharaja more, it may prove disastrous for all Panthic movements. The question is of defending the rights of Sikh princes, established by treaties between the British Government and the Sikh States.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 406).

***Siyasat*, 4 August 1923**

The *Siyasat* of the 4th August says that certain notices published by the Hindus at Amritsar to defame the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee show that the Hindus have forgotten the favours done to them (by the Sikhs) and are mixing personal quarrels with national questions. The events of Malabar, Multan, Amritsar, etc., have revealed them and their newspapers in true colours. The same is true of their non-participation in the Turkish peace celebration, the bad faith shown by them in getting the Mussalmans (of Amritsar) convicted and their strenuous efforts to defame the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 415).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 5 August 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 5th August states that the Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore contends that the Gurdwara Committee is a religious body and should not, therefore, interfere in political matters like the Nabha abdication. No religion can, however, live unless it has a community at its back. If there remains no Sikh community to-day where will the Sikh religion be? This was why the

Sikhs of old did not differentiate between religious and political matters. Everything for the welfare of the Panth was considered to be religious. Matters which exclusively concern the Sikhs should be termed religious or Panthic and not political. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 418).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 5 August 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 5th August says that being a religious body the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee should abstain from meddling in the Maharaja's abdication, which was voluntary. And even if it is supposed that His Highness was forced to abdicate the matter is political and not religious. The Parbandhak Committee is neither justified in dabbling in this agitation nor will its activities do any good to the Maharaja. The Akalis and the Committee should keep silence. If they cause any disturbance the Government will be right in using all its strength and resources for restoring order. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 420).

***Loyal Gazette*, 5 August 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 5th August states that the Maharaja of Nabha contributed nearly Rs. 50,00,000 towards different war funds and the Maharani recently gave Rs. 50,000 in aid of the Lady Reading Fund. As the Government has not taken these services into consideration and has deposed the Maharaja its sense of self-respect demands that it should refund the whole amount to the Nabha State.

Elsewhere the paper asks why so many troops have been collected at Nabha when the Akalis are under a vow to remain non-violent and are also fully aware of the strength of the Government. Again, who will bear the expenses of these movements of troops – the British Government or the small State of Nabha?

In another place the paper remarks that the Sikhs cannot tolerate that the English should occupy any of their States in the manner in which they have taken possession of Nabha. The Nabha incident has revived the memory of the doings of the English officers in the past after the appointment of a Resident in the Punjab. If the Maharaja applied for abdication voluntarily and in full possession of his senses it is quite a different thing. But if he has been coerced by threats into announcing his abdication in writing the relevant letter is not worth anything at all. At all events, if the Government is in the right it should accept the Shiromani Committee's challenge to appoint a Committee of Enquiry. Otherwise, the Committee will have to disclose the secrets in its

possession. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 429).

Paisa Akhbar, 8 August 1923

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th August remarks that the Shiromani Committee being a religious body it should confine its activities to religious matters. The Nabha abdication is not a religious question, but the Committee is giving it a religious colouring for no reasons. The decision of the Government is based on the finding in the Patiala-Nabha dispute. If the Committee had caused an enquiry to be made it would have never thought of starting agitation. Its object is only to defame the Government openly and prove the Maharaja of Patiala and his officials to be the enemies of the Sikhs. In other words, it wishes to kill two birds with one stone. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 431).

Akali, 13 August 1923

The *Akali* of the 13th August reproduces an article from the *Swaraj* which refers to the Parbandhak Committee's challenge to the Government (for an independent inquiry into the Nabha affair) and says that the Committee has, as usual, fearlessly and boldly ferreted out the details of this reprehensible conspiracy and published the real facts, which prove the falsehood of the statements issued by the Government and expose their deception. The Government of India has now become involved in a tangle. The charges (levelled against it) are serious and it is necessary to rebut them, for silence will be taken to mean that they are well founded. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, pp. 442-443).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 18 August 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 18th August remarks that the Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore says that while the Shiromani Committee wants the Gurdwaras to be managed on democratic lines, it is upholding autocratic rule in the case of Nabha. The fact, however, is that after turning out the Maharaja lawlessness has been allowed to prevail in the State. We would have gladly helped the bureaucracy if its object had been to replace the Maharaja's rule by a democratic one. We are ready to help it even now if it is prepared to establish such a rule in Nabha to-day, at Lahore to-morrow, at Amritsar the day after and so on in the whole India. As it is, the Maharaja has been deposed merely for holding democratic views. It is, therefore, the duty of the Shiromani Committee to help

him in every way. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 443).

***Akali*, 24 August 1923**

The *Akali* of the 24th August refers to the alleged unpatriotic activities of Mr. Daulat Ram Kalia, of Ferozepore, and goes on to say that when the Maharaja of Nabha was dethroned, he published a post stating that he was doing this with the advice of Sardar Chanda Singh, Pleader. The poster declared that the Nabha affair was a political one and it was a mistake on the part of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak to interfere with it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 484).

9 Treatment of Family Members

***Kesari*, 17 August 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 17th August refers to the Shiromani Committee's report about the maltreatment of the Maharani and the Maharaja's daughter and remarks that the incident will always remain an ugly blot (? on the name of the Government). The matter should be enquired into and the officers concerned should be severely punished or, at least, instantly removed from Nabha. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 443).

***Akali*, 24 August 1923**

A correspondent of the *Akali* of the 24th August writes that our eyes shed tears of blood when we heard that the representative of the Government deprived the Maharaja of his crown and throne and that some other officer locked the palaces inhabited by the Maharani and other ladies, boldly entered the zenana and carried on searches in it. Such is the civilization of this civilized Government and such is its bravery! By violating the *pardah* of our revered Maharani and according insolent treatment to her royal honour and her royal sense of modesty they have acted in a most cruel, heartless and inflammatory manner. But those who became habitual criminals by lifting the veils of the mothers, sisters and wives of Indians during the martial law days cannot certainly be prevented from committing such reprehensible acts. Does not this prove that the honour of no Maharaja or Nawab's palace is safe? Government is feeding fat its old grudge against the Maharaja of Nabha. It is even rumoured that his private estate is going to be sold by auction to find money for the penalty to be paid to Patiala. In view of the fact that the honour of the *harems* of

Indian Princes and their private estates are not safe, what should be their duty now? This is a question which the Chamber of Princes should solve by holding a special and extraordinary meeting. The Chamber should preserve the honour of the country in a practical way. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, pp. 469–470).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 25 August 1923**

It its issue of the 25th August the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] says that 9th is the date on which Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was made to give up the control of his State. Again, it was on the 9th that cowardly Minchin locked the Senior Maharani and Bibi Sahiba in the Pucca Bagh, neither food nor water being given to them until four in the evening. Indeed, it is the date on which a blow was dealt to the organization of the Panth and an insult was offered to it through the Maharani and Bibi being insulted. We should, therefore, make every possible effort to end such high-handedness in order to protect our organization and do away with shamelessness on our part. The enemy is making every preparation and adopting every measure to crush us. Some unprincipled and obscure newspapers of Lahore have already been subsidized. The enemy cares neither for religion nor for shame or anything else. The Shiromani Gurdwara Committee has issued a *communiqué* to the effect that processions should be arranged in all big cities on the 9th September and all Sikh villages should assemble in cities on that date. We can in this way show how the Panth is feeling the oppression practised on the Maharaja of Nabha, the Maharani Sahiba and the Bibi Sahiba. The Sikhs should prove on Sunday the 9th September to what extent the Panth is prepared to make sacrifices. They should leave off ploughing on that date, close their shops, abstain from all other work and take part in this communal function. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 454).

***Akali*, 30 August 1923**

The *Akali* of the 30th August remarks that the letters contributed by Sardar Joginder Singh and Sardar Gopal Singh of Bhagowal to the *Civil and Military Gazette* show that they are to a certain extent ignorant of the present circumstances. The Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana insulted Sir Guru Granth Sahib in a Diwan. The agent of the Government displayed his barbarity by searching the Zenana palace in Nabha and starving the honoured ladies of the Royal House of Nabha. What action was taken by Sardar Joginder Singh in connection with these oppressions and satanic acts? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 470).

Kirpan Bahadur, 10 November 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* publishes a letter addressed to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. The writer asks whether His Highness's blood did not boil when cowardly Minchin insulted the ladies of the Phul family, locked up his aunt and sister and searched the Maharani's room. Has His Highness forgotten the dying advice of Sir Hira Singh that he should beware lest he fall into the hands of the clever English and create discord in the house at the instance of cunning Englishmen? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th November 1923, No. 47, p. 613*).

10 The New Administration***Akali-te-Pardesi, 16 July 1923***

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 16th July writes that what terrifies it more than the official *communiqué* is the fact that the administration of the State will be in the hands of the Government of India. And the most terrifying thing is that the same will be the case with the education and upbringing of the Tikka Sahib. The *communiqué* holds the Maharaja responsible for the injustice done in six cases. Thousands and lakhs of cases must have been decided in his State, but the bureaucracy has been able to find only six in which injustice has been done. Let it find out as many out of the political cases decided in its own courts in which full justice has been done. Again, Nabha is a sovereign State, having friendly relations with the British Government, and is in no way subordinate to the latter. The Government of India had, therefore, no power to take advantage of the present opportunity to depose the Maharaja. If he had done any harm to Patiala he should have been made to pay damages and offer an apology. We know that the Maharaja of Patiala did not want more than this. But the Sarkar has treated the ruler of Nabha like a servant. The decision has reduced the status of all Indian Princes to the level of a Government servant. The Sikhs should know no rest and should continue their work. The Phulkian States, about which the Guru Sahib is said to have remarked "My house is thy house" constitute our strength and the "Khilafat" of the Panth. (*Punjab Press Abstract. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 390*).

Kirpan Bahadur, 16 July 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 16th July writes that it is said that whatever has been done to the Maharaja has been done to maintain the honour of the Patiala Darbar. Is it for the sake of Patiala that the administration of Nabha has been taken over (by the Government) and it has entrusted itself with the

education of the Tikka Sahib? People think that except for the condition about the payment of 50 lakhs to Patiala, everything else is for the benefit of the Government. Patiala gets only a black stain in its history for becoming a tool in the matter of the deposition of the ruler of Nabha. In another place the paper says that the main charge brought against the Nabha Darbar is that oppression had been practised in six cases in the name of law. People think that injustice is done daily in British courts in hundreds of cases. The police do not hesitate to practice even the grossest oppression. Hundreds of innocent persons must have been hanged up to the present. Lakhs of rupees must have been extorted by Government servants as bribes. Thousands of innocent people must have been thrown into jails and hundreds of false cases must have been manufactured by the police. Is not the Government responsible for all this? If it is, is it prepared to stand in the dock in the court of an independent Government? If it is not, how can the Maharaja of Nabha be held responsible for injustice in six cases, even if it be conceded for a while that the charge can be levelled against him? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 389).

***Khalsa*, 17 July 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 17th July remarks that the Government of India may have found a way in wording (of the agreement with Nabha) for assuming direct control (of the State), but the step is very improper, both on principle and on the face of it. The paper contends that the proper thing for it to do would have been to appoint a council of regency to administer the State. Besides, the Sikh character of the administration of Sikh States should be preserved. As it is, the control of Nabha has been entrusted to Mr. Ogilvie. The Chief Minister and several other high officials are already non-Sikhs. Can the Sikh character of the administration of the State be maintained now? The Sikhs have, therefore, not only been pained to see that a Sikh ruler has been dealt with severely, but they have also another serious grievance, *viz.*, that a Sikh State has been tinged wholly with non-Sikh colouring. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 391).

***Nation*, 18 July 1923**

The *Nation* of the 18th July writes: –

“Indeed, a most dangerous situation is developing whose dimensions we are not in a position to gauge but whose intense gravity none can deny. It is necessary, therefore, to find an immediate solution and we suggest that the Government, before it is too late, should call a conference of the Akali leaders and decide to hand over the administration of the Nabha State to the Gurdwara

Parbandhak Committee, who should conduct the affairs of the State on the democratic lines which are the strength of the Sikh cause. The old Maharaja no doubt will be called in by the Committee, to head the administration as president of the democratic republic of Nabha." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, p. 394).

Loyal Gazette, 22 July 1923

With reference to the appointment of Mr. Ogilvie as administrator of Nabha, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 22nd July observes that the Government can get Sikhs for its Executive Council but none to administer a Sikh State. We have also come to know that non-Sikh officials are being imported into the State in large numbers. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 406).

Loyal Gazette, 29 July 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 29th July says that the Sikhs had just begun to agitate in connection with the abdication of the Maharaja when the dwellers in Simla regained their senses a little. Instead of taking the administration of the State in their own hands, they have decided to make it over to a Council in conformity with past agreements. A Council or an Administrator would make no difference if the administration remains in the hands of those who carried on a propaganda against the Maharaja and proved extremely treacherous and disloyal to him. We congratulate the Sikh community on this first victory. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, pp. 416–417).

Khalsa, 31 July 1923

The *Khalsa* of the 31st July states that a perusal of the Treaty of Nabha shows that the only ground on which its ruler can be deposed is rebellion to the King-Emperor. People guess that the Government had come to know of a rebellion and an Administrator was consequently appointed to investigate into it. The idea derives strength from the havoc that the Administrator has wrought in Nabha. Many officers have been dismissed, several have been interned and some are in jail. But a *communiqué* (about the appointment of a Council to manage the State) lends support to the thought that the Administrator has been able to discover nothing. To take such a serious step (as has been taken against the ruler of Nabha) on mere suspicion is neither just nor statesman-like. It should be retracted in accordance with the wishes of the general Sikh public. The announcement about the formation of a Council fulfils one of the two Sikh demands. But until the Maharaja is restored to his *gaddi*, the Sikhs will accept no Council, the larger part of which may consist of non-Sikhs. Their

chief demand is that Sikh States should be under Sikh administration. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 418).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 1 August 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 1st August states that Mr. Ogilvie told the *ahlkars* and Sardars in the State to remain loyal to the Government of India. The rulers of Nabha are no doubt bound to remain loyal to the Government of India in accordance with the agreement concluded between the two, but it is strange that their subjects also should be required to show loyalty to the same Government. The subjects of the Native States are required by law to remain loyal to their rulers. For instance, in a struggle between a State and the Government of India, they should side with their own chief and not with the Government. To require the subjects (of Nabha) to vow loyalty to the British Crown shows that the Government of India has some deep motives in view. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 418).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 2 August 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 2nd August writes that most newspapers think that the proposal of the Government of India to appoint a Council to administer the State constitutes a victory (for the Sikhs). This is quite wrong. The Council will not be a Council of Regency and will only administer the State on behalf of the Government of India. It will be responsible not to the Maharaja but to the Government of India. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 418).

***Khalsa*, 4 August 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 4th August trusts that the Council to be appointed to administer the State will have full powers like the Maharaja and the Sikh element will preponderate on it. If the Government succeeds in proving that the abdication was voluntary, the formation of the Council and suitable arrangements for the education of the Tikka may end all agitation. Otherwise, the question will arise whether the punishment awarded to the Maharaja is not harsh. The propaganda started by Bhai Karam Singh (of the Parja Rakhshni Committee) is absolutely irrelevant. It is rank cowardice to make shameful allegations against a helpless Maharaja without proving them in a regular court of law. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 418).

***Islah*, 4 and 11 August 1923**

In its combined issue of the 4th and 11th (received on the 21st) August, the *Islah* regrets that agitation is being engineered (against Government) by giving a

religious colour to the Nabha affair. Government has not occupied the State, but has only appointed an L.C.S. to administer it as a temporary measure. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 455).

Akali, 5 August 1923

The *Akali* of the 5th August reports that the bureaucracy and the disloyal party in Nabha are now trying to make the Maharaja suggest that the Government and the Patiala and Nabha States should nominate one member each to the proposed Council of Administration. The Sikhs are perhaps already aware whom the Government will nominate and that he will gradually end the days of the Nabha State. Sardar Gurdial Singh is said to be trying to get appointed as President of the Council. What he did as a Sikh and after eating the salt of Malvender Bahadur can never be forgotten. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 429).

Gurdwara, 8 August 1923

The *Gurdwara* of the 8th August learns from a reliable source that the new rulers of Nabha have ordered the Nabha officials to keep their beard tied under pain of dismissal. The order is autocratic. In her Proclamation Queen Victoria of blessed memory assured people that no interference would be made in religious matters. Is this not a violation of the pledge? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 431).

Khalsa Samachar, 9 August 1923

The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 9th August praises the Government for the intended formation of a Council to administer Nabha. The Council should, however, be formed soon and its constitution should be in accordance with the treaty of the Phulkian States. The appointment of a guardian to the Tikka Sahib should be subject to the approval of His Highness or the prospective Council. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 430).

Loyal Gazette, 12 August 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 12th August observes that according to report, a Mussalman, a Hindu and a Sikh traitor will be appointed to the Nabha Council. The first is a most bigoted person and a mortal enemy of the Sikhs and the ruling house, while the last is devoid of all sense of self-respect and would cut the throat of the whole community for the sake of his bread. This means that during the next fifteen or twenty years Nabha will be reduced to the condition of Kapurthala. These States are a memorial of our Satguru's spirit of bounty and we cannot tolerate that they should be wiped out of existence or Sikhism

should disappear from them. The Sikhs fought with the Mahrattas, Mughals and Afghans to save the Phulkian States which have always been treated as national States by the community. The Parbandhak Committee empowered the rulers of these States to nominate a quarter of the total number of its members. In practice this right was enjoyed only by the Chiefs of Patiala and Nabha, because those of Kapurthala and Jind have become apostates from the Sikh religion. The ruler of Faridkot is still a minor and that of Kalsia has not yet been invested with ruling powers. The Maharaja of Nabha having been deposed the Maharaja of Patiala is the only ruler left to send representatives to the Parbandhak Committee. In other words, His Highness's deposition breaks up an institution which used to send representatives to the Parbandhak Committee. This is bound to have its effect on the Shiromani Committee, which is, therefore, right in interfering in the Nabha deposition. If the administration of Nabha is entrusted to traitorous Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh officials all other Sikh States also will come to grief. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 442).

Loyal Gazette, 19 August 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 19th August avers that if the rumour that Bakhshi Wali Muhammad Khan is to be appointed a member of the Council of Regency is correct, it will greatly distress the poor and helpless Maharaja and fan the fire of agitation among the Sikhs. Elsewhere the paper asks if the character or oppression of the Maharaja were intolerable what Government had been doing for eleven years. The idea about the Maharaja being a rebel and an enemy of the Government cannot but influence the judgement even of the strongest English judge. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee should arrange to lay the matter before the League of Nations. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 453).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 20 August 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 20th August states that according to an Associated Press telegram, the Viceroy is considering the question of the personnel of a Council of Regency. We strongly protest against such an autocratic action. So far the bureaucracy had been telling us that the Maharaja was averse to the formation of a Council, as he does not wish Patiala to exercise any power in Nabha. If this is true why is it violating its agreement with the Maharaja? It appears that the bureaucracy wants to do everything by force. (According to it) the Maharaja had practised tyranny in the name of justice, but it itself seems bent upon perpetrating oppression by openly disregarding all agreements and treaties. Originally it was announced that the Government would appoint a

Council of Administration, but now it speaks of “a Council of Regency.” When however, the Council is to be nominated by the Government of India it matters little by what name it is to be called. The Sikhs cannot be pleased by such cajolery. We say to the Panth that no one should agree to be a member of the Council, for the affair is to give rise to a multitude of troubles. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 454).

Khalsa, 21 August 1923

The *Khalsa* of the 21st August expresses the hope that Government and the two Phulkian States will particularly bear in mind that the proposed Council of Regency should have a Sikh colouring and the Sikh element should preponderate on it, so that it may do nothing antagonistic to the Sikh religion, Sikh history, Sikh traditions and Sikh organization. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 454).

Nusrat, 24 August 1923

Mewa Singh, B.A., writing to the *Nusrat* of the 24th August, says that Mr. Ogilvie has proved an angel of mercy for the people of Nabha. No sooner did the ex-Maharaja assume the reins of government than the bid adieu to the good traditions of his father and commenced practising oppression. The writer refers to the wrongs done by His Highness to Wali Muhammad Khan and Shib Dev Singh and to the people who happened to possess handsome daughters or wives. He praises Mr. Ogilvie for working hard from 6 AM till 10 PM and being accessible to every one with a complaint. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 468).

Kirpan Bahadur, 26 August 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 26th August observes that the Sikhs could not be exterminated when a reward of Rs. 80 was offered for the head of a Sikh. The present administration is even worse than that of those times. The amount of the reward rose to Rs. 2,000 under the justice-loving bureaucracy at the time of the *Komagata Maru* incident. A similar course is being followed now. Squares of land are being granted to those who help in the arrest of Sikhs. Again, the henchmen of the bureaucracy are spending money like water on telegrams against the Maharaja of Nabha. Further, Rs. 5,286 are being paid to a renegade like Karam Singh, the leader of the so-called Parja Rakhshak Committees, as the price of the nonsense he is indulging in. On the other hands, the taxes levied by Maharaja Sir Hira Singh are said to have been abolished and land revenue remitted to the Zamindars. Why this generosity towards the subjects of the State when the blood of the people of British territory is being sucked

by means of taxes? These remissions are meant to make the subjects of Nabha faithless (to the Maharaja) and to reduce the income of the State and crush it for ever by burdening it with debt. If the Maharaja of Nabha is not restored to this *gaddi* something might happen to Patiala also in a few days. The party now engaged in throwing mud on the former may expose the latter's doings in England, particulars of which are being obtained by one Charan Singh. It is said that he has already collected considerable material and has even shown it to his friends. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, pp. 468–469).

***Nusrat*, 6 September 1923**

The *Nusrat* of the 6th September publishes an open letter to the Akalis from its editor who explains his policy. We, he writes, want to purge the earth totally of the curse of Imperialism and feudalism. We have never asked that Mr. Ogilvie or any other Englishman should be appointed to govern Nabha. We support only a just Government. The sole demand which we repeatedly make is that the bureaucracy and all governments of the same sort should be effaced from the face of the earth. We, therefore, look upon the present struggle carried on by our Sikh brethren with astonishment, seeing that they desire to establish a despotic Government instead of opposing Imperialism. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 484).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 13 September 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 13th September states that according to report Bhai Indar Singh has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment and confiscation of property. There is no law in British India under which property can be confiscated. As Nabha is now under the Government of India the laws of that Government should have been observed there also. People in Patiala too have been threatened with confiscation of their property. Is it the intention of the rulers of Native States to spread unrest in the country by converting thousands of persons into Babbar Akalis? We feel quite certain that a good many persons among those whose property is confiscated will grow desperate and harass the rulers and the bureaucracy. These rulers and the bureaucratic officers of Nabha should recover their senses. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 495).

***Tribune*, 13 September 1923**

The following appeared in the *Tribune* of the 13th September: –

“The present Nabha administration is evidently anxious to take a leaf out of the book of Sir Michael O’Dwyer and his friends in the days of Martial Law.

It will be remembered that one of the feats perpetrated by the latter, which brought all but universal condemnation upon their head, was the exclusion of outside lawyers for the defence of under-trial prisoners. ... The Nabha administration has done exactly the same thing with regard to the Akali under-trial prisoners. ... As the administration is now being carried on on behalf of the Government of India, we draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy, who is above everything else a distinguished lawyer, to this extraordinary action on the part of the Administrator, and trust it will be immediately cancelled." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 495).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 17 September 1923**

Writing about the recent happenings in Nabha, the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 17th September remarks that the administration of Nabha do not care for justice or law nor have they any sense of shame or humanity. If the Maharaja could be deposed for being unjust, this bureaucracy should be thrown overboard on account of Minchin's imperialism. A report has reached us that it is being planned to dismantle the Akalgarh Gurdwara at Nabha. Let the bureaucracy dismantle it and see how the Sikhs will become martyrs like moths. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 513).

***Siyasat*, 3 October 1923**

The *Siyasat* of the 3rd October says that the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee of the Congress has to see in connection with the Nabha struggle that Nabha should no longer be under foreign administration. The interests of the Sikhs in the State should be safeguarded but the system of Government should be based on democratic principles. It remains to be seen whether the Congress would finally include the Nabha question in its programme of civil disobedience or content itself with rendering assistance to the Parbandhak Committee. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 537).

***Kesari*, 9 and 12 December 1923**

The *Kesari* regrets that Government should not rest content with the treatment it has already accorded to the *ex*-Maharaja of Nabha and should think of doing a great deal more against him. In a Gurmukhi leaflet circulated broadcast among the Sikhs it makes out that Government stands in the relation of father to the Maharajas of Nabha and Patiala. So far, however, from having succeeded in creating a prejudice against the *ex*-ruler of Nabha it has only brought about its own exposure. In another issue the paper considers it quite wrong to assign to the two Maharajas and Government the position of sons and father,

respectively. The States of Nabha and Patiala have been in existence from a time prior to the advent of British rule in the Punjab. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th December 1923*, No. 51, p. 645).

***Akali*, 19 and 20 December 1923**

The *Akali* complains that hundreds of Akalis in the Nabha jails are kept in their cells day and night, are subjected to diverse troubles and are not medically treated on being taken ill. In its next issue the paper writes that Lord Reading and his lieutenants Ogilvie, Minchin and Johnstone, are giving proof of their nobility of mind. The Nabha Administrator has refused to entertain the request of the Maharani that the expenses of her daughter's marriage should be defrayed from the State funds in conformity with the time-honoured practice. Elsewhere the paper states that Mr. Ogilvie, who is third lieutenant to Lord Reading, became the ruler of Nabha and began to tell people openly that if they turned traitor to the ex-Maharaja the doors of service and promotion would be thrown open to them. The result was that most officials sacrificed their faith, conscience and character. Now they are participating in the fruitless effort to suppress agitation. Verily wherever the English go they take with them bad morals, falsehood, and the spirit of making people traitors and develop other vices. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd December 1923*, No. 52, p. 652).

***Punjab Darpan*, 28 December 1923**

The *Punjab Darpan* learns that the British Administrator of Nabha is going to borrow one crore rupees from the Imperial Bank on the security of the State. According to report, 50 lakhs will be paid to the Patiala Darbar as damages and be used by Diwan Daya Kishan Kaul to destroy the Sikh community. The remaining 50 lakhs will go to swell the purses of the English contractors who will be employed to set up electric and water works at Phul, Amloh, Jaito, etc., against the wishes of the inhabitants of these places. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924*, No. 1, p. 10).

***Kesari*, 30 March 1924**

A correspondent of the *Kesari* says that some Government officers entertain the notion that they could kill the spirit of the Sikhs by firing bullets. They have made the experiment at Jaito and discovered their folly. The Government of India have not so far given effect to their announcement about the establishment of a "Committee of Administration" or a "Council of Regency" for Nabha and one-man rule still prevails in the State. It should stop its blunders. In the first place, it should reinstate the Maharaja; but if this is out of the question it

should, with the concurrence of His Highness, make over the administration of the State to a Parliament presided over by the Maharani, who is a clever and educated lady and will be able to carry on the administration admirably. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924*, No. 14, p. 132).

Loyal Gazette, 20 April 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* remarks in an article headed “amazing foolishness of the authorities” that the Nabha Administrator does not permit the Akalis to enter the Gangsar Gurdwara only to prevent his prestige suffering. The first Shahidi Jatha and the public were fired upon and the people who escaped general massacre were placed under arrest. This general slaughter and extreme tyranny were perpetrated merely to satisfy the obstinacy of the Administrator. But can prestige be maintained by interfering in the religion of people? It is hard to find a precedent for such stubbornness, willfulness, beastfulness and foolishness. Would the performance of the *akhand path* at Jaito have destroyed Government or caused a rebellion in the country? Instead of enacting a Gurdwara law, the Punjab Government has been arresting, imprisoning and punishing the Sikhs for the last four years. Almost all gurdwaras are in the possession of the Shiromani Committee, but Government will not make a law in accordance with the wishes of the Sikh community. It considered it fit to spend lakhs of rupees and cause discontent in the country, rather than do a thing which would cost it nothing. It banned the Shiromani Committee and Akali Dal to save its prestige. But what came of this? Has the Committee or the Dal been dissolved? Are not newspapers publishing the *communiqués* issued by these bodies? Do not people now contribute to the funds of the Shiromani Committee? Are they not going to jails in large numbers? Have the Akalis abstained from trampling the law underfoot? Who is responsible for this bad state of affairs, if not the authorities themselves? Government has suffered an irreparable injury owing to the defeats inflicted upon it by the *Satyagrahai* Akalis. The latter should persevere, seeing that their opponents stand upon the sandy foundation of egotism. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, pp. 151–152).

11 Colonial Conspirations

Akali-te-Pardesi, 22 July 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 22nd July remarks that Nabha was a Sikh State, because its ruler was a Sikh. Now, however, that the Government of India has

taken its control in its own hands, the State has lost its Sikh character altogether. But even this has not satisfied the bureaucracy, which wants to convert Nabha into a completely non-Sikh State. Means are being devised to achieve this object. The Sikh officials who feel for the Panth are being dismissed. Sardar Arjan Singh, Superintendent of Police, has tendered his resignation, which has been accepted. He is now kept under surveillance in the Police lines. It is also rumoured that Nazims Jora Singh and Jaswant Singh have been removed from service. Bhai Kahan Singh has been interned in his village. These reports indicate which way the wind is blowing. A non-Sikh of Amritsar has been appointed guardian of the Tikka Sahib. The object underlying such appointments is quite evident. Officials wearing black turbans and *kirpans* have been forbidden to enter the Hira Palace. Strenuous efforts are thus being made to deprive the Nabha State of its Sikh characters. We, therefore, ask the Panth to be on its guard and realize the motive underlying this attack on the part of the bureaucracy. Propaganda work is being carried on against the Maharaja in villages and instructions have been given to Zaildars and Lambardars. Efforts are being made to please the State subjects in some way or other. The restrictions imposed (upon them) by the (Nabha) Government have been removed. Taxes of various kinds are going to be abolished. Such efforts to please the subjects of Nabha will cause feelings among the Patiala subjects against (their) Maharaja. Threats are being offered to the Akalis residing in Nabha. Rumours have been set afoot by the State officials to the effect that preparations are being made for prosecuting the Maharaja of Nabha on other charges. It has pleased us to hear that another prosecution will be launched against the Maharaja, because this clearly shows that the bureaucracy does not consider the previous charges sufficient for his deposition. It is hope that the Sikhs of all places will remain in a state of preparedness and await the orders of the Panth. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 28th July 1923. No. 30, pp. 390-391).

***Kesari*, 5 August 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 5th August states that the editor was told by a member of the Legislative Assembly that the Government of India was not competent to depose the Maharaja and, therefore, caused him to write a letter regarding voluntary abdication and took possession of his State. He was told further that if the Maharaja was inclined to withdraw the letter he could do so on stating the circumstances under which it was written and that there was no reason why the Government should not be compelled to give him back his *gaddi*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, pp. 419-420).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 16 August 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th August publishes an article from Sardar Harnam Singh of Nabha, who says that the newspapers have made the positive assertion that the Maharaja is a just and good-mannered Chief, who is a friend of every religion and an advocate of liberty. Criticising the acts of the Government, reading out a lengthy speech at a Social Conference, talking plausibly with people of independent views or notifying the introduction of fictitious reforms in the State are, however, things of no value. A survey of the Maharaja's twelve years' administration shows that the manner in which he destroyed the rights of his subjects was in marked contrast to the professions made by him to the outside world. The writer gives a list of the persons against whom the Maharaja fabricated cases to strengthen his autocratic and tyrannical regime. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, pp. 443–444).

***Akali*, 24 August 1923**

“A Sikh Graduate” writing to the *Akali* of the 24th August avers that the bureaucracy is determined to break up the Sikh organization with the object of weakening the Sikhs. It took advantage of internecine feuds between Patiala and Nabha to cause a split among Sikhs. When it found out, however, that its stratagems had been exposed and shrewd people had begun to tear to tatters its base and reprehensible policy of “division by the monkey,” it not only indulged in threats of rigour and repression, but also opened its purse strings to cause dissensions among the brave Sikhs through its agents. For instance, steps are being taken through hypocritical persons to make the Namdharis create troubles and dissensions to divert the attention of the Shiromani Committee of the Panth from the Nabha agitations. In short, nothing will be left undone to cause a split among the Khalsa and to destroy them. The Sikhs are, however, determined to end oppression and snap their countrymen's chains of slavery. They are prepared to make all kinds of sacrifices to carry their determination to a successful issue. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 460).

***Akali*, 6 September 1923**

In its issue of the 6th September, the paper [the *Akali*] publishes a letter from Chanda Singh, who remarks that the rule of India was transferred from the Rajputs to the Pathans of Kabul by the treacherous and perfidious Brahmins who betrayed their country. After Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death the victory of the Sikhs was converted into a defeat at Mudki through the instrumentality of disloyal and perfidious Brahmins, and, as a consequence, Sikh rule was

transferred to Western shopkeepers. Mr. Daulat Ram Kalia is the descendant of such treacherous people. He is given to backbiting his own city, nation and country and has thought it his foremost duty to help Western shopkeepers on every occasion. Recently when the writer was present in the local Bar Room, conversation turned to the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha and he gave his opinion as follows: – “The matter is not especially connected with the Sikh religion and the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee should not particularly interfere with it. Of course, Western shopkeepers have even now begun to resort to the dishonest and crooked trick to which they resorted when after Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s death they, with a view to usurp Sikh Raj, removed to a foreign country with the help of treacherous Dogras and Brahmins like Kalia the poor minor child, Dalip Singh, after making him an apostate. Similarly this Western witch now wishes to depose the Maharaja of Nabha and eat up an organisation of the Sikh community by devouring his child also. The matter therefore is political and the Sikh League should take it up and baffle the attempts of the Western witch by means of non-violent political opposition.” This was the writer’s opinion and Daulat Ram Kalia has as usual put a black mark on his black face by distorting the sense of his words. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 485).

***Akali*, 9 September 1923**

The Nabha number of the *Akali* of the 9th September has an article from Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, who states that he felt no surprise on hearing of the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha. This is an ordinary thing for a nation which has already made territorial aggrandisement an admitted principle of civilization, which calls servitude liberty and which “regards it a blandishment on its part to sacrifice black-skinned people for its deceptive white colour.” It is no matter for surprise if India is accorded such treatment by the agents of a Government which has involved in calamity a united and enterprising nation like the Egyptians on the pretext of the temporary occupation (of their country), which has put the chains of bondage of Iraq in the name of the principles of self-determination, and which keeps Arabia in the net of deception to disintegrate the Islamic world. The Maharaja of Nabha is not one of those rulers who consider it essential for their existence to support every measure of the Government. He had in him the spirit of a true patriot, citizen and ruler and exhibited his independent views and fair-mindedness on every occasion. Circumstances and facts show that these virtues are the cause of his calamity. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 495).

12 The Maharaja's Personality and Possessions

Nation, 9 July 1923

The *Nation* of the 9th July writes: –

“The Maharaja of Nabha has ever since his ascendancy to the throne manifested a spirit of independence which few Maharajas have shown. ... The Maharaja Sahib further is extremely religious and is very well versed in the scriptures of the Sikh Panth. He is extremely popular amongst the Akalis and is respected for his religious austerity by all Sikhs. He has seldom been in the good books of the powers that be, and if I am rightly informed there is a certain personal rankling against him also in the hearts of certain officials.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 377).

Desh, 3 August 1923

The *Desh* of the 3rd August takes strong exception to the propaganda started in certain quarters to prove that the weak moral character of the Maharaja justified his deposition. The Maharaja is not now in a position to meet such charges and the self-constituted well-wishers of the State are, therefore, free to say any foolish things against him. A telegram has been sent to the press on behalf of a certain Sabha in which disgraceful accusations regarding weakness of moral character have been levelled against the Maharaja. Even if these allegations are accepted as true, how can they justify the abdication of His Highness? There are also some other Ruling Chiefs in the country the weakness of whose moral character is well known. But neither they have abdicated of their own accord, nor has anybody ever called upon them to do so. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 419).

Gurdwara, 8 August 1923

The *Gurdwara* of the 8th August learns that the compensation to be awarded to Patiala will be paid out of the private income of the Maharaja. This clearly shows that it is intended to reduce His Highness to poverty. This is an act of meanness on the part of the present Government of the State. Again, it is said that arrangements are being made to auction the bungalow which the Maharaja owns in Simla. We would advise the Government of India to refrain from tying such knots with its hands as it may not be able to unloose with its teeth. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 429).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 18 August 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th August publishes a communication from Sundar Singh, an ex-employee of the Maharaja, who states that the latter was a religious-minded man, a staunch follower of the Sikh religion and ever ready to sacrifice his all for the Khalsa panth. The well-wishers of the Maharaja are being subjected to diverse hardships both in and outside the State to make them say something against His Highness to prove him to have been tyrannical. His enemies are energetically engaged in this task. Writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th August, one Bikram Singh of Nabha asks whether the journalists favourably disposed towards the Maharaja can tolerate that a ruling Chief the only object of whose life was to devise plans to ruin his subjects should be allowed to reoccupy his *gaddi*. The writer also declares that the Maharaja was fond of virgin girls and of keeping swines which fed on the crops of the zamindars. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 455).

***Nusrat*, 18 August 1923**

The *Nusrat* of the 18th August remarks that in view of the fact that anachronistic republics and autocratic governments are becoming extinct, it is meaningless for a community, which claims to be civilized, to press for the perpetuation of despotic rule (in Nabha). Do they consider it right that one individual should continue to enjoy himself at the expense of his poor subjects? Is it right that State revenues should be spent in leading a dissolute life against the wishes of the elected popular representatives? Granthi Bhola Singh Akali of Nabha writing to the *Nusrat* of the 18th August asserts that the deposition of the Maharaja has caused feelings of satisfaction among the State subjects. If he had not been deposed the honour of nobody's daughter or daughter-in-law would have been safe. The correspondent refers to certain scandals against the Maharaja's about women and the fabrication of cases and declares that he possesses information which, if revealed, would stagger the Sikh community. He is sorry that a Sikh Chief has been deposed, but he is consoled by the thought that he deserved this, nay, even a severer punishment. Before raising a clamour for the restoration of the ex-Maharaja the Sikhs should find out what manner of man he was. If they find on enquiry that God has rid the State of a tyrant and adulterer they should stop their agitation. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee should not interfere in the matter, otherwise the entire distressed population of Nabha will openly oppose it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 455).

Nusrat, 19 August 1923

The *Nusrat* of the 19th August publishes a communication from Khidmat Singh of Nabha who regrets that the Sikh community should take a wrong view of the Nabha question and be prepared to try its strength against the British Government. If its manliness and self-sacrifice leads to the reinstatement of a tyrannical Chief like Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, it will be throttling, so to say, three lakh subjects of the Nabha State and have their lives and property ruined and the honour of chastity of their daughters and daughters-in-law violated by the said accursed ruler. Only a short time back the Sikh community shed streams of blood to remove the immoral and tyrannical Mahant of Nankana from his *gaddi*. Will it make a still greater sacrifice to reinstate the Maharaja of Nabha, who is far more tyrannical, cruel and immoral than Narain Das? The writer then gives the names of some women kept by the ex-Maharaja. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 455).

Kesari, 27 August 1923

The *Kesari* of the 27th August says that such scurrilous articles have been published against the Maharaja as would have made any other man lose his patience. It will ever remain an ugly blot on the name of the Government of India that although it has taken over the administration of Nabha it has taken no notice of the conduct of those rascals and traitors who are penning scurrilous writings against the ex-Maharaja. Again, the reports received from Nabha indicate that the Akalis there have no feelings of esteem for Mr. Ogilvie. This is quite comprehensible seeing that he has imprisoned the true and faithful adherents of the Maharaja and is bestowing high appointments on those who proved traitors to His Highness. Mr. Ogilvie should remember that his transitory rule at Nabha will earn him a bad name in Sikh history for ever and his memory will be held in contempt by Sikh posterity. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 470).

Akali, 22 December 1923

In another issue the paper [the *Akali*] remarks that after the deposition of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, Government, the Premier of Patiala and his colleagues employed dozens of men to bring false accusations against His Highness. The *Nusrat*, The *Brahman Gazette*, the *Muballagh* and other newspapers were also started to shower abuse on the Maharaja. Again, a so-called Parjarakshak Committee was organised and every possible effort made to defame the ex-Maharaja and turn the public against him. And now that these papers and the Committee have ceased to exist Government has taken propaganda work in its own hands. A leaflet supplied to the press by the Punjab Civil

Secretariat contends that the Maharaja alone was to blame and Government occupied Nabha only to reform the State. This shows that Government is now prepared to descend even to mean acts. Its propoganda to humiliate the Sikhs and their States will create feelings of great dissatisfaction and hatred for Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924*, No. 1, p. 6).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 March 1924**

A correspondent of the *Akali-te-Pardesi* reports that some motor cars of the ex-Maharaja are said to have been auctioned to certain State officials at low prices. Mr. Johnston bought one for Rs. 35,000, but the money has not come out of his own pocket. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924*, No. 14, p. 132).

***Tanzim*, 30 August 1924**

The *Tanzim* publishes an article from the pen of an *ahllkar* of Nabha, who observes in the course of his remarks that, just as the British Government occupied the Lahore kingdom to weaken the Sikhs, so has it taken possession of Nabha to crush the Akali movement. Again, just as the Punjab, which it declared to be sacred trust, was swallowed up by it, so is Nabha being ruined to strengthen British rule. The traitor *ahllkars* who were mostly responsible for the deposition of the ex-Maharaja, have received promotions and rewards. Maharaja Dalip Singh was not given the promised pension of Rs. 4,00,000 and had to lead a life of poverty. Similarly, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was promised a pension of Rs. 3,00,000 but he was paid only Rs. 50,000 during the first two months. The pension has now ceased and His Highness has been reduced to a state of poverty. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 293).

13 The Nabha Day

***Nation*, 13 September 1923**

The *Nation* of the 13th September writes: –

“We warn the instigators of those native princes, who, on Akali day, with one voice prohibited Akali dewans and arrested jathaas and congregations. ... Nothing is going to deflect the Akalis from righting the Nabha wrong. The wrong must be, will be righted. Sufferings will merely add to their determination and to say the least it is expected of the States to remain neutral if they are not in a position to help the cause directly. The rumours we hear about

the Maharaja of Nabha's return can be turned into realities only by the grim determination not only of all nationalist Sikhs but equally of their Hindu and Muhammadan brothers. Let each man contribute his mite towards this noble task." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, pp. 495-496).

***Zamindar*, 16 September 1923**

The *Zamindar* of the 16th September says that the oppressions practised on the brave and enterprising Akalis by different Native States in connection with the Nabha Day still continue. Hundreds of innocent Sikhs have been arrested at Nabha, Jaito, Patiala, Sirhind, Bhawanigarh, Barnala, Jind and other places. Their only offence is that they peacefully held Diwans and wanted to go to *gurdwaras* to perform their religious duties. The paramount Power has already acknowledged its helplessness against the Sikhs and the Native States will have to do the same. Do Messrs. Ogilvie and Johnston and Sardar Narain Singh, Nazim, think that they can improve the situation at Nabha by practising oppression? The methods of frightfulness that are being used at Jaito are a disgrace to the bureaucratic Government. We would advise those responsible for the repression practised on the occasion of the Nabha Day to refrain from provoking the resolute Sikh community; otherwise the matter will assume serious proportions and land Government into endless difficulties." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 513).

***Babbar Sher*, 17 September 1923**

The *Babbar Sher* of the 17th September considers it a pity that the Sikh States, these puppets of the bureaucracy, engaged in a war with the Sikhs to stop processions on the Nabha Day. Their rulers also displayed the foolishness of arresting Sikhs in their States, which even the bureaucracy could not venture to do. We are particularly angry with the Maharaja of Patiala.

Elsewhere the paper reports that Maulana Muhammad Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and Hakim Ajmal Khan attended the meeting held at the Sisganj, Delhi, on the Nabha Day. The Maulana made a speech at the request of the audience in the course of which he declared that it was the duty, not only of the Khalsa, but also of all Hindus and Muhammadans to secure the reinstatement of the Maharaja of Nabha. He also announced that he would join hands with the Khalsa and leave nothing undone to win the *morcha*. Dr. Kitchlew says that if the Maharaja had committed any offence it was one of which every Indian is considered to be guilty. His Highness wished will of the country and was not afraid of any body except the Akal Purakh. The Doctor requested the Khalsa to permit him to join in the campaign and make sacrifices. He declared that both Hindus

and Muhammadans were ready to take part in this war. Maulana Muhammad Ali's mother also made a similar declaration. Hakim Ajmal Khan said that Muhammadans were ready to join Sikhs, but the Shiromani Committee would not permit this. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, pp. 523-524).

14 SGPC and Akali Dal Unlawful Assemblies

Bande Mataram, 22 January 1922

Referring to a rumour that the Akali dal is, like the national volunteers, to be declared unlawful, the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd January states that apparently the rumour is ascribable to the names of the Akalis having been taken down in several places. Wherever any one goes to a village to record names every Sikh desires to be entered as an Akali; but only two or three names are actually taken down. Presumably it is sought to be impressed on the Government that the Akalis form a very small body and that if it is declared to be unlawful no unrest would be caused among the Sikhs. If any such proceeding is in progress we would warn the responsible officers of the Government against the mistake. The Akali spirit has penetrated the whole Sikh community and even a little mistake might convert it into a flame. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th January 1922. No. 4, pp. 40-41).

Satyuga, 25 January 1922

The *Satyuga* of the 25th January says that according to a Lahore paper, the Government is thinking of declaring Akali *jathas*, like the volunteer corps, to be unlawful. People say that there will be nothing surprising if a Government, which had done so many improper deeds, commits this foolishness also. But will the *jathas* disband on such a notification being issued? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th February 1922. No. 6, p. 67).

Pardesi Khalsa, 22 April 1922

Writing to the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 22nd April, GYANI SHER SINGH states that the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has received a reliable report to the effect that members and *jathadars* of the Akali Dal in the Lyallpur District are being prosecuted and punished on the score of the Dal being an unlawful assembly. When and by what notification was the Akali Dal declared as such? The present courts hold an Akali to be outside the pale of law, but the tenth Guru, his five beloved and four sons were all Akalis. A Sikh, who sacrifices himself for his religion in the hour of need, is called an Akali. To

follow Akali Phula Singh is considered an unlawful act to-day. And, following the advice of the tenth Guru, to call oneself an Akali is to get oneself included in the list of the seditionists. The plain meaning of this is that it is unlawful to take the *amrit*, seeing that when his religious duty renders this necessary, every *amritdhari* is an Akali. Where is the Sikh member of the Executive Council? Let him see how ruthlessly his subordinate courts are attacking the immortal tree planted by the tenth Guru. If it is an offence to be an Akali every Sikh should instead of turning his back on the Guru, undergo the agonies of imprisonment and flogging along with this brethren. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th April 1922. No. 17, p. 203).

***Loyal Gazette*, 3 September 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 3rd September refers to the detention at the Lahore Railway Station of the Akalis coming by train from Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Lyallpur, etc., and asks how the Akalis who have come from different places and are unacquainted with one another can be held to be the members of an unlawful assembly and how those who go to Amritsar for rendering religious service can be regarded as peace-breakers. It is not proper for a civilized Government to take into custody passengers simply because they are Sikhs going to Amritsar and we strongly protest against this. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, pp. 426–427).

***Bande Mataram*, 9 September 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th September sees signs of a clash between Government and the Shiromani Committee, but hopes that the members of the Committee, in order to safeguard their legitimate rights, will remain non-violent and gladly bear all the hardships to which they may be subjected. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 484).

***Akali*, 1 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 1st October states that it is persistently rumoured at Amritsar that selected workers of the (Gurdwara Parbandhak) Committee will be very soon arrested and the Akali Dal declared to be an unlawful assembly. All true Sikhs are Akalis and it is an essential part of their faith to call themselves by that name. To call the Akali Dal an unlawful assembly is, therefore, to hold the whole Sikh community to be an unlawful assembly. If this is, then it will mean that Government thinks it an act of open rebellion to embrace Sikhism. It will then be the duty of every Sikh to wear a black turban and court imprisonment. By assailing the Akali Dal and arresting workers of the Shiromani Committee

Government will force all Sikhs to join the Dal. The event will, besides, awaken the whole country. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 533).

***Sant Samachar*, 2 October 1923**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 2nd October learns that Government will put the pujaris in possession of the Akal Takht and proclaim martial law in the city. It has also heard that all members of the Shiromani Committee will be placed under arrest. Thirteen or fourteen (other) committees have, however, been formed in anticipation to carry on its work. The members of the Working Committee will wear white turbans and work in secret. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 533).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 3 October 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 3rd October states that it is receiving reports from every quarter that the bureaucracy is about to practise some severe oppression. It is said that martial law will be declared in the Sikh districts, guards will be placed round the Golden Temple and a number of Sikhs will be successively put into prison. Guru Ram Das' free kitchen will be closed and guarded and all Gurdwaras will be taken away from the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and made over to certain Sikhs, who are being prepared to receive charge of them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, pp. 533-534).

***Babar Sher*, 3 October 1923**

The *Babar Sher* of the 3rd October states that according to rumour martial law will soon be proclaimed at Amritsar and an attack delivered on the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The servants of the Panth outside Amritsar will also be arrested simultaneously. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 534).

***Partap*, 5 October 1923**

The *Partap* of the 5th October remarks that to take any legal action against the Shiromani Committee will be tantamount to creating feelings of everlasting enmity in the minds of the Sikhs against Government. No Sikh will forgive Government after that. The good Government lies in keeping the brave and valiant Sikh community on its side. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 534).

***Akali*, 5 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 5th October tells Indians, particularly Sikhs, that in (their present) state of servitude their faith, religion and national pride have no value. The latter should now take it for granted that they can no longer pull on with the existing bureaucracy. It is evident from the oppressions practised at Guru-ka-Bagh, the satanic acts perpetrated in the Multan Jail and the injustice done in connection with the Nabha affair, especially the insult offered to the Granth Sahib at Jaito, how much the present bureaucratic Government wishes to humiliate and degrade us. It is clear from the Viceroy's circular letter (to Europeans in India), the secret of which has been exposed by the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, that all sorts of conspiracies are being hatched and efforts made to ruin us. An Indian politician, who has many acquaintances in official circles, informs us that pretexts are being sought to declare the Committee and *Akali dals* to be unlawful assemblies. There is now only one course open to the Sikhs, *i.e.*, they should consider it their duty to serve the Congress. The only way to check the oppression that is being practised on us is that India should have its administration in its own hands. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 533).

***Nation*, 7 October 1923**

The following is taken from the *Nation* of the 7th October: –

“We are still waiting for a clear and definite statement by the Government on the subject of the alarming circular to British officers to crush the Akalis. Government is bound to meet the challenge, to deny not only that the Viceroy did issue such a circular but that such a circular had been issued and was to be regarded as the personal property of the officers concerned. ... The surest way of meeting the Government's challenge is to unite and to join the Jaito Legion, to face imprisonment, to prove that India is one, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, in British India or British Nabha or any other State. Remember that this precious circular is counting upon communal and party dissensions. ... Let cowardice beware, lest underhandedness and highhandedness fall like a two-edged sword on those who have forged it.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, p. 549).

***Akali*, 7 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 7th October anticipates that probably the time is shortly coming when the *Akali dal* and the Shiromani Committee will be declared to be unlawful assemblies. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore is very forcibly and emphatically urging Government to arrest the workers. Will all persons wearing black turbans be lodged in jails? We are sure that the entire Panth

should leave their home for famous *gurdwaras*, so that they may be arrested near or within the sacred precincts of a *gurdwara*. It will be the hour of martyrdom. The face of the sons of Guru Gobind Singh will be red (with the glow of pleasure). They will shout *Sat Sri Akal* in order to go smilingly to jails. By attacking Sri Guru Granth Sahib at Jaito, Gurdwara Gangsar and religious Diwans, daggers have been inserted in the breasts of Guru Nanak Sahib and Guru Gobind Singh. If any attack is made by the Government on the Shiromani Committee or the Akali *dal* for the offence of going there, we should understand that Government desires to destroy the dignity of Akal Purkh and the Satguru. It is shameful for Sikhs to avoid death or self-sacrifice on seeing such unbelieve and satanic oppression. This is the last attack on the Panth. Either the powers of oppression will destroy the martyred nation of the Khalsa and will deny the providence of God or well bear this attack and prove that satanic power cannot destroy the Panth established by Guru Nanak Dev. It is the duty of every Sikhs to make over his life, wealth, and conscience to the Shiromani Committee. If the nation remains alive, we shall acquire personal honour again. The Government is determined to ruin our religion and Panth. "O Indian brethren, we have been playing with fire and death for three years. We have been tested by jails and the powers of savage beating. The severest mountain of trouble is about to fall on us. There is the conflict between satanism and faith before you. Truth and piety are being destroyed by the bloody sword. If the Khalsa community is destroyed in playing the spiritual game of martyrdom, truth and faith, then it should be borne in mind that honour, liberty and self-respect shall disappear from India. If you desire that Indians should be counted at least as human beings, it is your duty to help truth. As neighbours we entertain the hope that you will abandon your estrangement, will boldly declare oppression to be oppression and faithlessness to be faithlessness, will give us moral help and will not hesitate to render us even practical assistance if time allows." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, pp. 548-549).

***Tribune*, 16 October 1923**

The *Tribune* of the 16th October writes: –

"It is safe to assert that the drastic action which the authorities have just taken at Amritsar and elsewhere has created a situation of almost unprecedented difficulty both for the Government and the people. ... The question which the Government must ask itself and must answer at the bar of public opinion, is its action wise, expedient and statesmanlike? It cannot deny that some, at any rate, of the persons arrested are among the recognized, the foremost, leaders of their community, and that several of them have in the

past been in one way or another honoured by itself. Does not the arrest on such a charge of such persons amount both to a condemnation of the community and of itself? Nor can it deny that the body of which these persons were members and which the Government has proclaimed to be an unlawful association is one whose representative character it has itself recognized again and again, before now, and with which it has repeatedly entered into negotiations for the settlement of issues deeply affecting the Sikh community as a whole. ... The Government has in effect declared itself to be in serious conflict not merely with individuals or groups of individuals but with a whole community. ... The Committee has again and again declared with the greatest emphasis that it is absolutely committed to a policy of non-violence, and so far as the public is aware it has strictly adhered to this policy. Is it a self-evident truth that such a body, no matter how extreme it may be in its demands or how strong it may be in its condemnation of official actions and policy, can only be properly dealt with under the drastic powers vested in the Government by the Criminal Law Amendment Act? Have the resources of wise conciliation, of tact, prudence and statesmanship been exhausted? ... Compulsion is still an easier and more acceptable method to them than persuasion; they are far readier to resort to repression than to conciliation. Even when conciliation is tried, it is usually either preceded or accompanied by more than one strong dose of repression, which have the inevitable effect of depriving the former of much of its value and all of its grace. In this very matter of the Sikhs they have followed this precise course thrice before now, and in very case their policy has failed, but undaunted by this failure they are now apparently resolved to try it again and this time on a more thorough and systematic scale than in any previous instance. Is it too much to hope wisdom will yet prevail and that they will yet turn over a new leaf?" (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 559).

***Tribune*, 17 October 1923**

The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 17th October: –

“The Punjab Government’s *communiqué* on the action that has just been taken regarding the S.G.P.C. opens with the statement that ‘the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which started in 1920 as an agency which aims at controlling Sikh shrines, has from time to time encouraged action contrary to the law.’ Although the Government does not state what particular actions of the Committee it has in view it will perhaps admit that the most important of these alleged actions contrary to the law before the present one was the action which the Committee took in the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. And yet it was after Guru-ka-Bagh that the Punjab Government definitely accorded the

statutory recognition to this Committee to which we referred in our leading article yesterday. Will the Punjab Government be pleased to tell us in what sense the Shiromani Committee's action in the present case differs in quality from the action it took in the case of Guru-ka-Bagh, and how if the Committee was a body fit to be accorded a statutory recognition after Guru-ka-Bagh, it has in the present instance degenerated into a body which, in the opinion of the Government, is a danger to the public peace? We are constrained to say that before the public can be satisfied as to the necessity, not to speak of the wisdom, of the present action of Government, it must have other and stronger arguments placed before it than what the Government has been pleased to adduce so far." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 560).

***Milap*, 17 October 1923**

The *Milap* of the 17th October says that Government has arrested the office bearers and members of the Shiromani Committee to suppress the Nabha agitation. Can it not, however, profit by past experience? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 560).

***Bande Mataram*, 17 October 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 17th October cannot help denouncing the foolish act of the bureaucracy. It has delivered a mad attack on being defeated by the Akalis everywhere. We believe that the attack will lead to the final defeat of the bureaucracy. The manner in which arrests have been made is clear proof of the meanness of our irresponsible officers. Disturbing a marriage ceremony at midnight, especially when no one could even dream that those who were to be arrested would run away or abscond, shows how despicable the moral condition of the bureaucracy has become. The latest news is that the Shiromani Committee and the Akali *dal* have been declared as unlawful assemblies. A living and self-respecting community like the Sikhs will regard this as no better than an empty threat. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, pp. 560-561).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 17 October 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 17th October thinks that the agitation carried on by the Shiromani Committee was of a political character. That body was not justified in its agitation and passed the limits of legitimate activities. The proper attitude now adopted by the Government will have the effect of discouraging the Akalis, who will come into the right path. It appears that Government does not wish to yield. The result will prove still more useful if it takes suitable

action in respect of matters in which the Akalis act in a high-handed way and non-Sikhs are made to suffer It should be the duty of peace-loving and law-abiding non-Akali Sikhs, Hindus and Mussalmans to lend suitable support to Government and its officials in their measure to discourage the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 561).

***Kesari*, 18 October 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 18th October opines that the gulf between Government and Sikhs will be widened. There will be a decisive battle between the two, but it is to be hoped that the Sikhs strictly adhere to their policy of non-violence. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 560).

***Siyasat*, 18 October 1923**

The *Siyasat* of the 18th October asserts that Government first acted blindly and then continued to provoke the Sikhs by its oppressive acts. It has since declared the Parbandhak Committee and the Akali *dal* to be unlawful assemblies and delivered an attack on these representative bodies of the Sikhs. Such blind acts on its part show that it wants to crush every Sikh movement for good and to overawe the Sikhs by arresting them in hundreds. It should know, however, that the Sikhs are a living community – a fact of which they have given proof on several occasions. There is yet time for Government to realise the ruinous consequence of its new policy, confer with the leading members of the Sikh community and arrive at a decision satisfactory to the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, pp. 561–562).

***Partap*, 18 October 1923**

The *Partap* of the 18th October remarks that the influence of the Shiromani Committee is very extensive and the stringent step taken against it will cause great indignation against Government, with who the Sikhs are already sufficiently displeased. One may look at the action of Government from any point of view, but one cannot commend it or hold it to be statesmanlike. If Government had acted in a spirit of leniency and compromise the dispute would have been easily settled. It should act in a statesmanlike manner even now. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 560).

***Prem*, 18 October 1923**

The *Prem* of the 18th October is of opinion that the action taken by Government cannot but cause unrest in the Punjab, nay, throughout India, especially among the Akali Sikhs. It will serve as a bugle-call for them. We would ask them to

remain peaceful and never lose self-control under any provocation. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 560).

***Bande Mataram*, 18 October 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th October writes that the arrest of the members of the Shiromani Committee and the declaration of Akali *jathas* as unlawful assemblies cannot but be described as a blunder on the part of the bureaucracy. It is utterly maniacal to think that the Akali movement will be suppressed by such unwise action and the Sikhs will be forced to keep silent over the atrocious injustice done to the *ex*-Maharaja of Nabha. The declaration of the Shiromani Committee and the Akali *dal* as unlawful associations constitute another proof of the short-sightedness of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy can deceive no one, excepting itself. Does it consider itself to the guardian of peace? Does it not feel shame in putting forward such a claim? Is it legal to beat a person who offers no resistance and does guardianship of peace mean that innocent people should be tortured? It is the bureaucracy itself which disturb the peace and violates the law. Is it not the greatest violation of law that it continues to exist in India against the wishes of Indians and on the support of brute force? Does it not provoke the people by interfering with their rights from time to time? It violates the law to force people to raise cries and then declared these cries to be calculated to disturb the peace. Is this not clearly an act of impudence? We ask why the *ex*-Maharaja was compelled to abdicate? Guru Gobind Singh described the Nabha state as "his house." Can the Sikhs tolerate interference with the "Guru's house" and is it not foolish to expect them silently to put up with it? The object in declaring the Shiromani Committee and the Akali *dal* as unlawful associations is to prohibit people from joining them. But the result will be quite the reverse of that intended. Not a single vacancy will be left on the Committee and the number of Akali *jathas* will increase. The latest Associated Press telegram from Amritsar supports our view. It states that a large number of *jathas* are assembling at Amritsar whence they will be sent to Nabha. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 561).

***Babbar Sher*, 19 October 1923**

The *Babbar Sher* of the 19th October observes that the bureaucracy should have suppressed the (Akali) movement when it was yet in its infancy. Now, however, that the movement is in full vigour it is absolutely useless (to try) to do so. Does not the bureaucracy know that the Sikhs who called back English fugitives during the mutiny of 1857, who rescued the English nation out of the jaws of death

in the European war and who have made the English master of the globe by winning (for them) battles (in all parts) of the world, can also drown the boat of English rule? Dacoity is an offence in the penal code of the bureaucratic Government, but the bureaucracy itself is causing dacoities to be committed at night. Raids were committed upon Sardar Mahtab Singh and other Sikh leaders by the police at dead of night. Can the bureaucracy still claim that all these rigours are being practised in the interest of law and order? Two lakhs of Akalis are now ready to offer themselves for arrest and more are enlisting at a rapid rate. In connection with the *morcha* of Guru-ka-Bagh the bureaucracy threw up the sponge after arresting (only) six thousand Akalis. Has it made arrangements for the accommodation, etc., of all the Akali *jathas* it has declared to be unlawful bodies (*lit.* as rebels) or does it intend to settle with them by keeping them hungry and naked in the cold weather? The bureaucracy has arrested the prominent members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee for the offences of sedition and conspiracy against the King and will, we think, cool its burnings heart by sentencing them to long terms of imprisonment and transportation. But will this shameless and tyrannical bureaucracy say what punishment it has awarded to its own myrmidons who prepared bombs in the Bahadargarh fort of Patiala and buried them underground in Nabha territory to involve the *ex*-Maharaja (in trouble)? The conspiracy was exposed and fell through. The conspiring myrmidons of the bureaucracy may commit such heinous crimes and go soot free and it may busy itself also in secret conspiracies to dye its hands in the blood of innocent and religious-minded Sikhs. is this the teaching of Christ, its Guru? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 562).

***Prem*, 19 October 1923**

In its issue of the 19th October the paper [the *Prem*] remarks that the authority of the Shiromani Committee which has been declared to be an unlawful body to-day was recognized by law three times. Only recently the Gurdwara Act empowered it to elect one of the three Commissioners appointed under that that law. We are unable to understand what secret conspiracy on the part of the Committee has compelled Government to take the present step. The official communiqué also throws no light on the matter and only says that the fresh Shiromani Committee tried to interfere with the maintenance of law and order and intimidate Government by means of Akali *jathas*. There can be no doubt that this has been done and the Shiromani Committee has been sending *jathas* (to Nabha). Government should not forget, however, that its measures cannot establish peace and the paper takes exception to the view that

the Committee constitute a danger to the public peace. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 560).

***Bande Mataram*, 19 October 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 19th October observes that the Nabha agitation cannot be suppressed in this way. The more repressive the policy pursued by Government is the bolder will the Sikhs grow. They will not be satisfied even if Government makes amends for its mistake at Jaito, releases the members of the Shiromani Committee and withdraws the communiqué declaring that body and the Akali *dal* to be unlawful assemblies. They will continue their agitation till the *ex*-Maharaja of Nabha is restored to his *gaddi*.

Elsewhere the paper asks how a Committee which was formed with Government approval, the members of which were duly elected and with which Government has been communicating in matters concerning the Sikhs, can be an unlawful association. Again, it is provided in the Gurdwara Act that that body will supply one third of the members of committees appointed to enquire into disputes over Sikh shrines. Who can now say that a Committee the importance of which has been recognized by law is an unlawful assembly? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 561).

***Babbar Sher*, 20 October 1923**

The *Babbar Sher* of the 20th October remarks that the bureaucracy has already suffered six or seven crushing defeats at the hands of the Khalsas in peaceful wars. How can it now put an end to the Sikh religion by declaring the Shiromani Committee and the Akali *dal* to be unlawful associations? We firmly believe that the Khalsa community cannot be crushed even though it may be subjected to great repression. It will, on the contrary, prosper under repression. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 562).

***Desh Sewak*, 20 October 1923**

The *Desh Sewak* of the 20th October writes: –

“Khalsaji, the bureaucracy has lad its hands upon your honour (*lit.* turban). It is now your duty, therefore, to save your honour. The tyrant has to vent all this fury at this *morcha*. You should also take courage. The Guru is with you. The Khalsa will win every battle. This is not the time for delivering speeches or writing articles; it is the time of self-sacrifice. See Baba Ajit Singh is there with his host of martyrs who hold bowls of nectar in their hands. Come forward and, while remaining non-violent, attain martyrdom and drink from cups

of nectar." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 562).

***Zamindar*, 20 October 1923**

The *Zamindar* of the 20th October affirms that in arresting the members and workers of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the editors of Akali newspapers Government has shown deplorable short-sightedness. Although it knew that complications would arise Government seriously offended the religious and national feelings of the Akalis by removing the Maharaja of Nabha from his gaddi. It has not acted wisely in adopting a repressive policy which has never so far succeeded in setting matters right. The Parbandhak Committee still exists and is doing its work. If its new workers also are arrested others will take their places. Can the jails of Government accommodate lakhs of Sikh *satyagrahis*? Does it wish that the Akalis should be incited into violence and thus enable it to repeat the bloody scene of the Jallianwala Bagh? It knows well, however, what was the outcome of the Jallianwala Bagh incident and the blind repression practised in connection therewith. The Akalis possess the sympathy of the whole country as they are being oppressed by the bureaucratic Government. Their attitude has been courageous while Government has always afforded proof of cowardice. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, pp. 578–579).

***Loyal Gazette*, 21 October 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 21st October states that processions of several thousand people pass daily through the streets of Amritsar and their badges indicate that they are the members of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The new members of the Working Committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee while moving with the processions proclaim on the way that people (wearing badges) are members of the Shiromani Committee, that they approve of the policy of the Committee in regard to the Nabha affair and will continue it. They invite arrest, but no one arrests them. The supporters of Government express regret at such cowardice on the part of the authorities. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 583).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 21 October 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 21st October says that the bureaucracy may call this great Committee of the Sikhs an unlawful association, but all the leaders of the world are unanimous in the opinion that the S.G.P.C. and the Shiromani Akali Dal are religious and peaceful jathas. Strive as much as the bureaucracy

may, the Sikhs are not likely to be crushed by this move. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 584).

Loyal Gazette, 21 October 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 21st October thinks that the charge brought against the arrested members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is obviously the same charge which was generally brought against people in O'Dwyer's time when it was intended to crush them, *viz.*, the charge of waging war against the King and causing rebellion. But how did S.B. Mahtab Singh, S.B. Captain Ram Singh and the arrested Professors of the Khalsa College wage this great war? This is still a secret and will be disclosed only when the case comes into court. It is not difficult to make a predication about the nature of this war. Those who have seen O'Dwyerism in the Punjab can very well imagine what sort of war might have been waged by the members of the Shiromani Committee. In the beginning, O'Dwyerism terrorised people, but in the end the authorities felt ashamed of their policy, with the result that pillars of prestige broke down and the whole building was smashed. Sir Edward Maclagan wishes to give O'Dwyerism another trial, as its author is very popular among Anglo-Indians. He should remember, however, that if he follows such a policy, he will experience the same fate at the time of his departure as befell Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself. If martial law had not been enforced in the Punjab, Sir Michael would have become a pillar of the British Empire and been made a peer. But the repressive policy pursued by him exposed him. Sir Edward Maclagan's weakness has led to the adoption of repressive measures in the Punjab on a scale to which it is difficult to find a parallel even in the O'Dwyerian regime. The Nankana tragedy, the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, the imprisonment of several (? leading) Hindus and Muhammadans and editors of newspapers, the unrest in the Doaba, the arrest of S.B. Mahtab Singh, etc., have all taken place during Sir Edward Maclagan's time. The Khalsa should remain firm and work with courage, so as to show to the world that no repression can frighten them and that they will sacrifice their lives for their Guru, prestige and religion. If they cause disunion in their ranks or get confused at this juncture, the sacrifices made by them on previous occasions will go in vain and their progress will be retarded for fifty years. They are being put to the test and should sacrifice their lives and property for the sake of their religion. They must save the honour of their Guru. They have committed no offence and caused no rebellion. If repressive measures are being taken against them, in spite of all this, they should remain non-violent and put up with all hardships. The Guru Granth Sahib should be recited everywhere. "Be fearless, raise your voice against this repression and

do not let the places of those who have been arrested in serving their religion remain vacant." In another place the paper states that according to a Government *communiqué*, the fresh Parbandhak Committee and the allied Akali *dals* have openly encouraged bodies of Akalis to invade Nabha with the object of intimidating Government and interfering with the maintenance of law and order. The *jathas* going to the Gangsar Gurdwara in the State have been beaten to unconsciousness by the police, have also been disgraced and kept hungry. None of their members, however, held out any threat to the police or Government. There can be no doubt that the Sikhs wish to bring pressure to bear on Government in a lawful and constitutional way to secure the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha. But the thought has never even been expressed that *jathas* should be despatched for this purpose. Government says that it does not propose to take action against men who confine themselves to purely religious activities. If this is really so, are the Sikh Missionary Society and the Sikh Missionary College political bodies that their members have been arrested? Government has held even the committees under the Shiromani Committee to be unlawful bodies and has taken steps to disorganize all managing committees. Are the managing committees of the *gurdwaras* at Nankana, Tarn Taran, etc., doing political work? If Government is not (really) opposed to the reform of the *gurdwaras*, with whose help does it hope to accomplish this work after declaring the Shiromani Committee and the associations under it as unlawful assemblies? It should bear in mind that the present act on its part amounts to interference in the religion of the Sikhs and it can never gain the object for which it has adopted this policy of repression.

Elsewhere the paper states that the arrested Sikh leaders can be sentenced to transportation for life. If the Sikhs with that Sardar Kharak Singh should not die naked like a reptile at the Dera Ghazi Khan Jail, that the beloved of their community, Sardar Mahtab Singh, who has been brought up in every comfort, should not give up the ghost in a condemned cell, and that Sardar Teja Singh, Risaldar Sundar Singh and others should not be sent to the Andamans, they should carry on such a constitutional agitation as is unknown in the history of their country. They should so agitate that the gates of jails might be voluntarily opened. They should hold not rejoicings until their leaders come out of prison. Sardar Mahtab Singh will utter no word of complaint even if he has to ascend the gallows, provided he is told that this community has not gone to sleep after pushing him forward. He should not, however, consider himself to be alone. Fifty lakh Sikhs, who have taken the vow to remain non-violent, are with him. The work of Gurdwara reform will continue and will not be abandoned till a single Sikh is left on the face of the earth. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, pp. 562–564).

Zamindar, 21 October 1923

In its issue of the 21st October the paper [the *Zamindar*] opines that Government is wrong in thinking that by declaring the Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal as unlawful associations it will be able to prevent the Sikhs from gathering together and deliberating over the details of their future programme. We would advise the Akalis to remain non-violent and wish the bureaucratic Government to realise the evil consequences of its policy and to abstain from committing acts which will prove fatal to the peace of the country. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 579).

Parkash, 21 October 1923

The *Parkash* of the 21st October admits that Government can arrest thousands of Sikhs and fill its jails. But it is impossible to put the whole community into prison for leaving aside a small number, all Sikhs are at the back of the Shiromani Committee. It is not proper to pick up a quarrel with the self-respecting and organized community that has rendered great services to Government in the past. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 579).

Loyal Gazette, 21 October 1923

The declaration of Government about the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromani Akali Dal will, according to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 21st October, affect the Congress also, while the Sikhs cannot let Government deprive them of their elementary rights of citizenship. Does England propose to govern poor and helpless Indians by depriving them of their rights? Is this the liberty of action, speech, writing and meeting of which British politicians boast so much? The Maharaja of Nabha is being blamed, but what is being done in the Punjab nowadays? What more could be done in Nabha? We shall confront the repression of a powerful Government with non-violence and sacrifice our lives like men, but we can never tolerate to lead degraded lives. It will be better for the Khalsa to vanish from this world than to suffer the degradation of slavery. We swear by our Creator that if national disgrace is placed on one side and death on the other we shall prefer death. Government can never succeed in discouraging the small community of the Khalsa. A Sikh can never lose his courage even after death. His ashes will produce flames which will not be extinguished till the day of judgment even if the waters of the seven seas are poured over them. The earth and heaven will see and history will bear testimony to the fact that, in spite of so many hardships, we shall not lose courage. So long as we are alive, we will not let other take possession of our *gurdwaras* or deprive us of our religious and social rights. "Get up O oppressed children

of Guru Gobind Singh! Leave your homes and go to the *gurdwaras*. Leave this world, but do not give up your religion. Go on agitating in a non-violent manner to the last breath. The authorities are proud of their military forces, of their guns, swords, rifles, balls and gunpowder; but our God is standing in our lines, armed with justice. We rely on His support. We are proud of Him alone and it is through His assistance that we will defeat this great Power." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 579).

Akali, 22 October 1923

The *Akali* of the 22nd October writes that the 14th of October 1923 will remain a memorable day in the annals of the Khalsa, because on that day the bureaucracy made decisive attack on the Sikh religion by relying on the strength of its brute force. The bureaucracy desires to overawe the Sikhs by the display of power. It should, however, bear in mind that it has attacked a community which will suffer to be cut to pieces and effaced from the world, but will not allow its religion to be interfered by a foreign Power. By declaring the two representative bodies of the Khalsas to be unlawful assemblies the bureaucracy has declared the Sikh religion of Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Granth Sahib to be opposed to law. The time has come when we should, pursuing non-violence, either die and leave behind the name of the Sikh community written in characters of blood on the pages of history or decided that, as Akalis and the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh, we shall remain alive as the members of these two bodies. It will be shameful for the Sikhs if they shrink from death and other sacrifices on witnessing such satanic oppression. If they hesitate in the performance of their duty and if their community is thereby effaced from the earth, their wealth, jagirs and high posts will be of no avail and the time will not be distant when their property too will be confiscated for the offence of their being Sikhs and they will be required to do menial labour like Purbias. The war waged for Nabha and the *gurdwaras* is no longer merely a Nabha and *gurdwara* war. The question of the liberty and slavery of India is involved in it. The present *morcha* is a Swarajya *morcha*. If we gain victory we shall assuredly breathe in an atmosphere of freedom. But if Government succeeds in ruining the Sikhs, the turn of Hindus and Muhammadans will come next. By adopting the policy of 'divide and kill' the British Government will convert Indian to a white colony and Indians will be treated in their country like the inhabitants of Kenya of East Africa. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, pp. 579–580).

Akali, 26 October 1923

The *Akali* of the 26th October remarks that the oppression practised by the present bureaucracy is well known. Before this proud, haughty and self-willed bureaucracy all Indians are blackies. When the Khalsa joined the Congress and took the reform of *gurdwaras* in hand through the Shiromani Committee Government resolved to ruin the Sikhs. Government stopped the *akhandpath* [*akhandpath*] in the middle and prevented pilgrimage to the Gangsar Gurdwara. If the Sikhs had remained silent in spite of this gross oppression, the martyred soul of the Panth and its sense of shame would have been dragged through the mire. Never before was the *akhandpath* so insulted. According to the command of Satguru the person practising such religious oppression should be killed as a matter of duty. And now Government has declared the entire Akali Dal and the Shiromani Committee to be unlawful assemblies. In official parlance the performance of the *akhandpath* and pilgrimage to Gurdwara Gangsar constitute an attack on Nabha and rebellion. But this kind of rebellion is our religion. If we deny it, we are unbelievers. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, pp. 581–582).

Nation, 23 October 1923

The *Nation* of the 23rd October writes: –

“There can be no justification whatsoever for the proclamation of the organisations of the Akalis as unlawful assemblies. To declare them to be unlawful is to issue a direct challenge to every lover of freedom in this land. The nationalists in India will rise to a man to help the brave Akali to assert his undoubted rights and to condemn the outrageous, the uncalled for and the arbitrary action taken by the bureaucracy in declaring entirely non-violent organisations endeavouring to assert the rights which they have been denied to be unlawful. This question is now not only a question affecting one community. It is a question which affects every Indian who has the least shred of self-respect left in him. What probably the Government do not realise is this, that in no country in the world has repression succeeded in throttling the cry of freedom, and that India is sick and disgusted with a show of mere brute force such as was in evidence in the proclamation of Martial Law in the Punjab, in the passing of the Press Law and the Rowlatt Act and now in the proclamation of the Akali assemblies as unlawful associations.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 584).

***Tribune*, 23 October 1923**

Commenting upon the warning of the Punjab Government to the newspapers against the publication of the *communiqués* of the S.G.P. Committee, the *Tribune* of the 23rd October writes: –

“Apart from its omission to state under what section of what law the threatened action will be taken, the Punjab Government has evidently no idea of the impossible position which this *communiqué* creates for every single newspaper in the country, English or Vernacular.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 585).

***Nation*, 23 October 1923**

The *Nation* of the 23rd October says: –

“Such a drastic action taken by the Government can have but one objective, namely, the muzzling of the press. If the nationalist press has any dignity left it will tight down this weapon that has been forged against it. Not only was the case against Akali leaders prejudiced by the proclamation of their organization as unlawful association, but what is more they are being denied the right to tell the truth to the world. ... Whatever the outcome of the case, it is certain that our bureaucrats have acted most unwisely, arbitrarily and high-handedly in preventing newspapers in the Punjab from publishing *communiqués* of the S.G.P.C.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 585).

***Akali*, 24 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 24th October explains that whenever a national movement is to be suppressed in the country our “kind” Government has always tried strenuously to discredit it by carrying on an extensive propaganda against it. When Government finds that the movement has been sufficiently discredited with the public, it at once delivers an attack on the movement with the help of the police, the guardian of peace. It arrests the leading workers and confiscate their property. It prosecutes the arrested persons, sentences them to long terms of imprisonment and subjects them to the most barbarous treatment in jail. At the same time, it overawes people by show of force and reduces them to such a moribund condition that they do not think of rising again and begin to look upon slavery as their salvation and helplessness as their prosperity. The result is that the powers that be get an opportunity to practise oppression at their sweet will. We cannot understand what law can justify such a high-handed control of India. We do not wish to discuss here the history of the British conquest of India as a whole, but will content ourselves with passing in review the story of British domination in the Punjab. The Government of India

made friendly treaties with the trans-Sutlej States and undertook to defend them against foreign invasion. We are unaware under what law a friendly State can be seized. But on Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death discord was sown in his family and the army was said to have gone out of control, after which Maharaja Dalip Singh was taken into custody. We remember the harshness with which the young Maharaja was deported to England without being allowed to take with him a single relative or servant. Law books do not contain a word in justification of a deportation like the above. Will some legal adviser of the Punjab Government or the Government of India take the trouble of proving the legality of this action? There are thousands of instances in which Government has sought to justify its oppression by taking shelter under legal prettexts. Recently there was a domestic dispute between the Maharaja of Nabha and Patiala. According to treaties the proper course for Government was to bring about a settlement between the two States and we might enquire whether, in order to settle a dispute, Government acted within the law in taking possession of one of the States. If so, under what provisions of the law was action taken? The forcible stoppage of the recitation of Guru Granth at Jaito offended the religious susceptibilities of a section of His Majesty's subjects and constitutes a flagrant violation of the law. Notwithstanding the fact that declarations have been repeatedly made that no one's religion will be interfered with, the bureaucratic Government, in spite of its liability to punishment for flagrant violations of the law, has thought fit to deliver an attack on the wronged party. The Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, admitted in official *communiqués* to be a representative religious body of the Sikhs, has been declared to be unlawful. One does not know how an offending party can hold a popular and influential body deserving of punishment for the offence of being opposed to its tyrannical policy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 580).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 24 October 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th October says that Dr. Kitchlew has opened his office at Amritsar and made up this mind to start civil disobedience in connection with the Nabha affair without consulting the Congress Committee. As a matter of principle, it is the duty of Congressmen, whether extremists or moderates, not to start civil disobedience. Besides it is now useless to carry on agitation regarding Nabha, inasmuch as Government has settled the question by declaring the Gurdwara Committee and the Akali Dal to be unlawful assemblies, prohibiting the publication of their *communiqués* and arresting their members. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 583).

Milap, 27 October 1923

The *Milap* of the 27th October 1923 cannot understand the rationale of this step. The cases against the office-bearers and members of the S.G.P.C. are still pending in a court of law and without awaiting the decision of the cases Government has declared the Committee an unlawful association. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 584).

Akali, 28 October 1923

The *Akali* of the 28th October takes exception to the view of the *Civil and Military Gazette* that the reinstatement of the Maharaja of Nabha will be a serious blow to the prestige of Government. Is the Maharaja's restoration to the *gaddi* undesirable even if Government is in the wrong? And where was Government's prestige when it fled from the Guru-ka-Bagh entrenchment at night? Again, in which almira was this prestige shut up when Government had to make over the keys of the Golden Temple to the Shiromani Committee? Was not this prestige torn to pieces by Maulana Muhammad Ali and others during their trial at Karachi? Government looked very small in connection with the national flag affair of Nagpur also. Indeed, the prestige of the bureaucracy departed bag and baggage when the Congress commenced work under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal have been declared as unlawful associations, but *jathas* parade daily through the streets of Amritsar and the Committee issues its *communiqués* as usual. Further, a grand procession was taken out to express abhorrence at the recent Viceregal visit to Lahore. Is not all this sufficient to destroy the prestige of the Government? Again, does not the conduct of the *Civil and Military Gazette* in publishing the *communiqués* of the Gurdwara Committee lower the prestige of the bureaucracy? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 10th November 1923. No. 45, p. 598).

Nusrat, n.d. November 1923

The *Nusrat* remarks that in carrying on an agitation for the reinstatement of the Maharaja of Nabha the S.G.P. Committee has no other object in view than to harass the Government without rhyme or reason. It further states that since the declaration of the Parbandhak Committee and Akali Dal as unlawful associations, Akali processions have been daily paraded at Amritsar and propaganda work carried on. Akali newspapers also defy the Government warning and publish the *communiqués* of the Gurdwara Committee and Akali Dal. But Government has taken no notice of all this. If it had to lose its prestige in such a humiliating manner, it should have silently made over the administration of the Punjab to the Akalis. A body of persons who break the law and interfere

with the religious and social rights of their neighbours should not be encouraged to do what they like. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th November 1923*, No. 46, p. 605).

***Bande Mataram*, 18 and 21 November 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* publishes an exciting message from Principal Gidwani and a contribution from Pandit Sundar Lal who exhorts Congress Committees to carry on propaganda work on behalf of the Shiromani Committee and also establish an ambulance corps. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th November 1923*, No. 48, p. 620).

***Loyal Gazette*, 3 December 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* has learnt from a reliable source that the Punjab Government has ordered that the revenues attached to the gurdwaras under the control of the Shiromani Committee should be withheld and has asked the Sikh States to cooperate in the matter. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th December 1923*, No. 50, p. 636).

***Nation*, 12 December 1923**

Writing to the *Nation*, Rahm Ali Alhashai refers to the recent action against the S.G.P.C., a religious reform institution, and complains that although there stands a long series of Royal proclamations about religious neutrality yet a stripling judge of Karachi or a bureaucratic Governor of the Punjab can treat all these as scrape of paper in order to persecute those who do not stand in favour with the bureaucracy. The blow which is directed against the S.G.P.C. to-day may be directed to-morrow against the Jamait-ul-Ulema or the Hindu Mahasabha if it is allowed to pass unchallenged. But what are the Hindus and Mussalmans of India doing? History will record that while one community of India was fighting for a momentous issue, the leaders of other communities were playing hide and seek with politics. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th December 1923*, No. 51, p. 644).

***Gurdwara*, 19 December 1923**

The *Gurdwara* reports that the All-India Congress Committee has asked the Satyagraha Committee, Amritsar, to ascertain from the responsible members of the Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal the conditions on which non-Sikhs can join the Dal. The Akali Dal has been declared to be unlawful and the best way to help it is to join it and offer oneself for arrest. The Committee should place its proposals before the Cocanada Congress. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924*, No. 1, p. 6).

Akali, 24 January 1924

The *Akali* remarks that government has already declared that it is unlawful for the Sikhs to live. Why should they, then, allow it to enjoy a comfortable sleep and practise oppression? They should sacrifice their all, harass Government, while remaining strictly non-violent, and compel it at once to release all their leaders. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th January 1924, No. 4, p. 35*).

Loyal Gazette, 2 March 1924

In another article in the same issue the paper [*the Loyal Gazette*] refers to the Government *communiqué* about monetary help to the S.G.P.C. and remarks that by holding out this threat Government has offered a golden opportunity for sacrifice to every Sikh desirous of taking part in the present struggle. The threats means that Government is now prepared to arrest the entire Sikh community. The S.G.P.C. has announced that every Sikh should give it at least five pice. Every Sikh should do so and also offer himself for arrest.

The *Loyal Gazette* writes in the same issue that the rumour is gaining ground that on all legal weapons failing it Government will banish the S.G.P.C. The whole Panth should unite to foil the last attempt of Government. It is the religious duty of educated, responsible and respectable Sikhs manly to come forward to manage the affairs of the S.G.P.C. in turn. They should give up education and service and pursue the path of imprisonment, death and banishment for the sake of religion. All Sikhs with sense of shame should die for the Panth, country and *Wahi Guru*. Honourable death is much better than degraded life. Remain non-violent for the sake of religion and accept the death of the innocent. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924, No. 10, p. 98*).

Akali, 9 and 13 March 1924

The *Akali* considers it the duty of every Sikh openly to subscribe toward the Five Pice Fund started by the Shiromani Committee and to induce others to do likewise. In a later issue the paper states that Government has declared it illegal to help the S.G.P. Committee. This is a direct challenge to the Sikh community. The avowed object of Government is to kill the Gurdwara Committee, deprive Akali prisoners and leaders of legal help, imprison them quickly without sufficient proof of the guilt and eventually to bring back *gurdwaras* under the control of men who are puppets in the hands of officials. By banning the S.G.P.C. Government has insulted the whole Khalsa Panth as well as Sri Guru Govind Singh. Even if it is assumed that the Committee has turned into a

political body, this does not justify its being declared an unlawful assembly. All sorts and conditions of the Sikhs should consider it their religious duty to give five pice in aid of the fund started by the S.G.P.C. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 108).

Shahid, 19 March 1924

The *Shahid* complains that Government has taken the horrible step of penalizing donations to the Shiromani Committee. Woe betides such a spirit of vindictiveness! This tyrannical bureaucracy will not refrain from stopping even our supply of food and water. The Khalsa should trample underfoot the stringent law of this malevolent bureaucracy and prove by means of the Five Pice Fund that they will not give a thousand times greater pecuniary help to the Committee and do their religious duty, regardless of the foolish acts the bureaucracy may commit under the cover of its law. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 117).

Zamindar, 19 March 1924

Writing to the *Zamindar*, Karam Chand, in charge of the Akali Sahaik Bureau, states that it was proclaimed by the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar that the Administrator of Nabha was negotiating with the Shiromani Committee about the terms with regard to the *akhand path*. This means that the Committee, which was recently declared as unlawful assembly, has now been recognized, that the Administrator has climbed down from the high heavens of prestige which he had to open fire and that the Punjab Government is impatient for a compromise with the Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 115).

Akali, 12 April 1924

The *Akali* complains that the Akalis are held to be badmashes for the sole offence of taking the *pahul*. Their co-religionists are arrested and their wives and children treated with disrespect. They are placed under arrest for the crime of going on pilgrimage to the Gangsar Gurdwara. Their feelings have been injured by making armed police march towards the Akal Takht. The Khalsas should, on this Baisakhi day, resolve to remain firm in their religion and lead a life of freedom or bid farewell to their present lives. If they have no desire even to-day to reform their sacred Gurdwaras it is improper for them to count themselves among living human beings. They should also contribute to the Five Pice Fund and collect subscription from their friends. By banning the S.G.P. Committee Government has declared the Sikh religion to be rebellious.

Obstacles are being thrown in the way of the administration of *amrit*. The Khalsa should now gird up their loins against this. They should not mind the troubles which may confront them. A correspondent of the paper avers that we cannot rejoice on this happy day. Our hearts are full of wounds. We should hold celebrations in memory of the martyrs of Jaito, pray for justice to the Maharaja of Nabha and the preservation of our national dignity and raise such a storm of agitation as to make both heaven and earth tremble. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, pp. 144–145).

15 The Sikh League Session at Jalandhar

Akali-te-Pardesi, 28 May 1923

Writing to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 28th May, Sundar Singh of Lyallpur tells the Sikhs that it is only by joining the Indian National Congress through by joining the Indian National Congress through the Sikh League that they can take ashore the sinking boat of Swaraj. He also urges them to hold the proposed session of the Sikh League in the Doaba on a grand scale, so that the world may realise that they will not be suppressed by the repression that the bureaucracy is practising in the Doaba. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 9th June 1923, No. 23, p. 297).

Tribune, 19 October 1923

The *Tribune* of the 19th October has the following:—

“It is with deep regret we learn from an Associated Press telegram that the session of the Central Sikh League which was to be held in Jullundur in the Dussehra holidays has had to be postponed, if not completely abandoned in consequence of the District Magistrate’s orders enforcing section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, in Jullundur for ten days and the police having taken possession of the pandal where the session was to be held. We have not hesitation in characterising this action of the authorities as an unwarranted interference with one of the elementary rights of the subject, the right of public meetings.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923, No. 43, p. 564).

Bande Mataram, 20 October 1923

The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th October avers that the bureaucracy at Jullundur appeared bent upon making Jullundur a second Jallianwala Bagh. Had not the Sikhs displayed forbearance and self-restraint, reports of horrible bloodshed would have been received from Jullundur. But the Sikhs scrupulously

acted up to the principle of non-violence and gave no excuse to the authorities to resort to brute force. The more the Sikhs remain non-violent the more the bureaucracy provokes them. The attitude of the bureaucracy is as hateful as that of the Sikhs is commendable. In the present struggle between the Sikhs and the foreign bureaucracy history is repeating itself. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 586).

Milap, 20 October 1923

The *Milap* of the 20th October is of opinion that political sagacity has come to an end; otherwise there was no reason for the enforcement of section 144 against the Sikh League. Can it not be inferred from this that Government wants to suppress the Akali movement altogether? But have living movements been ever crushed by such methods? The fact is that the whole country is now praying for the safety of the Akalis in their present trouble. We honestly believe that a thousand speeches at the Sikh League would not have produced on the public mind the effect which has been produced by the enforcement of section 144. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 586).

Akash Bani, 28 October 1923

With reference to the order prohibiting the Sikh League to meet in Jullundur the *Akash Bani* of the 28th October observes that Government cannot tolerate that a slave nation should throw off its sleep and is, therefore, anxious to suppress it. It has guns, cannon and the Penal Code and can hang people if it so desires. Nevertheless, it cannot destroy feelings of love for one's nation, religion and country. The Sikhs are a living nation and cannot be cowed by the measures adopted by Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 10th November 1923. No. 45, p. 592).

16 The Viceroy's Visit and Speeches on Nabha

Milap, 20 October 1923

The *Milap* of the 20th October refers to the Viceroy's observation about the Maharaja of Nabha in his speech at the Chelmsford Club and says that in view of these remarks no rumour about the Maharaja is credible. But the peaceful struggle started by the Akalis to restore the Maharaja to his gaddi is likely to be a prolonged one. Lord Curzon once declared that the partition of Bengal was a settled fact, and yet the partition was set aside. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 572).

Akali, 24 October 1923

The *Akali* of the 24th October addresses an appeal to the students of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, in the course of which it says: – In the Dera Ghazi Khan jail the bureaucracy is making the white-bearded Baba Kharak Singh food for insects. Indescribable tyrannies are being inflicted on your brethren in the Multan jail. Sick prisoners are punished with thirty stripes each and their skin is excoriated. The leading men of the community are arrested on the charge of waging war against the King and representative bodies like the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromani Akali Dal are declared unlawful. A challenge is thus thrown out to the very existence of the Sikh community. The administration of the Nabha State has been taken over by the English after forcibly deposing Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. They have been stopped at Jaito the recitation of the Guru Granth, beaten the Akalis on their way to Gangsar Gurdwara, kept them hungry and thirsty and left them helpless and resourceless in the jungles to become the food of beasts of prey. They are not ashamed of stabbing Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak in the breasts with daggers. Nor is this all. The white Mughal has arrogantly given to the Sikhs, from the heights of Simla, the threat that the Maharaja of Nabha will never be restored to his *gaddi*. Time will come when the Viceroy will have to install the Maharaja on the *gaddi*. It will be a matter for deep shame if on the occasion of Lord Reading's visit to Lahore the students of the Khalsa college should play cricket in order to provide amusement to the head of a Government which is attacking Sikhs on all sides after arming itself with every available power. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee announced that Punjabis, in general, and Sikhs, in particular, should observe hartal on the occasion of the Viceroy's visit. Only yesterday three respected professors of your College were arrested and they will be prosecuted on charges of conspiracy. Their families are in great straits. Here are you who, instead of taking note of their distress, are going to sprinkle salt on their wounds. Young men of the community! Awake from your sleep. Do not bring discredit on yourselves by disobeying the order of the Shiromani Committee. If you play cricket, the world will say that Indian students are lacking in self-respect to such an extent that they have gone over to the enemy like shameless creatures by disobeying the orders of the Shiromani Committee in a moment of distress. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, pp. 585–586).

Tribune, 24 October 1923

The *Tribune* of the 24th October writes: –

“We believe the charge that has generally be brought against the Government is not that of religious persecution, but of political repression, though the

Sikhs themselves have asserted, and not without reason, that the actual effect of the Government's policy and measures, which is a different thing from its intention, has been to interfere with the free exercise of their religious rights. What the public would like to know from the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England is whether there is no truth in this particular charge. Can His Excellency be unaware that the present trouble of the Sikh community dates back to the time when the Sikhs began to take an interest in and to some extent identified themselves with the wider movement for Indian freedom?" (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 573).

Akali, 26 October 1923

The *Akali* of the 26th October avers that it never heard such idle threats even in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, though it knows that Englishmen are apt to make use of threats. At the same time they are equally apt in the nick of time to come to their senses. Our works are in the hands of Wah Guru. Your threats cannot overawe us. Wah Guru is stronger than yourself. Fear Him and be not proud. It is the duty of the Sikhs to have faith in God and sacrifice their bodies, minds and wealth in His cause. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 574).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 26 October 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 26th October observes that Lord Reading's assertion that he was not prepared to disclose the charges brought against the ex-Maharaja of Nabha amounts to a plain confession that the present charges are not enough to justify the action taken against him. Of course, Daya Kishan hatched a big conspiracy against the ex-Maharaja and the S.G.P.C.; but when it was exposed the officers of the British Government hushed the matter up. It was not a difficult task for such conspirators to engineer successfully a conspiracy against the Maharaja. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 574).

Kirpan Bahadur, 26 October 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 26th October is positive that the Viceroy's hesitation to disclose the details of the charges against the Maharaja of Nabha is not due to any regard to the latter's honour, because it was His Excellency's Government that had one Mussammat Isheri arrested at a railway station and declared that she had been found in the palace – a highly dishonest proceeding taken to disgrace the Maharaja. We challenge the Viceroy to disclose the so-called secrets of the Maharaja. His Excellency talks of his pity for the Nabha prisoners, but he feels no pity for the prisoners sent to jail in British territory.

And are not sentences of 6 to 11 years' imprisonment, with forfeiture of property and exile from the State, passed for sympathizing with the Maharaja of Nabha atrocious? The Viceroy says that His Highness has ceased for all time to rule in Nabha. The Sikhs, however, believe that such boastful utterances will only shake the foundations of the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 574).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 26 October 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th October writes that the truth contained in the Viceroy's speech should serve as a lesson to the extremists. If they do not still act with prudence and wisdom, they will be responsible for wrecking the Reforms, which have been obtained after many years' efforts. Government has displayed supreme wisdom in declaring the Akali Dal and the Gurdwara Committee as unlawful assemblies and in arresting the Akali leaders whose activities are alleged to have exceeded the bounds of law and assumed a seditious and revolutionary form. During the last two or three years the Akalis have embarrassed the Government and its officers to such an extent that the cup of their patience became full to the brim and Government was compelled to take action in proper discharge of its duties. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 574).

***Milap*, 26 October 1923**

The *Milap* of the 26th October speaks of the Viceroy's speeches at Lahore as a collection of dull expressions emanating from the lip and not the heart. He repeated the rotten claim that he did not interfere in religious matters. These words were probably used to serve as an eyewash to the Sikhs; but they are dull and not so sweet as the words of the King-Emperor's representative should be. People entertain great hopes of the Viceroy, but when they hear such things from him they are disappointed, like a thirsty traveller in a desert who finds the well dry when he reaches it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 577).

***Kesari*, 26 October 1923**

The *Kesari* of the 26th October states that Akalis are being made the butt of Government's repressive policy and were not allowed to come out of the city gates of Lahore on the occasion of the Viceregal visit. On the other hand, some Sikh *raises* were standing at the *Samadh* of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the deceased *Jathedar* of the Akalis, to receive the Viceroy when he visited the fort and Shahi mosque. Up to the last moment they did not know that the Viceroy had given up his visit to the *Samadh*. After visiting the fort he went straight to

the mosque and the Sikh gentlemen were ignored. It was well that Lord Reading did not go to the *Samadh*, as this would have given a blow to the soul of the late Maharaja, who as King of the Punjab was on friendly terms with the English and after whose death they usurped his territory from his children. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 577).

17 Support and Criticism from Other Communities

Nusrat, 20 August 1923

The *Nusrat* of the 20th August expresses its inability to understand why independent-minded Akalis are trying to establish a despotic in place of a democratic rule. Even if it be admitted that the British Government has forcibly deposed the Maharaja, the Indians, who desire release from British slavery, should have felt pleased with the arrangement and forced the Government to make over the administration of the State to its people. As it is, while it is desired that the English should liberate Indians and go back to England bag and baggage, it is also wished that some Indians, who are powerful, should promptly take possession (of the country) and rule over their countrymen. If Indians really desire liberty, they should begin with Nabha. The big crowned heads of the world are now abdicating voluntarily and making over their thrones to their nations. (Our) independent-minded Akali friends, however, are harping on the reinstatement of the Maharaja of Nabha. The Indian press should raise its voice to secure complete liberty for Nabha. It should at least raise its voice to secure complete liberty for Nabha. It should at least agitate that until the minor Chief attains the majority, the reins of the administration should be in the hands of some capable State subjects. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, pp. 455-456).

Akali, 24 August 1923

Writing to the *Akali* of the 24th August, Abdur Rahman, Imam of the Juma Mosque and Secretary of the Congress Committee, Kahuta, Rawalpindi district, remarks that both Hindus and Sikhs sincerely sympathised with the Muhammadans since the inauguration of the Khilafat movement. Again, our Sikh brethren displayed conspicuous sympathy with us on the occasion of the Turkish peace celebrations. The time of the trial of Muhammadans has come. Government has forcibly deposed the Maharaja of the religious State of the Sikhs. Our Sikh brethren have taken the vow that they will either suffer total extinction or get the Maharaja reinstated. They also dislike, in accordance with their Guru's utterance, to see Ogilvie-rule in the Hira Mahal, just as

Muhammadans are trying to expel unclean Christians from the peninsula of Arabia. It behoves Muhammadans to hold meetings everywhere and express repugnance at the improper act of the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 469).

***Muslim Outlook*, 27 September 1923**

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 27th September has the following: –

“With regard to the issues of the Nabha controversy we have always held a neutral position; but we can hardly refrain from remarking that the reinstatement of the *ex*-Maharaja of Nabha is a proposition that is at least not universally supported by Indians. In any case, it is not a question, much less a dominant question, between India on the one hand and the British Government on the other, and does not, therefore, lend itself to the needs of those who would make it a battle-cry of the civil obedience campaign.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 523).

18 Restoring Sikh Rule in Punjab

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 17 December 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 17th December states that the British officers in India allege that the Shrimani [Shiromani] Gurdwara Committee is really intended to be the Sarkar of the Sikhs. If they actually believe this, their belief is due to their holding themselves aloof from the country, in spite of their residing in it. If, however, the doubt professed by them is merely a show to deceive the world, we admire their cleverness. The bureaucracy is given to making Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs and others regard one another with suspicion in order to further its own ends. The bureaucratic rule most go, by whatever rule it may be succeeded, because there can be no rule worse than it. The condition of no Indian community can be worse under Hindu or Muhammadan rule. The Sikhs and all (other) sensible Indians know that only that government is now possible in India which will accord an equal treatment to all communities. As for the Sikhs, they desire, not their rule, but service of religion. Indeed, a desire for rule is directly opposed to Sikhism. It is absolutely false to allege that the Sikhs have organized the Shrimani Committee to establish a government for themselves. The sole object of the Committee is to reform the Gurdwaras. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd December 1922. No. 51, pp. 632–633).

***Akali*, 17 and 20 December 1923**

The *Akali* predicts that in a few years the banner of the Akali movement will fly over every Indian home. In another issue the paper remarks that the defeat

or victory of the Akali movement will be the defeat or victory of India. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the whole country should participate in the devoted struggle carried on by the Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd December 1923*, No. 52, p. 651).

***Babar Sher*, 30 September 1923**

The *Babar Sher* of the 30th September asks why Muhammadans want to establish the Khalifa's suzerainty over the Jazarit-ul-Arab. The answer is simply because their holy places are situated in that country. Is there any wonder if on the same principle the Sikhs claim the Punjab for themselves? They have a claim to this province, since the English held it in trust for Maharaja Dalip Singh and the violation of a trust is a grave offence. Moreover, the land of the five rivers is replete with Sikh *gurdwaras*, so that it itself is practically a vast Sikh *gurdwara*. So long as the Punjab does not come under the political control of the Sikhs, neither the Sikh community can be relieved of the anxiety about its religion, nor can peace be maintained in the country. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 519).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 9 January 1924**

A correspondent of the *Paisa Akhbar* remarks that if Government had useful lawful rigour in the beginning neither the Akalis would have been able to raise their heads, nor would the Babbar Akalis have taken their birth. Now that the truth about the Akali movement has become manifest to Government and the public, they should not give the Akalis any help in causing unrest or in their schemes for the establishment of Sikh Raj in the Punjab. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 18).

***Punjab Samachar*, 12 February 1924**

The *Punjab Samachar* asserts that the Akalis want to establish Sikh rule after overthrowing the British Government. Their movement is a political one and they have also harassed Hindus and Mussalmans in diverse ways. The Punjabis, to whatever community they may belong, know all about the old Sikh *regimé* and cannot tolerate the idea of endangering their lives, property and honour by allowing the establishment of Sikh rule. They must render assistance to Government, for otherwise they will be ruining their own best interests. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 66).

***Akali*, 16 February 1924**

The *Akali* states that the Sikhs believe that Government wishes, not to occupy the *gurdwaras*, but to keep them under its control, so that it may mislead the world by having robes of honour awarded by them to tyrants like Dyer. As

regards the statement that Sikhs wish to take back the Punjab, Government has brought this accusation against them only to separate them from Hindus and Muhammadans. In regard to reconciliation, the Sikhs are always prepared for an honourable settlement. They wish that there should be a Central Shiromani Committee to manage their *gurdwaras* and that all religious prisoners should be released. Besides, they consider the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha to be an act of intolerable oppression and desire the appointment of an impartial Commission to enquire into the matter. Exemplary punishment should, moreover, be awarded to those Government officers who have insulted the Sikh religion. If Government accepts these conditions there can be no difficulty in arriving at a settlement. Otherwise, the Panth's sense of self-respect demands that it should stand firm and sacrifice its all. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, pp. 65–66).

Akali, 20 February 1924

Writing to the *Akali*, Mangal Singh, a former editor of the paper, states that one Ram Lal has contributed a letter to several Anglo-Indian newspapers alleging that the Sikhs are trying to establish Sikh rule in the Punjab. In support of his assertion he had reproduced a portion of the speech made by the writer at the Akali Diwan at Cocanada. The fact, however, is that the writer vehemently repudiated this utterly baseless charge against the Sikhs, which is levelled against them only to alienate other Indian communities from them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 67).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 17 April 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* affirms that efforts are being made to cause among the public the misunderstanding that the Akali movement is intended to establish Sikh rule in the Punjab, that it is anti-Swarajist in character and that after gaining power the Akalis will trample upon the religious rights of Hindus and Muhammadans. Sardar Mangal Singh, President of the Central Sikh League, has contradicted these statements, declaring that no Sikh has even thought of establishing Sikh rule in this Province. The Akalis have paved the way to civil disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj by defying the brute-oppression of the bureaucracy several times. The effect which their non-violent struggle has had on the public and the bureaucracy is more fruitful than propaganda for Swaraj extending over hundreds of years would have been. The non-violent struggle carried on by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee aims only at obtaining religious freedom. There will remain no quarrel between the Committee and Government if the latter considers *gurdwaras* to be the property of the Panth and allows the Committee to manage them, releases

the Akalis who have been arrested or convicted or deprived of their rights and property for their connection with the Akali movement, returns their property, refunds the fines realised from them and imposes no restriction on the manufacture and use of the *kirpans*. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 152).

***Babar Sher*, 16 June 1924**

The *Babar Sher* observes that the Sikhs are not being harassed because they have committed any fault. Nor are the Akalis being beaten because they have broken any law. The real cause of the repressive measures which the bureaucracy is adopting against the Sikhs is that it does not wish to see the living Sikh community strong and organized, seeing that British rule in India rests only on disunion among Indians. It is foolish, therefore, to expect the bureaucracy to enter into any settlement with the Sikhs which may preserve their *jathabandi* and allow them to manage properties attached to their Gurdwaras. It is the birthright of every human being to lead a peaceful and religious life, while it is his foremost duty to withstand any power interfering with it. If the Sikhs wish to live this life they should give up all other demands and claim the restoration of the Punjab. Its rendition will automatically fulfill all their demands: they will then have not fear of any obstruction being placed in the way of their religious progress and liberty. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924*, No. 25, p. 219).

***Akali*, 21 July 1924**

The *Akali* observes that Sikhs do not even dream of securing for themselves the rule of the Punjab. A story has been concocted by busybodies. No sensible Sikh can ever entertain such thoughts. It seems that the bureaucracy of "Mr." Hailey has organized a powerful conspiracy for bringing into infamy the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, the Akali movement and the Sikh workers. The paper, however, assured sister communities that the Sikhs are ready to cooperate with them fully for attaining Swaraj for India which will solve all their difficulties. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th July 1924*, No. 30, p. 250).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 27 July 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* condemns the note which appeared in a Sikh newspaper asking the Sikhs to demand the rule of the Punjab. The proposal is absurd on the very face of it. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924*, No. 31, pp. 258–259).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 November 1924**

According to the *Akhbar-i-Am* the Akalis have never acted on the principle of non-violence. They have committed many tyrannical acts under the cover of non-violence and wish to bring about a revolution in the country. Elsewhere the paper avers that the Akalis wish to cause a revolution in this province and usurp the rights of Hindus and Muhammadans. In other words, they wish to overthrow the British Government and establish Akali rule. There is absolutely no truth in the accusation that Government wishes to attack their religion. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th November 1924*, No. 48, pp. 362–363).

***Alamgir*, 18 November 1924**

The *Alamgir* states that the Akali movement simply aims at establishing Akali *raj* in the Punjab. As a matter of fact, the Akalis have in secret made complete preparations to establish the Akali *raj* throughout the Punjab. Are Hindus and Mussalmans prepared to face this danger? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd November 1924*, No. 47, p. 370).

***Alamgir*, 18 November 1924**

The *Alamgir* remarks that the Hindus, Government and non-Akali Sikhs are complaining against the Akalis, but it is the Mussalmans who are suffering most at their hands. Abduction of poor and illiterate Muslim women in villages, imposition of restrictions on the *azan* in mosques, commission of dacoities, etc., are matter to which official records bear testimony. Their agitation against Mian Fazl-i-Husain and attempts to defame Muslim Emperors are clearly discernable from the speeches and writings of responsible Akali leaders. In fine, although the Akalis represent themselves as the friends of the Mussalmans, they are in reality hostile towards them and bent upon destroying them. The intention to establish an Akali *raj* in the Punjab constitutes a warning and a lesson for the Mussalmans. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd November 1924*, No. 47, p. 370).

19 Rumours about Government Seizing the Golden Temple***Kirpan Bahadur*, n.d. November 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* states that if Government is thinking of taking possession of Sri Akal Takht, because Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Malaviya went there to bow their heads and made political speeches expressing sympathy with the Akalis, the Sikhs will sooner perish than allow this to be done. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th November 1923*, No. 46, p. 605).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, n.d. November 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* publishes an inflammatory article in which it observes that whenever the sinful bureaucracy takes possession of a new country it at once assumes control of the sacred places of the country in the belief that politically minded people are not so dangerous as those who are religiously inclined. Rumours are afloat that, acting on this principle, it is the intention of the bureaucracy to hand over the Sri Akal Takht and the Golden Temple to old *pujaris* with the help of a demonstration of machine guns. Whether the rumours be true or false, it is unquestioned that there is something wrong with the intentions of the bureaucracy which wants to destroy the Sikhs by drying up the springs of their religion. The mighty Government thinks that when the Sikhs have been crushed, it will direct its attention to seven crore brave Muhammadans and then deal with 23 crore Hindus. But it should remember that even if it hacks the Sikhs to pieces they will not be exterminated. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th November 1923*, No. 47, p. 612).

***Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate*, 29 January 1924**

The *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* states that rumours are abroad that Government intends seizing the Durbar Sahib and attached shrines. It should remember, however, that extremist, moderate and other sections of the Sikhs will unite and every one of them will fall a martyr rather than allow Sri Akal Takht to pass into the hands of Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th February 1924*, No. 6, p. 50).

***Desh Sewak*, 10 April 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* suggests that if the *Akali-te-Pardesi's* report that Government is about to seize the Golden Temple, Sri Akal Takht and the langar of Guru Ram Das is well founded, a "Sri Harmandar Sahib Sewak Shahidi Dal" should be formed. It should consist of a least five thousand devotees, who should prevent the tyrants from making the seizure at the cost of their lives, remaining perfectly non-violent themselves. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 143).

20 Disrespect of the Akal Takht***Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate*, 8 January 1924**

Of Sikh papers, the *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* writes that the police committed a gross sacrilege by going in front of the Akal Takht and standing there with their backs to the Thara Sahib Gurdwara, in spite of protests from the *sevadars*. They have also severely shocked Sikh feeling by attempting to ascend the

sacred Takht of the Guru. The Sikhs can bear to be beaten to unconsciousness at Guru-ka-Bagh, to be trampled under the hoofs of horses at the Rawalpindi Railway Station and made half-dead by being pierced with lances and see their brethren crushed under a train at Punja Sahib. They can, however, never tolerate an insult to their Sat Guru and his Darbar. People feel surprised how the Akalis remained non-violent, in spite of so much provocation by the police: they deserve all praise for having maintained their spirit of non-violence under such trying circumstances. We ask Government how long the Panth will tolerate the self-willed doings of these Police Officers and would strongly urge that suitable notice should be taken of their conduct. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 19).

Akali, 10 January 1924

The *Akali* publishes a communication from its special correspondent, who remarks that on the 7th January the members of the bureaucratic Government dared to take unlawful and satanic proceedings against the only representative body of the Sikhs, *i.e.*, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The Superintendent of Police went in front of Sri Akal Takht in uniform and socks in company with troops and police. Being inebriated with authority, these embodiments of Satan did not care even to wash their feet and remove their socks. On a report of this wicked and satanic acts reaching the office of the Shiromani Akali Dal thousands of Akalis went to the Akal Takht. The arrests show that Government is bent upon ruining all Sikhs – loyalists, anti-Government, moderates, extremists or non-cooperators. Every Sikh is now a rebel in the true sense of the term. The paper then tells the Sikhs, who possess the spirit to sacrifice themselves for their community, that the satanic Government is prepared to insult their sacred Takht and its accursed members are about to defile the land of their sacred *gurdwaras*. They should sacrifice themselves to save the tree planted by Guru Gobind Singh. They should liberate their *gurdwaras* from the influence and control of the satanic Government, raise the banner of liberty in the country and free India by totally paralysing Government. If they cannot do so they should destroy themselves, because they have no right to live when their *gurdwaras* are being insulted. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, pp. 19–20).

Akali, 10 January 1924

The papers publish messages from the arrested Akali leaders. The *Akali* prints one sent by Balwant Singh of Gujar Khan for his community at the time of his arrest, stating that the tyrannical Government had firmly resolved to sweep the Sikhs out of existence. The paper also publishes a message from Autsar

Singh, Bar.-at-Law, Gujranwala, who says that it is the duty of Indians to help the Akali movement in every possible way. The All-India Congress Committee should prove to the world that no power can suppress the movement for freedom. It is not an ordinary matter that the police should enter the Durbar Sahib and Akal Takht in uniform and armed. The Sikhs have put up with this satanic act, although there are instances in which their ancestors cut off the heads of people insulting the most sacred Durbar. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924*, No. 3, p. 27).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 10 January 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that there never was such a large attendance at a meeting of the General Committee of the S.G.P.C. as on the 7th January. The fact of more than 200 members putting aside their many urgent affairs to attend the meeting clearly shows the real spirit of the Sikh community. If the bureaucracy is resolved to crush the Akali and Gurdwara reform movement, the Akali host of Guru Gobind Singh is also determined to shed its last drop of blood for the liberty of its *gurdwaras* and country. Does the bureaucracy think that the S.G.P.C. will suffer any injury by the recent arrests? Its organization is not such that it can be weakened by a piece of mischief. The first Committee was arrested on the formation of the new Committee and the same thing has happened now. These indiscriminate arrest can neither weaken the S.G.P.C., nor terrify the Panth. The paper adds: "O heroes of the Guru, march into the battlefield of non-violence with firm faith in God and break the muzzles of the guns and cannon of the bureaucracy with cool and calm breasts. Tell the tyrannical bureaucracy that sin is in itself powerful enough to kill the sinner. The Guru's Khalsa will live for ever, but not a trace of the sinful rule will be seen anywhere." Elsewhere the paper writes under the heading "The satanic army's assault upon the throne of God (Akal Takht)": – "Since the commencement of the Gurdwara reform movement several bureaucratic hirelings have made dire attacks upon our religion. The interruption of the *akhand-panth* at Jaito and the subsequent closure of pilgrimage to the Gurdwara of Guru Gobind Singh were base proceedings. The entry of the Deputy Commissioner in a Diwan at Khera (Ludhiana district), presided over by Sri Guru Granth Sahib, with his shoes on was grossly satanic. And the recent attack upon Sri Akal Takht with the help of the police for the purpose of making arrests is no less so. But we feel ashamed of those devil-faced Sikhs who take part in the perpetration of these tyrannies. Cursed be the Sikh bodies which dare not shower imprecations upon the bureaucracy for such tyrannies. Have you not been yet convinced, O Khalsaji, that there is a sufficient number of such devils among the bureaucracy who have not the least hesitation in assailing our religion, our sense of national

self-respect and the honour of our Guru? Sikhs, kill yourselves. There can be no coward like you if you still stay at your homes and do not step into the non-violent battlefield with your heads on the palms of your hands to preserve the honour of your religion. If any Sikh worth the name is not prepared to sacrifice his all even now, he should cease to claim (to be a follower of) Sikhism. The time has arrived when you should, while remaining non-violent, be hacked to pieces or should abjure the Guru." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924*, No. 3, p. 26).

***Sīyasat*, 10 January 1924**

The *Sīyasat* reports that the police had to put up with a good deal of provocation from the Akalis. Some hot-tempered Akalis pushed back and assaulted the Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Additional District Magistrate, while one of them abused Police Officers in front of the Kotwali. The Police entered the Gurdwara after putting off shoes. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 19).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 11 January 1924**

In another issue the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] observes that the bureaucracy has had the audacity to show disrespect to the Takht and has thereby challenged the religious spirit of the Sikhs. Perhaps the bureaucratic police force wanted to take undue advantage of non-violence on the part of the Sikhs; otherwise it ought to know how the latter treated those who insulted their sacred places. The historic event of the severing of the head of Massa Rangar cannot be easily forgotten. It has now become clear that the bureaucracy is resolved to descend to the lowest depths and by arresting the S.G.P.C. want to take possession of our gurdwaras. Its hostile attitude and the manner in which it entered Sri Darbar Sahib clearly show that it had gone to take possession of Sri Akal Takht. This is certain its ultimate object. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924*, No. 3, p. 26).

***Tribune*, 11 January 1924**

In another issue, after referring to the allegations about the sacrilege of the Akal Takht, it [the *Tribune*] remarks that if the facts are as stated, public opinion all over the Province and the country will strongly condemn the action of the officials concerned, not only as obviously improper but as in the highest degree inexpedient. The Sikh community is already in a state of intense discontent and dissatisfaction, and at such a time ordinary prudence would dictate the complete avoidance of any action on the part of officials which had

even the semblance of being offensive to the community as a whole. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 19).

***Bande Mataram*, 11 January 1924**

In another issue the paper remarks that the arrests afford additional proof of the fact that the bureaucracy is bent upon crushing the Akali government by every means – lawful or otherwise. The authorities cannot be ignorant of the fact that no non-Sikh can ascend the Akal Takht platform. The Akalis naturally prevented the police from making an objectionable struggle to get at the Akal Takht. Elsewhere the paper refers to the Shiromani Committee's resolution expressing abhorrence at the entry of the Superintendent of Police in the compound of the Akal Takht and is unable to understand why the agents of the bureaucracy, being inebriated with savage force, are daily committing acts of injustice. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 19).

***Akali*, 13 January 1924**

The leading article in the *Kalghidhar* Number of the *Akali* says that the enemies of freedom wish to destroy the followers of Guru Gobind Singh. In order to please this sacred personality, however, the Sikhs should step into the field of sacrifice and shed their blood for the sake of their community. They were created to raise aloft the standard of freedom in India, save the world from devilry and protect the oppressed against tyrants. But what can those people do for others who, after witnessing, on the 7th January, the attempt to insult their beloved Akal Takht, are still alive? All the leaders of the community are now confined to jail. The wicked and satanic Government again wishes to use its powers to desecrate gurdwaras. "Dogs are waiting to trample on your sacred crown and throne; pigs and asses wish to defile those places where unity-worshipping Sikhs bow down their heads ... Come, move your bodies, open your eyes and exercise your muscles in the name of the beloved leader who was born to establish this right. Sacrifice yourself on the threshold of gurdwaras, but do not allow the accursed officials of a foreign Government to go near them." In another editorial paragraph the editor addresses all those Sikhs who are in jail and asserts that the time is approaching when the brave and valiant Sikh community will, while remaining non-violent, paralyse the existing Government in India. "The community is as much agitated and perturbed as it was before you entered the jails of the unholy and accursed Government. The sun may rise in the west, but it is absolutely impossible for the Sikhs to allow their holy *gurdwaras* to pass under the influence of the unholy and

accused Government or suffer their sacred places of worship to be defiled by the wicked bodies of its satanic officials." The paper also publishes an article from Raja Mahinder Partap, who says that it is extremely foolish to think that Guru Gobind Singh fought against Mussalmans or that the latter killed his sons. He fought only against the few so-called Mussalmans who had taken to oppressing people and were practically infidels. And every true follower of the Guru will have to do so even now. In these days the real infidels are those few Englishmen who oppress India to serve their selfish ends, as also those so-called Hindus and Mussalmans who serve the English for the sake lucre and throttle real Sikhs, that is Hindus and Mussalmans. It is the duty of every follower of Guru Gobind Singh to oppose these real infidels. A true follower of the Guru will have to fight against all sorts of oppression for the sake of God and wipe off tyranny. This is the lesson of Guru Gobind Singh's life. Rise and obey the order of the Guru. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924*, No. 3, pp. 25–26).

Akali, 14 January 1924

The *Akali* remarks that the agents of the civilised Government rent the hearts of Sikhs by insulting the sacred soil of Akal Takht. Although the Police officers knew that the Sikhs would never tolerate an insult to their most sacred gurdwara, still they adopted a highly provocative attitude, probably to test the latter's patience and force them into violence. But for the presence forbearing and prudent Sikh leaders, the excited brave Akalis might not have hesitated to use violence and dead bodies might have been piled up. We loudly proclaim that we will never tolerate that our sacred places should be besieged or efforts made to enter them in a disrespectful and provocative manner. If such acts lead to violence the responsibility for it will rest with the authorities. The Akalis should go to Amritsar in large numbers and save the House of the Guru from being insulted. They should die for the sake of the Guru and religion. The paper also publishes an "Order from Sri Akal Takht" from the Jathedar concerned. The Sikhs are told in it that instead of subjecting them to physical pain Government is now prepared to ruin their spirituality and religion. The Amritsar police delivered a murderous attack on their religion by attacking Sri Akal Takht. To enter the *parkarman*, try to ascend the Akal Takht and insist on the arrest of the Sikhs seated there was tantamount to conveying a message of death to the Sikh religion. By this act of high-handedness the police grossly insulted Sikhism and did its utmost to cause a breach of the peace. It is easy for the Sikhs to have their bodies hacked to pieces, but they cannot see their religion murdered. The beloved of the Guru should ever be ready to sacrifice

their heads to preserve the honour of the Akal Takht. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924*, No. 3, p. 27).

***Punjab Darpan*, 18 January 1924**

The *Punjab Darpan* remarks that this is the first time that a Government has attempted to ascend the Akal Takht, where even an unbaptized Sikh cannot go. It appears that the foolish but inebriated subordinates of the bureaucracy have not so far realised that the Sikhs will rather be dismembered and shot than tolerate an insult to the Akal Takht. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th January 1924*, No. 4, p. 35).

***Loyal Gazette*, 20 January 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* avers that history furnishes no instance in which the responsible officers of any Government violated the sanctity of the most sacred place of the self-respecting Sikh community. Fortunately for the country and Government, the Sikhs have taken the pledge of non-violence. But for this, the mischief committed by the myrmidons of the bureaucracy was so intolerable that a spectacle more dreadful than that of the Jallianwala Bagh or the Chillianwala battlefield might have been witnessed. Men like the arrested members of the Shiromani Committee ask the bureaucracy either to allow them freedom for the reform of *gurdwaras* or, if it can do so, to prepare itself for a war to usurp the birthrights of the Sikhs, in which struggle it will surely suffer a defeat against the non-violent, righteous and religious Sikh forces. The Sikh can put up with the amputation of each and every part his body. He can let his skull be smashed to pieces and allow himself to be thrown into boiling oil or put to death on the gallows with the severest tortures. Sikh mothers can bear to see the joints of their sons cut off and put around their necks as garlands. The violation of sanctity of their sacred places, however, the Sikhs can never tolerate. The bureaucracy should learn a lesson from the events of the past three years and give up the idea of trying its strength on the steel hands of the Khalsa. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th January 1924*, No. 4, p. 35).

***Gurdwara*, 23 January 1924**

The *Gurdwara* tells the advisers and agents of Government that if they try to enter Sri Akal Takht or any other *gurdwara* in uniform they themselves will be responsible for the consequences. The cup of our patience has been filled to the brim. Government is rendering its own roots hollow in proportion to the attacks it delivers on us. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd February 1924*, No. 5, p. 43).

Gurdwara, 23 January 1924

A correspondent of the *Gurdwara* complains that the attitude of the police during the search was very objectionable, nay, insulting. A constable stood in front of the gate of the Baba Sahib with a rifle in his hand, which is objectionable from the religious standpoint of the Sikhs. Another constable tried to enter the office of the Shiromani Committee with meat, a bottle of wine and a tumbler and in spite of efforts to prevent him. Eventually he was pushed out by Sikhs and now allowed to go in till he had thrown away mean and other abominable things. In another place the paper alleges that the police produced no search warrant, nor did they allow their persons to be searched. It also learns that when the police entered the office after cruelly beating the *sewadars* C.I.D. men threw some objectionable papers which they had brought with them. Government has as yet got no proof on the basis of which the Sikh leaders on trial can be held to be rebels. It is not surprising, therefore, if the police committed this mean act to gain their end. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd February 1924, No. 5, p. 44*).

The Jaito Agitation

1 Jathas to Jaito

Akali-te-Pardesi, 2 September 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 2nd September writes: –

“O bureaucracy, you will not be able to enjoy sound sleep after arresting Akali jathadars and other workers in Nabha. It is impossible for you to conceal the truth by practising oppression on those who have devoted themselves to the cause of Maharaja Sahib Ripodaman Singh. We who allowed ourselves to be quartered and sawn have today stood against you in a peaceful war. You too should not leave any stone unturned. You should take an oath not to recede now when you have taken the matter in hand. You effected arrests in a meeting held at Jaito, but the meeting is still being conducted. Why are you looking backward? Let all the Sikhs present at the meeting be arrested or shot. O Khalsaji, an entrenchment has been set up at Nabha, but the bureaucracy is now looking backward. It is time for you to make an attack on the undecided bureaucracy. You should remain non-violent but make it quit the field in such a way that it may not be able to regain its position. Processions will be arranged at all places on the 9th of September. After that no time will be left for making preparation. So you should finish everything and get prepared. The time is very critical. It is the last entrenchment to be set up by the bureaucracy. But for those who are devoted to religion and are prepared to immolate themselves for the honour of the Panth, hardships are mere trifles. Nations are formed in this way. You should come forward and place your heads on the palms of your hands.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 485).

Akali, 3 September 1923

The *Akali* of the 3rd September reports that Akalis are entrenching themselves at Jaito. Akali jathas have been going to Jaito from Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ferezepore, Kot Kapura, etc. We do not want to live like shameless persons and cowards. If we die on this national altar, we shall live in history as martyrs. The Sikh community is on its last trial. If we secure truth and justice in connection with the Nabha affair, our troubles will probably come to an end. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 483).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 5 September 1923**

In the course of a leading article, the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 5th September observes that by blockading all routes leading to the place of meeting at Jaito and cutting off provisions, the police have challenged the Panth again, as they did at Guru-ka-Bagh. It goes on to write: "Well, O cowards, have you not yet come to know that provision can reach the Sikhs from some unknown source and even if no provision reach them the Sikhs still derive pleasure in remaining hungry? But this is not all. Orders have also been issued that whoever goes to the meeting will be arrested. Brave men have become red with rage on hearing this and are proceeding to the site of the meeting from different places. We believed that the bureaucracy would not be able to maintain patience and tolerate truth and at last it has lost patience and has made an attack on us. Sardar Mahtab Singh is therefore coming back from Kashmir and it is hope that he will arrive at Amritsar a few hours after these lines have been written. O Sikhs! this furnace of trouble and oppression will purify our community. False leaders, cowardly Sikhs and selfish people will all get into the background and sincere heroes will come forward and offer their heads for the sake of the Guru. You should bear in mind that you came out successful after undergoing imprisonment in jails and suffering beating with bludgeons. Now that the bureaucracy has taken the matter in hand, it has relied on some bigger instrument. Beloved ones are now wanted to become martyrs for making even this instrument blunt. We firmly hope that thousands, nay lakhs, of Sikhs will get themselves quartered, but will preserve their national and religious honour. O Khalsaji! The time you have been waiting for has come; you should make the bureaucracy forget the pleasures it indulged in by dishonouring the Maharaja who held liberal views and possessed sympathy for the Panth. You should remember that this struggle will be very hard and every Sikh boy, every pice and every kind of material and sacrifice will be required. Orders will be issued by the Guru Panth. So every Sikh who has taken *amrit* should remain prepared to die for the Guru and the glory of the Panth." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, pp. 483-484).

***Nation*, 6 September 1923**

The *Nation* of the 6th September writes: –

"Recently Jaito has become the battle front of a serious Akali *morcha*. With their usual aptitude to blunder, and equally usual ineptitude for making amends and withdrawing from false positions, the bureaucratic satraps of Nabha are helping to create another Guru-ka-Bagh in Jaito. * * * * The Akalis, let the little Nabob of Nabha fully understand, are not in any mood to take religious insults lying down. They overlooked the insult offered to the Maharani

Sahiba, although that in itself was grave enough to give severe provocation. But when the jack-boot of the Nabha autocracy dares to stampede religious agitation and peaceful demonstration of injured feelings, it counts too much on its powers. The insignificant incidents at Jaito, if the illegal orders are not withdrawn by the Nabha satrap, are sure to lead to a big catastrophe." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 15th September 1923. No. 37, p. 485).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 12 September 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 12th September affirms that the new Government of Nabha has eclipsed the tyrants of Guru-ka-Bagh in the matter of unlawful and illegal doings. The ingress to and egress from the diwan (at Jaito) have been stopped and those who leave it even to make water are placed under arrest. Rations for the Guru-ka-langar have been stopped altogether and any one selling edibles to a Sikh is maltreated. Legal advice from outside the States is not allowed to the accused, while Ogilvieism has cowed down the Vakils of Nabha. Press reporters are not permitted to take notes of the proceedings of cases or to see oppressive (scenes). Nabha being now under the control of the Government of India freedom has flown away. The tyrants practise oppression and commit further oppressive acts to throw a veil over it. The Sikhs have so far never submitted to oppression and will not do so now. The time for the trial of those who have taken *pahul* has arrived. He who delays for a minute on the order reaching him will reduce his sacrifice by one half. When you have to sacrifice yourselves do not delay a minute when you receive the order. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 496).

Babar Sher, 13 September 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 13th September observes that whatever the bureaucracy has done so far in the religious diwan (at Jaito) shows that it is in a state of bewilderment. At one time it arrests Sikhs and at others sets them free. It is a suitable time for us to make a non-violent attack on the *morcha* at Nabha. Although the bureaucracy has in its possession cannon, machine-guns, bombs and countless hosts, yet its cause is false and destined to be defeated. Khalsaji, just restore the Maharaja of Nabha to this *gaddi* and the whole world will do your bidding and foreign nations will also range themselves on your side. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 496).

Babar Sher, 19 September 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 19th September asks the Sikhs to withdraw their attention from every thing else and concentrate it upon the *morcha* of Nabha. Every

Sikhs should think how to win this *morcha* and maintain the honour of his community. But whatever is to be done should be attempted in a spirit of complete non-violence, so that the bureaucracy may get no opportunity to dub the Sikhs as “rebels”, roast them with machine-guns and exterminate them in this way. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 513).

Loyal Gazette, 23 September 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 23rd September affirms that the Congress resolution on civil disobedience will seriously affect the Nabha question. Government will be acting wisely in giving up its obstinacy in the matter. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 513).

Gurdwara, 26 September 1923

Writing about the Jaito affair, the *Gurdwara* of the 26th September remarks that the bureaucracy can put the Sikhs to the test as many times as it likes, but it will ever find them ready to receive *lathi* blows on the road to Guru-ka-Bagh and bayonet wounds at Rawalpindi. They may be trodden under the hoofs of horses and crushed under a train at Hassan Abdal. But this cannot shake their love for their Guru, community and the country. How can the bureaucracy expect those who are fighting for the liberation of their *gurdwaras* to shrink from making sacrifices at Jaito? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 525).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 26 September 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 26th September observes that Wilson-Johnstone wields powers which were not possessed even by the Czar of Russia. Government, which accused the Maharaja of Nabha of injustice, is now doing what will shock the whole world. To starve arrested Sikhs for days together is a satanic act that had not so far suggested itself to any barbarous Government. But such things are not confined only to Nabha. The President of the Faridkot Council, who was appointed by the Government of India, has also power to practise every kind of oppression. The Sarkar has converted the Native States into infernal regions in India. But these oppressions do not frighten us. Satan feels pleased, because he thinks to be able to attain his object by sucking our blood. To us, however, it is a test of our faith by the Guru. Satan thinks that he will bend us with his oppression; but we hold that this fire will still further add to our brilliancy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 525).

Babar Sher, 26 September 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 26th September (received on the 4th October) writes: –

“Khalsaji your *akhand-panths* are being stopped. You are beaten while singing hymns in gurdwaras and diwans. Your gurdwaras are being locked up and you are being arrested. Your religion is, therefore, in grave danger at present. Will you not make sacrifices for the safety of your religion at this juncture?” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 537).

Akali, 27 September 1923

The following is the full translation of an article which appeared in the *Akali* of the 27th September 1923: –

“Splendid morcha at Jaito: war between oppression and helplessness.”

“The national lion, Mahtab Singh of Miran Kot, hears in the far off ilaka of Jaipur that the Darbar Sahib at Amritsar is being insulted (and that) the tyrannical Massa smokes *hukka* and sees the *nautch* of dancing girls on chest of the Panth, *viz.*, the floor of the Darbar Sahib. Mahtab Singh gets excited immediately on hearing this heart-rendering news. He took (*lit.* raised) (his) *kirpan* in (his) hand and said ‘Is no Sikh alive?’ The blood of the Bhai is surging. He started for the Punjab like a mad man. On arriving at the Damdama Sahib he administered the oath to the Khalsas: ‘Life is not worth living (*lit.* is forbidden) after witnessing this insult to the Guru.’ From here he started for Amritsar in company with his companion Sukha Singh. Immediately on arrival at the Darbar of the Guru (he) mixed the tyrannical Massa in the dust.

“A Sikh can bear all sorts of calamities and troubles. He does not care if his house is plundered (and his) head is cut off. (But) he can on no account tolerated insult to the Amrit-giving Satguru. The Satguru has been again insulted to-day after hundreds of years. Infidel Gurdial Singh has rent the heart of the (Sikh) community by forcibly dispersing the Akhand-path and religious Diwan. Gurdial Singh is a senior official of the Nabha Government which is at present a formal branch of the Government of India. In other words the responsibility for our religious ruin directly rests on Lord Reading, that is, after insulting the Guru Granth Sahib, Lord Reading is sitting on the chest of the Sikh *panth*, plunging a dagger in our bosom and saying: ‘Where are (*lit.* is) your God and Wahguru?’

“We would have said nothing to the Viceroy of India if, immediately on hearing this news, he had removed the mean fellow Gurdial Singh and infidel Ogilvie from the Government (of Nabha) and put them in an iron barred cage. Now we lay the burden for all the wrath and oppression (indulged in at Jaito) only on this Chief Justice of England.

“Readers, you have read the stories of Harnakish and Pharaoh in books. The Pharaoh of the twentieth century sits on the throne of India in front of you. (He) is spurning *dharma*, faith and the creation of God, (and) in (his) reliance on the satanic power of guns and bombs, considers it beneath his dignity even to listen to the cold sigh(s) of the oppressed. It is now the duty of Indians to render his satanic power futile with their sacrifice and divine faith.

“Khalsaji, you have been given a challenge in the names of Satguru, Akalpurkh and religion. Are you the sons of Guru Gobind Singh? Was it your ancestors who got their bodies hacked to pieces for the sake of religion? It should be remembered that the Sikh who fails to make some sacrifice in conformity with the order of the Shiromani Committee on this occasion of oppression and devilry will not be able to clear his forehead of (this) black mark till the Day of Judgement.

“It is the duty of Sikh nobility and Sikh Maharajas that they also might do something on witnessing this insult to (their) religion. It is the duty of Sikh military soldiers and other Sikh servants (of Government) not to remain wholly aloof from this place of sacrifice. If the Khalsa tolerated this religious insult (*lit.* shamelessness) we should conclude that we are throwing dust on the martyred blood of our Satgurus.

“The Akali brethren who are going to the place of sacrifice at Jaito like a moth are the true sons of the Satguru. O Akalpurkh, may, they blessing be excited. May the infidelity of the infidels come to an end. May the honour of *dharma* and faith be maintained!” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, pp. 539–540).

***Bande Mataram*, 27 September 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 27th September refers to the campaign of satyagraha started by the Akalis and feels confident that Government will have to yield in this case also. Both Hindus and Muhammadans should give befitting help to the Akalis to make the movement a success. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 523).

***Nation*, 28 September 1923**

The *Nation* of the 28th September writes: –

“Jathas are arrested, Akalis are dragged, beaten and humiliated. In certain cases they are detained in jungles for sufficiently long periods without provision and shelter. They are made to spend nights in the open, with the consequence of getting chill or fever, being sparsely clothed and scanty provided for such contingencies. ... The callous bureaucracy is precipitating another Guru-ka-Bagh. But if it is anxious to have it repeated let it remain prepared to

reap the consequent whirlwind." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 526).

***Tribune*, 29 September 1923**

The following is from the *Tribune* of the 29th September: –

“The situation at Jaito is every day becoming more acute, and there can be no doubt that the State authorities have gone about the business in such a manner as to make even those persons sympathise with the movement who originally took no interest in it. As far as this particular question is concerned, the State authorities have taken up an entirely indefensible position. It is open to them to take action against such Akalis as break the law, but to close down a gurdwara sacred to the memory of one of the principal Sikh Gurus, and prevent any one from going there for any purpose whatever is an action which cannot find favour with any section of the public.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 526).

***Milap*, 29 September 1923**

The *Milap* of the 29th September remarks that the sentences of forfeiture of property and banishment from the State passed on the Akalis arrested in Nabha savour of revenge and repression and appear to aim, not at punishing culprits, but at crushing the spirit of the Akalis. The present is the time of trial for the Akalis. May God bless their sacrifices and keep them steadfast. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 526).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 30 September 1923**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 30th September asserts that the forbearance of the Khalsa and the oppression of the bureaucracy have touched the highest water mark. The stream of blood which will now flow from the bodies of the Sikhs by the application of the sword of oppression will drain *zulum* out of Nabha. We advise the bureaucracy to abandon oppression and not hasten its own destruction by interfering with the Sikh religion. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 526).

***Nation*, 7 October 1923**

Elsewhere the paper [the *Nation*] has the following: –

“Send reinforcements to Jaito. The hour is ripe for victory. Nabha Legion, form up and proceed to the Jaito front. Delays are dangerous. Take time by the forelock. Join up to-day. Advance and then conquer or die. Can Hindus and Mussalmans desert the Sikhs in this critical hour? If so, then unity is in vain; Swaraj is in vain; the Congress itself is doomed to miserable failure; and

Mother India must languish in her chains. Nationalists arise! Not for revolution, but to fight the holy war of non-violent non-cooperation. Arise; go forth to suffer for your country's cause; to suffer and to win. There are enough Akalis to go to Jaito for a whole decade, if need be. Will you non-Akalis nationalists who are their countrymen place the whole burden on them? Remember the bitterness of such a policy. Let it never be. Their cause is yours and yours is theirs. You will never forgive yourselves nor be forgiven if now you hesitate to do your duty." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, p. 552).

***Nation*, 12 October 1923**

The *Nation* of the 12th October writes as follows: –

“Surely no Sikh can be expected to tolerate any form of control which shuts out their rights. Surely the affair at Jaito has proved the need for the reform of any control which does such gross injustice. Now that the Nabha authorities have come to realise their mistakes they are pretending that the Jathas may be permitted to visit the Gurdwara if they give an undertaking that they will leave immediately after paying obeisance. Does it not strike these clever people that they have made it essential to provide guarantees to the Jathas that they will not themselves force the Akalis to leave before their religious duties have been fully performed, as indeed they did force the Diwan to disperse half an hour before it was due to have concluded? ... The Jathas very rightly decline to recognise ‘official control of the worship in the Gurdwara,’ as the Sikh community has ‘refused to submit to Government control of Gurdwaras.’ Now the point of control of this Gurdwara has perforce to be decided at the same time as the Sikh right to reject any control of the worship in it.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, p. 552).

***Updeshak*, 14 October 1923**

The *Updeshak* of the 14th October remarks that the Akalis are welcome to set up a *morcha* in Nabha and take possession of the State by defeating Government. Why should, however, the Congress or Hindu and Muhammadans help them in the matter? Muhammadans merely show lip sympathy with the Akalis and are not prepared to render practical help to the latter. If Hindus wish to jump into fire by following the Akalis they will be committing an act of foolishness. If the let taunts on the part of Dr. Satyapal involve them in the dispute they would place their community in danger. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 568).

***Vakil*, 14 October 1923**

The *Vakil* of the 14th October states that at meeting held at Delhi on the 6th September Maulana Muhammad Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Hakim Ajmal Khan, etc., approved of the setting up of an Akali morcha at Nabha and urged their co-religionists to join hands with the Akalis. Juma Mosque of Nabha, at which they explained their grievances against the *ex*-Maharaja and expressed indignation at the suggestion of the aforesaid Muslim leaders. Have the last named come to an understanding by which these grievances will be removed? If this is not so, why are Mussalmans being asked to join in the agitation which is being carried on by the Sikhs? Why should Muslim leaders urge cooperation with the *ex*-Maharaja by ignoring his usurpation of the rights of Muhammadans? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, pp. 568–569).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 18 October 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 18th October states that the bureaucracy has, by means of the Nabha affair and by stopping the *Akhand-path* and pilgrimage to the Jaito Gurdwara, impressed on us that religion rests on the strength of its followers. When its followers are weak religion is nowhere. There was a time when meetings of religious bodies were declared to be political ones, but the wheel of time has taken such a turn now that Gurdialoo has declared even an *Akhand-path* to be a political matter. The present state of affairs is such that our *jathas*, our gurdwaras, our *langars* and our *Akhand-paths* are all regarded as savouring of politics. We do not know what remains outside the pale of politics in such cases. The thing is that it is a sin to distinguish between a Panthic and a religious matter and we cannot lay aside a case of Panthic good merely because it is political. In the circumstances the Sikh League is also a religious body as its aim is the good of the Panth. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, pp. 552–553).

***Akali*, 28 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 28th October says that the fact that the Sikhs are daily sending *jathas* to Jaito to safeguard their religious rights proves that they intend to accept the challenge thrown down to them by Government. The excesses committed by the British Government and its interference with religion, righteousness and sense of national self-respect and patriotism have obliged the Sikhs to pick up the challenge. Only that nation can succeed in the world which can risk its life, does not turn away from suffering, is not perplexed by worldly troubles, gladly ascends the gallows, submits to the punishment of banishment, and makes the dark prison cells its resting place. The present war will be a decisive

one. Either the funeral of godliness, truth, light, self-respect and patriotism will be taken out or satanism, darkness and materialism will suffer defeat. This is not a war between Government and Akalis. God himself is on one side and on the other Satan has entered the lists with his offspring. The guns and cannon of the powers-that-be are on one side and the sighs of the oppressed on the other. We are quite positive that victory and success will kiss our feet, provided we continue to follow the path which we have been treading. If all Indian communities make a united effort the chains of Mother Bharat will break to pieces. Government has now made itself visible in the shape of beasts. Let us see how far its barbarism will help it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 10th November 1923. No. 45, pp. 592–593).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 29 December 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* alleges that at the instance of Colonel Bachan Singh, Subedar Ghairat Ali fell upon the peaceful Akalis going to Jaito on the 22nd December and beat them to unconsciousness. Nor is this all; the unconscious Sikhs were dragged by their long hair! "O tyrannical wretches! You may use as much brute force as you possess. The Sikhs of the Tenth Guru will once more make it manifest to the world how they sacrifice their lives for the honour and respect of their Gurdwaras. Khalsaji, the doings of the myrmidons of the Government show that they have taken up a butcher's work. The cup of tyranny is, however, about to be filled. Therefore be bold, and while remaining non-violent, step into the arena. Look, the Kalghidar Father is waiting to see who justifies his baptism." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924*, No. 1, p. 10).

***Zamindar*, 3 February 1924**

The *Zamindar* prays for success to the devoted Akali *satyagrahis* at Jaito and wishes other communities to learn the lesson of sacrifice from them. It is the duty of every Indian to sympathise with the Akalis in their trouble and give them every possible assistance. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th February 1924*, No. 6, p. 50).

***Akali*, 11 April 1924**

The *Akali* remarks that the "Akali war" in the Nabha state has reached the stage called "cessation of hostilities." Unless there is an All-India agitation, newspapers identify themselves with it and active propaganda work is carried on, Lord Reading's Government will not restore the Maharaja to his *gaddi*. Why should his Lordship and his Government consider the deposition of the Maharaja to be a settled fact? If the deposition was voluntary the Maharaja can

also be reinstated. His Highness and his supporters think that he has been very unjustly dealt with. Lord Olliver had the discourtesy to insult the Maharaja by calling him licentious and profligate. The Maharaja is not in a position to bring the misguided Secretary of State for India to book. But nothing can prevent lawful and proper agitation being carried on for his restoration to the *gaddi*. John Bull will never make peace without a conflict. The Moderates, Extremists, Swarajists, *Satyagrahists* and others should unite to force Government to open negotiations with the Shiromani Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 147).

Babar Sher, 12 April 1924

The *Babar Sher* puts the following questions to the bureaucracy:—

- (1) Why has not the stipulated monthly allowance of Rs. 25, 000 been paid to the Maharaja?
- (2) Why is Musammat Nihal Kaur kept in Nabha and paid Rs. 300 per mensem from the State treasury?
- (3) If the Akali Jatha are not to be allowed to visit the Gangsar Gurdwara why are they not intercepted or arrested in British territory and why is the burden of stopping the Akali agitation being placed upon the Nabha State?
- (4) If the subjects of the State are satisfied with the administration of the bureaucracy why is their *dak* censored? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 147).

Kirpan Bahadur, 12 April 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* observes that the gross oppression perpetrated at Jaito can no longer be tolerated. The beloved of the Guru should perfect their *jathabandi* and become united. A desperate struggle has commenced and people in very village and town should be asked to gird up their loins. Where the Akali organization is yet incomplete it should be set right at once. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 144).

2 Religious Insults and Religious Rights

Khalsa, 20 September 1923

The *Khalsa* of the 20th September observes that reports of the atrocities that are being perpetrated in the new British possession of Nabha are so dreadful and shocking that no Sikh can put up with them. The accounts of the disrespect to the Granth Sahib published by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee cannot but make the blood of Sikhs boil in their veins. The telegram of the

Associated Press confirms these accounts of oppression. All Sikh jathas should make up their differences for the present and make united efforts to take the national boat out of tempestuous waters. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 513).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 20 September 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 20th September remarks that the Panth must have now realised that their religion was banished from Nabha with Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. This has been proved at Jaito, where the gurdwara of the Tenth Guru has been closed and no Sikh is allowed to enter it. The Sikhs at the Diwan held in the presence of the Guru (Granth) were beaten and dragged to the fort. "O Lord of Hawks (Tenth Guru), we can no longer put up with such disgrace. Nabha which was a central place of Sikhism is, after the expulsion of Sikhism, going to be our cremation ground. Nothing now remains for the demons but to take possession of the Golden Temple. They have already occupied the Gurdwara at Jaito. If the Sikhs have any honour for their religion left in them why do they not bear all sorts of oppression, go to their Guru's door and tell the bureaucracy that although they may be killed wholesale they will not desist from going to the Gurdwara? O Sikhs, come forward and sacrifice yourself for the True King. The Guru is with you and himself protects his Panth. Our business is (only) to offer our heads and be true to our faith." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, pp. 513-514).

***Babar Sher*, 20 September 1923**

The *Babar Sher* of the 20th September dwells on the rigours alleged to have been practised on the Akalis in Nabha and remarks that these are the doings of a bureaucracy which considers itself to be the "nation" most advanced in civilization. Are these civilized or barbarous acts? Sardar Jogindar Singh and Captain Gopal Singh are not tired of saying that "our" Government has unlimited powers? Do these acts argue bravery or cowardice on the part of their Government? Is it an act of bravery that Government should get unarmed *sangats* surrounded by the military, stop all provisions from reaching them and kill them by keeping them hungry and thirsty? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 524).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 21 September 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 21st September states that the Sikh engaged in an *akhand path* (interrupted reading) of the Granth Sahib in the Gurdwara of Guru Gobind Singh was dragged off. This is the first instance of its kind in Sikh history. Our honour, our national dignity, our love for the Panth and even the

existence of our community demand that we should hold an *akhand path* in the same Gurdwara and should not permit the closing of this shrine of the Tenth Guru. Shall we discard the Sikh faith for fear of enemies? Shall we quietly brook the insult offered to the Granth Sahib? No, not at all. The Khalsa will sooner be dismembered than tolerate an insult to the Satguru. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 29th September 1923. No. 39, p. 514).

Akali, 24 September 1923

Writing under the heading "another satanic act of the authorities at Jaito: Satan's delivery will be wrecked," the *Akali* of the 24th September remarks that the government of Nabha is in the hands of Satan in these days. The very name of law, justice, civilization, morality, peace and gentlemanliness has been forgotten. The savage beating to which Sikhs were subjected at a Diwan, the plucking of (long) hair and beards, the dispersal of a religious Diwan and the stoppage of the *akhand path* are such reprehensible acts as cannot possibly be committed by a human Government. Such satanic acts are, however, daily on the increase. Messrs Jawahir Lal Nehru, Gidwani and Santanam have now been arrested and sent to Nabha. Their only fault was that they went to Jaito to see the actual state of affairs. Satan is committing folly after folly by relying on this strength. In the end, he will have to taste the fruit of his faithlessness. His devilry will be wrecked. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 524).

Akali, 27 September 1923

Writing under the heading "Splendid *morcha* at Jaito: war between oppression and helplessness", the *Akali* of the 27th September describes how Mahtab Singh killed Massa Rangar for smoking *hukka* and holding a *nautch* at the Golden Temple. The *Satguru* has again been insulted to-day after hundreds of years and infidel Gurdial Singh has rent the heart of the (Sikh) community by forcibly dispersing the *akhand-path* (gathering) and religious Diwan at Jaito. He is a senior official of the Nabha Government, which is now a formal branch of the Government of India. In other words, Lord Reading is directly responsible for our religious ruin. That is, His Lordship is, after insulting the Granth Sahib, sitting on the chest of the Sikh Panth and plunging a dagger in our breast (, saying) "Where are your god and *Satgurus*?" We would have said nothing if the Viceroy had removed that mean fellow Gurdial Singh and the infidel Ogilvie from their posts and put them in an iron cage. As it is, we lay the entire blame for the wrath and high-handedness (indulged in at Jaito) at the door only of the Chief Justice of England. The reader must have read stories of Harnakash and Pharoah in books. The Pharoah of the twentieth century sits on

the throne of India in front of him. He spurns dharma, faith and the create of God (and), in his reliance of the satanic power of guns and bombs, considers it beneath his dignity even to listen to the cold sighs of the oppressed. It is now the duty of Indians to render his satanic power futile with their sacrifices and divine faith. Next the paper says that a challenge has been thrown down to the Sikhs in the name of the *Satgurus*, *Akal Purkh* and religion. Are they (true) sons of Guru Gobind Singh? Did their ancestors get themselves hacked to pieces for the sake of religion? It should be remembered that the Sikh who fails to make some sacrifice in conformity with the order of the Shiromani Committee at the present time of oppression and devilry will have a black mark on his forehead till the Day of Judgement. Sikh richmen and Maharajas also should do some thing on witnessing this insult to their religion. It is also the duty of Sikh soldiers and other Sikh servants (of Government) not to remain wholly aloof from this place of sacrifice. If the Sikhs tolerate this religious insult we should conclude that we are throwing dust on the blood of our martyred *Satgurus*. The Akalis who are going to the altar at Jaito like moths are the true sons of the *Satguru*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 525).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 28 September 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 28th September remarks that not only the bureaucracy but even its supporters cannot prevent us from reciting *akhand-path* in the (Jaito) Gurdwara. As long as even one Sikh is alive, there is the least trace of religion in the Sikhs and God has power over Satan, no one can prevent us from doing so. Ahmad Shah placed guards on the Darbar Sahib, but Sikhs bathed there under volleys of fire. If another Ahmad Shah has placed guards on the *gurdwara* at Jaito he also cannot prevent the Sikhs (from entering it). (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 526).

***Bande Mataram*, 28 September 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th September remarks that it is as clear as broad daylight that the foreign bureaucracy in India is determined to crush the Akali movement. The Nankana incident, the keys affair, the non-violent war at Guru-ka-Bagh and the bloodshed at Rawalpindi bear witness to the fact that the bureaucracy misses no opportunity of suppressing the movement. If the co-called Black Hole incident can be put forward in proof of Siraj-ud-Dowla's oppressive ways, the Akali movement alone can furnish many incidents which can conclusively prove the British monopolists (*lit.* lessees) of civilization to be barbarous. The movement is of a religious character and seeks to reform the religion of the Sikh Panth. But the bureaucracy has unjustly dubbed it as

a political movement and is determined to crush it. Indeed, it is hostile to all such bodies and communities as have the least signs of life in them. It suffered humiliation wherever it came into conflict with the Akalis. It has now challenged them to a war in Nabha. The Sikhs are prepared to make every sacrifice to secure the reinstatement of the (ex-) ruler of that State, while the bureaucracy is very anxious to avenge itself on them for the humiliation suffered by it in the past. It has, therefore, commenced the fight by forcibly interfering with a religious Diwan at Jaito. Apparently it has made extensive preparations to wage the war. But its start is now on the descendent and this time also truth will triumph over oppression and unrighteousness. It is the duty of the Panjabis to render every possible help the Akalis and take part in this non-violent war. No *satyagraha* campaign should be started in the Punjab unless the Nabha *morcha* is won. The enemy has extensive means and it is, therefore, necessary to oppose him with (our) united forces. The defeat of the Akalis will be the defeat of the Punjab. Every Punjabi should, therefore perform his duty in the matter. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 526).

***Nation*, 3 October 1923**

The following is taken from the *Nation* of the 3rd October: –

“To be deprived of one’s share in the community of religion to which one belongs is therefore a greater punishment than to be declared a traitor to one’s country. That has been the fate of Sardar Gurdial Singh, according to yesterday’s news. That will be the fate of every other Sikh who helps the bureaucracy to repress the Akalis in the lawful exercise of their religious rights. He may value his present position above the future of his co-religionists or he may take this solemn warning and reform. What is a matter of even greater importance is the effect of the warning which has been administered to all other Sikhs who, whether soldiers or civilians or in any position or capacity, do or continue to do that which no true Sikh is expected to do against his own brethren. Let the Government of India, the Punjab Government and Nabha State take a lesson from the disgrace which has befallen Sirdar Gurdial Singh and no longer play with fire, expecting confidently that all other Sikhs will continue to do that which he has done. If they do they will be sadly disillusioned.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 538).

***Bande Mataram*, 4 October 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th October says that the resolution passed by the Shiromani Committee regarding the Jaito affair mirror the views of the Sikh community. The manner in which the British Government in Nabha dispersed

the Diwan at Jaito and the intolerable insult it offered to the Granth Sahib cannot but make the blood of the self-respecting Sikh community boil. The only honourable solution of the question lay in expressing regret and inflicting exemplary punishment on the offending officials. But thanks to its love of prestige, Government as refrained from this. The Sikhs want to perform a pilgrimage to the sacred and historical Gurdwara at Jaito, but are prevented with guns and bayonets. If they persist in going they are arrested, accorded a tyrannical treatment, put in fetters and kept hungry. The Shiromani Committee has rightly fixed the responsibility for these acts on the Government of India. Whatever has been done at Jaito by the local authorities has been done with the approval of Government and on the assurance that all the barbarous and satanic forces of the British Government will be used (*lit.* ready) to justify their actions. Adverting to the Parbandhak Committee's resolution excommunicating Sardar Gurdial Singh, the paper says that there frequently arises a situation under a foreign Government when a person has strong inducements to forsake his religion. This is why slave nations cannot discharge their religious duties with the full freedom. It is necessary to obtain political freedom, without which religious freedom is a meaningless thing. If Indians have any love for their religion they should unite to free themselves from the grip of the foreign bureaucracy. The punishment proposed for Sardar Gurdial Singh will serve as an effective warning to other Sikhs. If the bureaucracy arrests one Sikh worker four will come forward to take his place. This will continue until the bureaucracy abandons its foolish expedition. The religious freedom of the Sikhs, as also that of the other communities, is in jeopardy. The bureaucracy has practically declared a war on the Sikhs, especially the Akalis. The resolutions of the Parbandhak Committee are a manly reply to this declaration of war. The present calamity of the Sikhs bodes all Indians ill. If the bureaucracy once tastes blood it will be difficult to quench its thirst for blood. It is the duty of every Indian, especially Punjabi, to render all possible help to the Akalis to gain victory over the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 539).

***Loyal Gazette*, 14 October 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 14th October remarks that the Nabha Government can never have the right to close the Gangsar Gurdwara or take possession of it. The Sikhs will put forth their best efforts to regain their lost rights. But our real object will not be secured even if we win back these rights, and until these objects are gained the Sikhs will not abandon their present constitutional agitation, though the Shiromani Committee or the Akali *dal* be declared to be an unlawful assembly or the whole community be placed under arrest. The Sikhs

have decided to rest only when they have secured the reinstatement of the Maharaja of Nabha. By taking possession of the Gangsar Gurdwara the bureaucracy has imported considerable zeal into the Akali struggle. If Government succeeds in suppressing the Akalis this time, they will lose whatever they have so far gained. If they succeed, however, they will secure a complete victory in the matters of the Gurdwara, the *kirpan* and the Nabha abdication. The Sikhs are, therefore, face to face with a question of life and death and should display a spirit of manliness and suffer hardships. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 568).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 15 October 1923

Commenting on the remark of the *Fauji Akhbar* that brotherly relations exist between Government and Sikhs, the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 15th October observes that if those who struck us with bludgeons at Guru-ka-Bagh and allow tyrannies to be perpetrated in our *gurdwaras* are our brethren, if those who permit every kind of oppression to be practised on us by putting us in jails are our friends, if those who attack peaceful Sikhs with bayonets are our well-wishers, if those who crush Sikhs under trains and utter bad words against Guru Gobind Singh are our sympathisers, if those who impose restrictions on our *kirpans* are our supporters, and lastly if those who insult the Granth Sahib and prevent us from going to our *gurdwaras* are our friends – then truly this bureaucracy is our sincerest brother, friend, well-wisher, supporter and sympathizer. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 559).

Akali, November 1923

The *Akali* has published several articles on the relations between the Sikhs and the Government, in which the latter is charged with oppressing the Sikhs and the former are asked to take practical steps to protect their rights. In the course of an article headed "Preparation for the next morcha" the *Akali* says: – "It is our national duty to put up with all the tyranny and oppression that are being practised on our community by the tyrannical Government, The bureaucracy wants to exterminate our community by destroying our *jathabandi* (organization). Government wants to reduce our nationalism to dust by preventing pilgrims proceeding to the *gurdwara*, stopping the *Akand Path* and insulting the Guru Granth Sahib. It desires that if the Sikhs are to pass their days in India they must live as menials and slaves; otherwise, they will be prevented by force from living as they want to live. Khalsa heroes! You should decide whether you want to live as slaves or as men. In the event of our selecting to live as men we shall have to suffer martyrdom. As slaves we shall live, but live like dogs and

grasscuts. It is our duty to uphold our religious liberty and *jathabandi*, though we have to lay down our lives, become the targets for bullets and witness the massacre of our dear brethren and children. We want to tell this unjust and tyrannical Reading-ridden Government in a loud voice that, in order to preserve the existence of the *jathabandi* which is has declared unlawful by an illegal use of its law and in order to follow in the footsteps of our sacred religious body, we shall by making every kind of sacrifice try to drown in the deep sea the 'boat of its oppression', though we have to witness a thousand tragedies like that of Nankana Sahib, or have to suffer lakhs instead of thousands of national heroes to fall preys to tyranny in the bloody spectacles similar to the Guru-ka-Bagh, or have to get hundreds of our dear brethren martyred on the railroads, or even if we have to allow your bloodthirsty bullets to drink holy blood. You are proud of your strength of arms. You can try it. We shall reply to it peacefully, instead of by violence. We shall sacrifice our lives by remaining non-violent, but before dying we shall expose this tyrannical bureaucracy threadbare and render it incapable of practising oppression on any other community. O Reading! You should get ready. Either liberate the Maharaja or get the honour of making these national heroes and living martyrs (your) guest by making jails and bullets ready for forty lakh Sikhs. Bravo, O embodiment of justice! O you who have dragged justice through the mire! It is you who are weak, for when unable to answer our challenge in the matter of the forcible removal of the Maharaja of Nabha you want to throw our leaders into jails. By arresting these leaders or Sardar Mahtab Singh you cannot muzzle forty lakh Sikhs. The man who tries to extinguish fire by pouring kerosine oil over it is a fool and a lunatic and always remains unsuccessful in achieving his end. Forty lakh Sikhs have placed their lives at the disposal of the Shiromani Committee and given the latter a vow to use them for destroying the tyrant at the time of necessity. These forty lakh Sikhs, who are the Sewadars of the Shiromani Committee and the children of Guru Gobind Singh, will not now sit quiet, nor will they allow you any respite because you are tyrannizing over us and unlawfully interfering with our religious affairs. Khalsaji! Sacrifice your all to uphold the dignity of the holy personality when you take pride in being called his sons. In order to save from the hands of tyrants the crop which was raised by the holy Guru, who sacrificed his sons to call you his darling children, entrust to the care of the Shiromani Committee your dear children and advance bravely into the field of action. In order to save the honour of the holy personality who sacrificed his life to rescue you from the hands of tyrants you should accept the challenge which the tyrannical Reading has thrown out by arresting the distinguished leaders of our community and save the holy mission of Guru Nanak Devji from disgrace, if you have to put up with any amount of suffering. Display

your heroism in such a manner that the bureaucracy may receive another blow on the face and never again think of encountering the Sikhs.”

In another article, the paper asks the Government to bear in mind that they will certainly cut down the chain of slavery and become a free nation. It is a great sin on the part of a nation to rule another people. This is opposed to the laws of God. Our “benign” Government also falls in this category. It considers all its proceedings, though they may have fallen below the standard of humanity, to be justifiable and it does not hesitate to declare the efforts of the conquered nation to be unlawful. As a matter of fact, all its proceedings are unlawful and brutal. But it declares the acts of others to be unlawful in order to conceal the illegality of its own acts and to throw dust in the eyes of the world.

In a subsequent issue, the *Akali* addresses the following appeal to the Sikhs: – Facts show that the repressive bureaucratic Government does not wish that the Indian communities should perform their religious usages with freedom or that Indians should agitate for their national liberty. O Khalsa brave men! Do you wish to lead a life of slavery? Do you wish to take your stand in the rank of living nations by maintaining your religious liberty? You are about to be tested. There can be no doubt that you will enjoy peace and comfort if you lead a life of slavery, but the iron chains of slavery will serve as fetters for your feet and make your limbs useless and inert. You will have to make sacrifices if you adopt the life of living nations, which will secure eternal religious freedom for you. Your children will be sacrificed at the slaughter house of martyrdom. Your respected ladies will drink the cup of martyrdom in your presence, which will confer eternal life. Then you will succeed in obtaining true religious liberty. O Khalsa brave men! Let us enter the arena by holding the powerful sword of non-violence. Praise be to your mothers who have given birth to peaceful and non-violent brave men like you. You will prove yourselves fit to maintain your religious liberty. No power in the world can succeed if it is opposed to non-violence. God helps the oppressed and the helpless. It is necessary that you should die as martyrs in order to gain your religious liberty. Rise and enter the arena by placing your heads on the palms of your hands. Remain non-violent and bring out your leaders from the jail. Enter the arena and go to Amritsar. Let us see how many Sikhs will be arrested and how many ladies treated with disrespect by the bureaucracy. If you feel afraid you will for ever remain bound in the chains of slavery and you will never see the face of religious liberty. The tyranny of the bureaucracy has reached its limits. It has declared the entire Panth to be rebellious. Our *jathabandi* is no joke. The nations of the world have sacrificed themselves in this place of sacrifice and have obtained true liberty. For this liberty we should sacrifice our bodies, minds and wealth, nay, every thing. We should not suffer our religious liberty to be injured. The true Sikhs

of Gobind Singh do not wish to destroy their existence by remaining silent. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th November 1923*, No. 46, pp. 606–607).

***Babar Sher*, 8 November 1923**

The *Babar Sher* remarks that by commencing a war with the Sikhs at the present juncture the bureaucracy has placed before the world a page from the blood-stained history of the Sikhs. Like the Mughals, it has delivered an attack upon the religion of the Sikhs with the object of breaking their power. They are threatened in various ways and also mauled to prevent their proceeding to the (Jaito) *gurdwara*. They are insulted in Diwans, the *akhand path* is stopped and the pathi (reader) is dragged away. And still Lord Reading has the hardihood to say that the Sarkar does not interfere in the Sikh religion. “Khalsaji, the kettle-drum of war is being beaten. This is not the time for you to pass your days in ease and luxury but to follow in the footsteps of your elders and sacrifice your all for your religion.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th December 1923*, No. 51, p. 644).

***Babar Sher*, 9 February 1924**

In another issue the paper [the *Babar Sher*] writes that the Sikhs should tell the tyrannical and cowardly bureaucracy, by beat of drum, that as long as a single drop of blood is left in their veins they will remain prepared to preserve the inviolability of the *akhand path*. “In order to maintain the honour of your religion and the good name of your ancestors enter the list and remind the bureaucracy that there are still religious heroes among the Khalsa who can, like their ancestors, consent to be burnt alive in kilns and hacked to pieces with *chhavis*.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 65).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 2 April 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* says that some people think that Government will allow the performance of *Akhandpath* in the Gangsar Gurdwara. A little bird whispers in our ear, however, that the Government of India have made preparations to use all their might to crush the Gurdwara reform movement. Reuter’s telegram reporting the Under-Secretary of State’s reply to a question in the Commons about the Jaito affair is a kind of approval of Government’s evil intentions. Our little bird reports that at a meeting of the Viceroy’s Executive Council held on the 27th March it was decided to crush the Akali movement. It is also reported that Sir Malcolm Hailey said very superciliously and with a clenched fist that the movement was at their mercy. As soon as the reaping

of harvest begins an assault will be made on the Darbar Sahib and the Takht Akal Bunga, the funds of the s.g.p. Committee will be confiscated, *langars* will be closed, life imprisonments, forfeitures of property, hanging and fire will become the order of the day, and railway trains, post and telegraph offices, etc., will be closed to all Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th April 1924*, No. 15, p. 137).

***Nirol Khalsa*, 12 April 1924**

The *Nirol Khalsa* complains that Government has interfered in our religion and stopped the Akhand Path, which insult we can never tolerate. Our Akali brethren going to restart the Akhand Path at Jaito are beaten in a most heartless manner. These unarmed persons are also shot with machine guns and Lewis guns. If the Khalsa wish to preserve their existence at this critical time they should thoroughly organise themselves, make a firm determination to secure religious freedom, and work with such zeal that Government may have to yield and apologize to them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, pp. 143–144).

***Kesari*, 11 July 1924**

In a later issue the *Kesari* affirms that on no account can Nabha be left under the rule of a foreign bureaucracy or any non-Sikh power. The resistance offered (by Government) to the Jathas on their way to the Gangsar Gurdwara has still further emphasized the necessity of protecting the Gangsar Gurdwara and the Nabha State from non-Sikh rule. All the activities of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee are at present focused on the resumption of the interrupted *akhandpath* at the Gangsar Gurdwara which is a purely religious matter. To say that the Shiromani Committee has plunged into politics after leaving religious work is to murder truth and justice. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, p. 239).

3 Arrests of Congress Leaders

***Nation*, 24 September 1923**

The *Nation* of the 24th September writes: –

“If the bureaucracy had desired to identify the Congress with the Akali movement, it could not have gone about it more expeditiously or more effectively. That is the meaning of the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. A.T. Gidwani and Mr. S. Santanam ... The challenge is clear before the country.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 527).

Bande Mataram, 26 September 1923

The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th September considers the arrest of the leaders to be most objectionable. Can Government stop the Nabha agitation in this way? The Sikhs are not so timid that they would retire and abandon the question. If Government does not rectify its mistake in regard to the arrest of Jowahir Lal [Jawaharlal] and others, both Hindus and Muhammadans will be compelled to join hands with the Sikhs in this religious war. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 527).

Partap, 26 September 1923

The *Partap* of the 26th September asks whether the arrest of leaders will remove the unrest. One feels like weeping over the wisdom displayed. The Akalis are already greatly excited over the Nabha affairs. The course adopted by the authorities will add fuel to the fire. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 527).

Zamindar, 27 September 1923

The *Zamindar* of the 27th September observes that by arresting Pandit Jowahir Lal Nehru [Jawaharlal Nehru] and others the Nabha authorities have thrown down a challenge to the united Indian nation. The arrests unmistakably show that these autocratic authorities want to conceal their despotic acts from the world and cannot brook an impartial enquiry into them. They can say without fear of contradiction that by making these arrests Government has, wittingly or unwittingly, immensely strengthened the Akali movement. The special session of the Congress has just closed and it will not be surprising if the arrests lead the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee to make the Jaito *morcha* the centre where the whole country should practise *satyagraha*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 527).

Updeshak, 27 September 1923

The *Updeshak* of the 27th September asks why the Nabha authorities object to Pandit Jowahir Lal Nehru [Jawaharlal Nehru] and others going to Nabha. The arrest of these gentlemen is not a wise act and will engender the belief that they have been arrested to throw a veil over police excesses. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 527).

Siyasat, 27 September 1923

The *Siyasat* of the 27th September opines that the arrest will open a new chapter in the history of the Nabha agitation. Do the Nabha authorities wish that not only the Akalis and the Punjab but the whole country should set up a

morcha to establish democratic government in the State and rid it of the curse of foreign rule? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 527).

***Nation*, 6 October 1923**

The following appeared in the *Nation* of the 6th October: –

“After unlawfully restraining at Jaito three of the most respectable citizens of the British Indian Empire, after aping the majesty of the law in a pantomime show in the courts of Nabha, the Lord High Everything of Nabha, the British Administrator of that State, has waved the magic wand of section 401, Criminal Procedure Code, and changed the three Congress leaders, the erstwhile felons convicted of the heinous crime of not being able to vanish into thin air, into free men; and provided them with a train to return to their home and avocations. ... The enemy is retreating. Now is the time to press forward with redoubled vigour. Forward, the Jathas! Forward, the Jaito Legion! Another attack and the bureaucracy will be wrought down on their knees and surrender the Gangsar Gurdwara and with it the keys of Swaraj.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th October 1923. No. 41, p. 541).

***Nation*, 7 October 1923**

The *Nation* of the 7th October writes: –

“It is useless to argue that the Congress leaders were proceeded against the ordinary law in the ordinary courts. Their release immediately after their conviction and sentence, on the understanding that they would leave by the next train, constitute sufficient proof that the whole proceeding under the common law was a mockery and that their detention was in effect on all fours with the detention of the Jathas – detention to be distinguished from that under Regulation III only in point of time. Under these circumstances, repudiation of the suggestion ‘that any connection with open activities on behalf of the Swarajya or any other party’ does not weigh with the authorities is mere camouflage. ... Not that the bureaucracy has made an abject confession of its miserable failure by releasing the Congressmen let it also admit the absurdity of continuing the campaign against the open activities of the S.G.P.C. and the Congress. Only then can we agree that there is a genuine ring in the Government’s assurance that ‘Regulation III of 1818 is only being used in cases of persons who cannot be dealt with by the ordinary process of law, about whom there is definite information of the present participate in revolutionary conspiracy and whose detention the safety of the State at present requires.’ The policy in Nabha is dictated not by the ordinary law but by an evasion of the law such as that Regulation. If not, what else is it? It has succeeded

too long in unlawful restraint and confinement for which it is liable to pay compensation to hundreds of innocent, injured persons. The day of reckoning of this compensation is at hand." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, p. 552).

4 The First Shahidi Jatha and Shootings

Babar Sher, 7 February 1924

The *Babar Sher* states that the Sikhs wonder why the bureaucracy is placing obstructions in their way of managing their own gurdwaras. It believes that their organization will one day confront its rule and the Sikh community alone can release India from the bondage of a foreign Government. The general massacre of Nankana Sahib, the sanguinary scenes enacted at Guru-ka-Bagh and the unbearable and dreadful tortures to which religious Akalis are being subjected are ascribable to the same whim. The paper exhorts the Sikhs to send a succession of jathas of 500 men to Jaito in order to assure the bureaucracy that as long as there lives even one true Sikh it cannot take possession of any *gurdwara* or prevent the Sikhs from holding their *diwans* or reciting the Granth Sahib. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 65).

Akali, 9 February 1924

The departures of the so-called "Shahidi Jatha" from Amritsar for Jaito has been largely boomed. The *Akali* remarks that if the authorities possess even the least wisdom they will not lay the axe at the root of Government by making Jaito a second Jallianwala Bagh. Do they wish to prevent Sikhs from performing their religious duties and protecting their *gurdwaras*? "Khalsaji, it is time for your to go to the battlefield of Jaito, where a war will take place between tyranny and non-violence, and do your duty there. You should, however, stick, by word and deed, to your vow of non-violence." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th February 1924*, No. 7, p. 61).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 17 February 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that according to the Associated Press, 50 members of the Jatha will be permitted to hold the *akhand path*; provided no political speeches are delivered. But it is not in the power even of a Maharaja to place restrictions on the *akhand path* or pilgrimage to a *gurdwara*. How can we admit that the present Government has the power to impose conditions in regard to either of these things? The *Shahidi Jatha* has to decide the principle whether

Christian Government can do so. Moreover, how can we promise that we will return after holding the *akhand path*? The Gangsar Gurdwara belongs to the True King and we, his sewaks, will not sell this right to a false king through weakness. As for political speeches, why did the bureaucracy encourage the holdings of a meeting in Nabha against the Maharaja? Was it not a political meeting? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924, No. 8, p. 69*).

Akali, 18 February 1924

“A moderate Sikh” writing to the *Akali* says that if the Jatha ‘drinks the cup of martyrdom’ by playing with its blood or if any obstacles are thrown in its way the consequences will prove a deadly poison for Government. The moderate and extremist Sikhs will become one. Elsewhere the paper affirms that if Government removes the restrictions imposed by it on religion at Jaito the whole dispute will come to an end. Sikh jathas fill Government with dismay and it contemplates breaking up the Sikh organization. This is only natural, for its rule can exist only as long as Indian stand aloof from one another. If the Sikhs strengthen their organization Government will humbly bow before their demands. In the other event, it will go hard with their community. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924, No. 8, p. 69*).

Akali, 20 February 1924

In a later issue the paper [the *Akali*] publishes a communicated article in the course of which the writer says: –

“O our heroes! You are parting with us to fall into the hands of tyrants. The tyrant has laid his hand on our Guru Granth. He has trampled on our sense of religious self-respect and national honour by dragging the reciters of the Granth by their *keshas*. He has entangled the imprudent Sikh Sardars of State in the meshes of his craftiness and, while keeping himself in the background, incites them not to allow the Sikh to enter the Gangsar Gurdwara and to prevent the *akhand path* at all costs. ... The bureaucracy was totally defeated when it make a stand against the Khalsa in its own territory. It is now engaged in the deep move to have the sense of national self-respect of the Sikhs wiped out by Sikh Rajas and Sardars. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh flatly refused to do this, and that is why all this calamity befell him.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924, No. 8, pp. 69–70*).

Akal Nirmal Gazette, 20 February 1924

The *Akal Nirmal Gazette* observes that any attempt to use violence upon the peaceful members of the Jatha will spell cowardice, petty-mindedness and an

attempt to make mischief. It will also be a mean and uncalled-for attack upon the whole Panth and must bring forth its result. Government should refrain from interfering in religious liberty and show contrition for its past sins. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 70).

***Milap*, 20 February 1924**

The *Milap* publishes a summary of an address which was presented to the Jatha by the Sikhs of Malwa saying among other things: –

“If this place (Jaito) is made the second Nankana Sahib we take the vow that, in obedience to the orders of the Guru Panth and subject to non-violence, each and every one of us will shed his blood at the place where your sweat falls. We are at all times ready to serve you. Khalsaji! Salt has been sprinkled on the wounds in our hearts by deposing Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, stopping the *akhand path* at the Gangsar Gurdwara, imprisoning a large number of Akalis in the Nabha State, confiscating their properties and sentencing Akalis in the Faridkot State to terms of imprisonment varying from 7 to 14 years.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 70).

***Onward*, 23 February 1924**

Writing under the heading “Jaito massacre: another Jallianwala Bagh: hundred killed and wounded: women arrested and whipped,” the *Onward* observes that guns have gain played havoc with the innocent lives and limbs of the helpless Indian citizens. General Dyer is reborn and reincarnated in the person of the Administrators of Nabha. Volleys of fire showered like hailstones on the heads of the *Shahidee Jatha* and the innocent people who in thousands flocked to witness the 500. They fell down under the shocks of bullets like plantain plants before the fury of a devastating tempest. The wounded and the maimed were then huddled in the bullock carts and led to the Fort, so that no calculation may be made of the carnage and destruction. To throw a veil of cymmerian [Cimmerian] darkness over these black and demonical deeds Raizada Hansraj, Mr. Chetty, M.L.A., S. Tara Singh, M.L.C., Punjab, and Mr. Zimand, correspondent of the *New York Times*, were most insultingly turned out of Nabha territory. Dr. Kitchlew and Principal Gidwani were graced with the rusty and stern fetters of the Nabha State. The most abominable chapter of this revolting barbarity was the brutal whipping of women who were carried to the Fort and lashed for the fault of attending the wounded. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, pp. 70–71).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 24 February 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* asks whether the bureaucracy is not shamelessly interfering in a religious matter connected with the Gangsar Gurdwara. Is it not

trampling on the proclamations of the ruler of England regarding non-interference in religious matters? Does not the so-called permission to 50 Akalis to perform the *akhand path* under certain conditions shows that the bureaucracy was wrong in stopping the recitation and that the performance of the *akhand path* is a right vested in every Sikh by his religion? Do all Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs and Christians enter their respective places of worship after giving any undertaking? If not, why should the Akalis agree to any foolish conditions? In another article the same paper writes: – “The Shahidi Jatha, which had taken a vow to sacrifice themselves for religion, have attained martyrdom and left a genuine memorial for themselves. The brethren of murderous Dyer and Narain Das have fired shots to their heart’s content and have indulged in demonic merriment by bathing in the sacred blood of innocent and religious souls in broad day-light. ... Will Indians still have any misapprehension that the bureaucracy is not a murderer of religion and justice? Who can live under this bureaucracy which is the murderer of religion and justice? Only irreligious and unjust people! From the bureaucracy lovers of religion and justice cannot get rights of any sort, but they can expect instead tragedies of the Jallianwala Bagh and Nankana Sahib, savage beating at Guru-ka-Bagh and the recent satanic slaughter at Jaito. O lovers of religion and justice, be ready to attain martyrdom and gird up your loins to embrace your beloved martyr brethren.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 85).

Babar Sher, 24 February 1924

The *Babar Sher* states that volleys of bullets are reported to have fallen upon the sacred Guru Granth Sahib also, which was in front of the Jatha in a palanquin. Is there any Sikh who will remain at home on hearing this heart-rending news? It is the worst oppression that the tyrants have practised upon us. The Sikhs can bear to be shot and their bodies to be turned into minced meat, but they can in no circumstances tolerated indignity to their Guru. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 83).

Babar Sher, 24 February 1924

The *Babar Sher* complains that the bureaucrats have, despite having tried the Sikhs several times, fired upon the Jatha and killed and wounded many members of it like butchers. It is evident from this that the grossly mean and base object of the bureaucracy is to exterminate the Sikhs. The Jatha went not to wrest possession of Nabha from the Administrator, but with the sole object of recommencing the interrupted *akhand path* in the Gangsar Gurdwara. The bureaucracy, however, which always brags about non-interference in religious matters, fired upon the peaceful Sikh Sangat proceeding to the shrine and

killed and wounded the pilgrims, bound the rest hand and foot and sent them to some unknown place. Is there any hare-brained person in the country who can still ascribe the general massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh to an error of judgement or who cannot see the hand of the bureaucracy in the murder of 200 Sikhs at Nankana Sahib? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 76).

***Updeshak*, 24 February 1924**

The *Updeshak* argues that the only course open to Government was to ask the Jatha how long it would take in holding the *akhand path* and then allow the whole of it to go there for a specified period. If the Akalis had not agreed even to this condition it would have meant that they wished to occupy the State under the pretence of holding the *akhand path*. The *Updeshak* regards the recalcitrant spirit of the Akalis as dangerous for the country. It cannot, nevertheless, tolerate that they should be shot down in this manner. If permission had been given them for the *akhand path* they would have had no excuse to stay on there. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 80).

***Muslim Outlook*, 24 February 1924**

The *Muslim Outlook* cannot admire the so-called firmness shown by the Jatha in defying law and the authority of the State. It also confesses to a doubt, however, whether the amount of force employed by the officials was absolutely necessary in view of the situation. One can only hope that the Akalis would realise the futility of self-flagellation in an unlawful and unconstitutional manner. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 70).

***Bande Mataram*, 24 and 25 February 1924**

The *Bande Mataram* says that the blood of martyrs will not fail to bear fruit. Firing on innocent and unarmed Akalis and the Sikh congregation from machine guns means that under the suzerainty of an alien Government the Nabha Darbar have gone the length of practising violence and shedding blood. Violence of this kind cannot, however, daunt the heroic Akalis or take them by surprise. It was once declared by our Viceroy that the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha to this *gaddi* was an impossibility. We should not, therefore, be surprised if the Darbar have recourse to every kind of repression to prove this bold statement to be true. The Government beyond the seas does not know, however, that the Akalis have staked their lives and that religious zeal has created such a stamina in them that the tyrant may get tired of his

tyranny and throw up the sponge, but they will stand firm like a rock. Will not the country stand by the Akalis at this critical juncture? Other Indians must remember that if it is the turn of the Akalis to-day to be subjected to repression their own turn will come to-morrow. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 78*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 25 February 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that the members of the Shahidi Jatha were belavoured, bound hand and foot, loaded in carts and carried to the fort. The crowd, numbering about 300 and including 50 ladies who were attending the wounded, was arrested. The arrested persons were searched and relieved of everything in their possession. After the food supplies and hospital requisites were taken possession of, the phials of medicine were broken. The tyrants had made trenches in the Tibbi Sahib Gurdwara and wells were dug on the way which were thinly covered, so that any one who passed that way might fall into them. After the firing the cavalry pursued the people with drawn swords and wounded and did to death many a person. The arrested persons have been severely beaten and harassed, so that they may say that the Akalis were armed. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 83*).

Akali, 25 February 1924

The *Akali* writes that the authorities ordered the Shahidi Jatha to stop on pain of being shot. But how could those fear such threats who left their homes after binding their brows with the laurels of martyrdom? As soon as the above words were uttered a flag was raised for firing. Guns were fired and the Satguru's Sangat was made the target. The worthy sons of the Guru regarded bullets as a shower of flowers and they marched forward with loud shouts of "Wah-Guru." They were hit with bullets and fell down. The authorities admit that the shots were fired three times, which shows clearly that they had no intention to disperse the Jatha. They wished to irrigate this land by shedding our blood. But we are not sorry for this, because when we left our homes, we were determined to hold the *akhand path* or suffer martyrdom. What we deplore is the fact that we were slaughtered with the money and men of a Sikh State and that our own brothers blackened their careers by shooting the Satguru's Sikhs, charging the Satguru himself (Granth Sahib) and insulting the dress which is a gift from himself. The same Gurdial Singh who declared once that no one had stopped the *akhand path* and insulted Granth Sahib ordered fire to be opened on the Jatha in the presence of the scripture. Was not this an insult to the Satguru, and can he feel proud of this achievement? We should not, however, complain, as such men are so carried away by love of lucre that they have thrown their

religion and faith overboard. What complaint can we have against men who are devoid of conscience and the fear of God? Government has used its last weapon. We heartily congratulates the Shahidi Jatha and the people of Malwa on their bravery and non-violence. It is now our duty to follow in their footsteps and gladly suffer the misfortunes which may confront us. It is no longer possible to remain at our home. We cannot rest as long as the honour of our mothers and sisters is in danger. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, pp. 76–77).

***Siyasat*, 25 February 1924**

The *Siyasat* observes that the smiling cheerfulness with which the Sikhs have suffered terrible miseries and tyranny is proof positive of their religious life. As their claim was based on truth and justice, all the instruments of persecution proved unavailing against them. A statesmanlike policy demanded respect for their religious susceptibilities and the redress of their grievances. It was extremely imprudent on the part of the Nabha authorities to prohibit a Sikh Diwan at Jaito. The blind and tyrannical proceedings of Government are calculated to galvanise the whole of India into activity. It is pursuing a dangerous way and it would be highly politic to do to-day what it will have to do a few days hence. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 86).

***Babar Sher*, 25 February 1924**

According to the *Babar Sher*, the total number of wounded and dead is about 80, of whom 19 (8 dead and 11 wounded) belonged to the Jatha. The tyrants looted the rations and hospital material. The police and military dacoits, after dispersing the people, accompanied the *badmashes* and *goondas*, fell upon the members of the Jatha. Every one of them was seized, roughly handled, tied hand and foot and loaded into a cart like a bale of straw. The wounded and dead were snatched from the *sevadars* and taken to the fort. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 83).

***Kesari*, 25 February 1924**

The *Kesari* infers from the information supplied by an eye-witness that there was been considerable loss of life which could have been prevented if the officers at Jaito had realised their duty. When the Akalis were pledged to non-violence and had openly declared their intention never to raise their hands against any one it was most deplorable to riddle them with bullets. The responsibility for this lies on those inefficient and feeble-minded officers to who the Government of India entrusted the reins of the administration of the State

after the Maharaja's abdication. Akalis adhered to their oath of non-violence to the last. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 79*).

***Bharat*, 25 February 1924**

In the course of a leading article, the *Bharat* writes: –

“The foreign bureaucracy gave proof of its extreme callousness by enacting the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The cruelty shown by the guardians of peace in beating national volunteers with bludgeons proved that our foreign and irresponsible Government can commit such acts at all times. Afterwards the Akalis were made the targets of tyranny and oppression at Guru-ka-Bagh and again they were attacked with bayonets at the Rawalpindi Railway Station and subjected to untold rigours in the Multan Jail. Reports to hand show that the Nabha authorities fired from a machine gun after conferring with the Government of India. Indeed, it is stated that on the very day on which the Shahidi Jatha started for Jaito the local authorities started preparations to accord it a ‘dreadful reception.’ It appears that owing to successive defeats in the Legislative Assembly, the Government of India have become mentally deranged; otherwise they would not have given such a foolish advise to the Nabha authorities. The only object of the Shahidi Jatha was to re-start the *akhand path*, and it is not understood why such extra-ordinary action was taken against it. If the Nabha authorities were so fond of indulging in machine gun practise, they should have waited a little in order to see what the Shahidi Jatha would do after entering the *gurdwara*. We are positive that if the Jatha had effected an entry into the *gurdwara* it would have come back after the observance of religious rituals. To think that the Jatha would have disturbed the peace betrays extreme ignorance. The allegation that the first shot was fired by the Akalis is self-contradictory. We find that the Nabha Administrator went to check the progress of the Shahidi Jatha, but when the Jatha insisted on advancing he retired. If the Jatha had been really armed or had left home with the intention of fighting how did it allow the Administrator to go back and get time to give orders for firing? The Jatha was accompanied by women and children, and if it be conceded that the official statement is correct this is the first instance of an army going to attack its enemies by taking women and children with it. The bureaucracy can deceive nobody but itself by issuing meaningless statements. The charges preferred against the Akalis are completely exposed when we find what immense effort was made to conceal the facts about the Jaito occurrence. Members of the Legislative Assembly were turned out of Jaito notwithstanding their offer to induce the Shahidi Jatha to go back. Dr. Kitchlew and Principal Gidwani who had no connection with the Jatha were arrested,

and Mr. Zamand of the *New York Times* was excluded from the State. It is useless for the bureaucracy to hope that the public will believe every word of its statements." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 79*).

Babar Sher, 26 February 1924

The *Babar Sher* says that the wounded Sikhs at Jaito are dying for want of water and medical aid. The Sikhs who entered the Tibbi Sahib Gurdwara with the Shahidi Jatha are being mercilessly beaten and asked to give false evidence that the Akalis were armed with guns, pistols and *chhavis*. The paper states on the authority of the S.G.P.C. *communiqué* No. 833 that two carts full of wounded Sikhs were burnt in Jaito after being covered with kerosine oil and fire-wood. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 83*).

Kesari, 26 February 1924

In another issue the paper [the *Kesari*] opines that but for British statesmanship being bankrupt, the incident could have been prevented. The imprudence and audacity of its Civilian officials have deprived Government of the sympathy and support of the Sikhs. Have they not also weakened its prestige by suffering several defeats at the hands of the Sikhs? The members of the Legislative Assembly must investigate the Jaito incidents. The present successor of the Maharaja of Nabha is after all a junior member of the Indian Civil Service. Not only two members of the Assembly but newspapers reporters also were expelled by him. This is proof positive of the fact that the Nabha officials had pre-arranged a sinister and terrible plan and wanted to conceal their criminal and murderous designs from eye-witnesses. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 79*).

Babar Sher, 26 February 1924

The *Babar Sher*, which characterizes the official statement as a white lie, says that according to the official statement an Akali leader was seen on horseback during the firing at Jaito. This is incredible on the face of it, as no one could mount a horse in the presence of Guru Granth Sahib. But it has now been learnt from a reliable source and verified from those who went to see the Jatha that Guru Gobind Singh, the Lord of Hawks, was himself there on his fine blue charger and encouraged his Sikhs. The enemy fired 37 shots at the Guru, but without any effect. When the Jatha entered the Tibbi Sahib Gurdwara the Guru vanished, saying: "The Khalsa have now won a victory." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, pp. 75–76*).

Onward, 26 February 1924

Writing under the heading "A cunning invention," the *Onward* affirms that the statement of a Nabha villager being wounded by a bullet from the Akalis is a piece of cowardly lie which can be proved by the evidence of respectable eye-witnesses and the wounded victims. In a country and under a system of administration accustomed to concoct evidence by filling the pockets of weak-fibered wordings Johnston can no doubt arrange to produce one of his own subjects to support him before one of his subordinate magistrate, but in the Tribunal of the Day of Judgement he shall have to kiss the burning rod. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 76*).

Akali, 27 February 1924

The *Akali* asserts that near the door of the *gurdwara* a deep trench was dug up, which was filled with water and covered over with grass, &c., in such a way that it might appear to be firm ground, so that if a Sikh were to reach the *gurdwara* after successfully overcoming all obstacles he might fall into the trench. Nor was this all. Before the door there were rows of motors and carts bound with big iron chains, which contained low case people of villages who were holding big *lathis*. The bureaucracy had no faith in its satanic powers even then. A machine-gun was placed within the *gurdwara*. The sepoy, who were armed with guns, were ready in various places to make the beloved of the Gurus the targets of their guns. Such is Western civilization! On that day no service was performed either in the Tibbi Sahib or Gangsar Gurdwara, nor was any lamp lighted. At the time of the march there were twenty martyrs in the Tibbi Sahib. The bureaucracy placed guards on the well and prevented people from drawing water and offering it to the brave servants of the Guru. Besides these twenty martyrs, there were twelve more martyrs lying near the Tibbi Sahib. Three or four lay in the fields. There was a large number of the wounded persons. The bureaucracy carried the wounded to the fort, but it is not known what treatment will be accorded to them there. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 82*).

Zamindar, 27 February 1924

The *Zamindar* observes that the supporters of Government usually say that it uses violence only by way of retaliation. Did the Akalis practise violence or strike any one with a *kirpan*, sword, gun or *lathi*, in reply to which it was considered necessary to shower bullets from a machine gun? It was cowardly and mean in the extreme to shoot unarmed, peace-loving persons who were pledged to non-violence and had patiently and calmly put up with beating from

the police and other methods of repression. On the one hand, the question of India's freedom is being discussed and, on the other, it is considered an ordinary thing to open fire from machine guns on the unfortunate and unarmed inhabitants of this unlucky country. It appears that the Government of India are bent upon crushing the Sikhs. But bullets cannot be fired every day and the country cannot tolerate wanton bloodshed for any length of time. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, pp. 80–81).

Kirpan Bahadur, 27 February 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* states that hundreds of Singhs were killed and thousands wounded at Jaito. The beloved of the Tenth Guru reddened the earth with their blood. Elsewhere it observes that the man of satanic nature who stopped the *akhand path* at the Jaito Gurdwara, the same worthless Gurdialu, who has the habits of the base-born and the nature of animals, ordered guns to be fired on the Granth Sahib. Can there be a Sikh who will not spit and cry shame on him? Let lakhs and crores of curses be on him! The tyrannical Government of Nabha also looted thousands of rupees offered to the Jatha on the way. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 95).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 27 February 1924

A correspondent of the *Akali-te-Pardesi* reports that the martyrs were burnt after being besmeared with kerosine oil. The flames could be seen from a great distance. One hundred and fifty maunds of firewood and ten tins of kerosine oil were used in burning the martyred Singhs. It was persistently rumoured that in order to screen their sin the tyrants buried a large number of martyrs in some unknown place. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 95).

Satjug, 27 February 1924

The *Satjug* considers it strange that Government did not announce that the Jatha carried *chhavis* and guns when it left for Jaito. To say that the Akalis had *chhavis* and rifles is a mere camouflage. Just as unarmed people were fired upon at the Jallianwala Bagh so another Jallianwala Bagh has been created today and once more hundred of families have been ruined. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 76).

Akali, 28 February 1924

The *Akali* publishes a communicated article which says that Baba Gurdit Singh was grossly oppressed on the return of the *Komagata Maru* to India from Canada. All the papers and cash found in his possession were seized. The Baba

demanded back the papers after seven years and requested that an impartial enquiry might be held into his affairs. Upon this he was consigned to jail to prevent the world knowing the true state of affairs. The oppression practices in the Doaba was such as to make one's hair stand on end. Women were dishonoured, and taxes were imposed on widows, orphans and the dead. If a committee of enquiry is sent to ascertain true facts, (its members) are arrested and the truth is kept in darkness. When a *morcha* was set up for Jaito, all press reporters and representatives of responsible (public) bodies were expelled. The representative of the Associated Press only was permitted to stay. This was done apparently with the intention of preventing the movements, doings and tyrannies (of the authorities) reaching the ears of the world and permitting the Nabha authorities to act in the way they liked. When the haughty and arrogant Government came to know that the Shahidi Jatha would not permit interference in the religious affairs of the Sikhs it employed various tactics to have the Jatha savagely treated and hunted down like animals. In order to separate Hindus and Muhammadans from the Sikhs the crowd at Jaito has been accused of having been armed and the Jatha of attacking Government officers. Dr. Kitchlew and Principal Gidwani have been arrested to prevent their acquainting the outside world with facts based on ocular evidence. One or two days after this incident the dispatch of all telegrams was stopped, so that the public may not know the truth. Government is challenged to prove that it had sufficient reason to open fire. Let the authorities and those toadies of Amritsar who recently published a manifesto (against the Akalis) enter the lists to prove that the Nabha Government was justified in practising rigour. The public must have come to see through the tactics of Government. The authorities still hope that we shall turn hostile to and fight with one another over trifling matters, thereby enabling Government to have its own way. The sons of Mother India should beware of the tactics of this cunning and deceitful Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, pp. 85-86.*)

Pratap, 28 February 1924

The *Partap* writes that an unarmed crowd of Sikhs, pledged to non-violence, was fired upon without sufficient reason. The only difference of opinion between the parties was in regard to the number of Akalis to be allowed to enter the *gurdwara*. The authorities considered it necessary to fire on the pretext that the condition imposed by them had been disregarded. Who has the authority to prescribe a fixed number (of persons for participation) in a religious matter? We enter a strong protest against the attitude adopted by Government regarding the discussion of the incident in the Legislative Assembly. The arguments advanced on its behalf are ridiculous and deplorable. If it can move the Kabul

authorities to punish adequately offending tribesmen for the sufferings of a single British subject, cannot India's representatives discuss the circumstances under which a number of the inhabitants of British territory lost their lives or suffered injuries? Its refusal to intervene in this matter is calculated to cause great discontent among the Sikhs and the responsibility for the consequences will be on itself. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 80).

***Milap*, 28 February 1924**

The *Milap* says that the Sikhs are alleged to have carried fire-arms and gone to Jaito to fight. These firearms were nothing but some crackers. The congregation contained some women who had sucking babes in their arms. If it had intended to fight it would never have allowed women to accompany it. It only went on a pilgrimage to the Gangsar Gurdwara and it is childish to think that the religious mission of the Sikhs is a political agitation. Under what law, principle and civilization did the Nabha authorities prevent the Sikhs from performing the *akhand path* in the Gurdwara? The place belongs to the Sikhs and they may go there singly or otherwise. Why did the Nabha authorities collect men, machine guns, etc.? It is said that fifty persons can enter Jaito at a time. Why has this restriction been imposed? But the Nabha Government does not stick even to this order. A Jatha of 25 was not allowed to enter. Does this not show that Government wishes to suppress the Akalis? Its proceedings for several years past are rendering the foundations of Government hollow. It should warn the Nabha authorities to treat religious Jathas with sympathy in future. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 80).

***Akali*, 28 February 1924**

The *Akali* remarks that, as happened in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, a couple of photographers accompanied the Jatha to Jaito, but all their photographic instruments and materials were confiscated by the bureaucracy, so that people might remain ignorant of the state of affairs. Moreover, some policemen in plain clothes and low class rascals were armed with *lathis* and *chhavis* and mixed with the gathering. Some directions were given to them and they had also photographers with them. When the Jatha reached "the abode of the Guru," which may now be called a slaughter-house, these tutored bad-mashes raised aloft their *lathis* and *chhavis* and the photographers instantly took photographs. This shows that the authorities intend to produce the photos in justification of their tyrannical proceedings. The Jatha was on the march for ten or fifteen days, was noticed by the public and innumerable members of

the secret police much have been reporting its movements. Can any one say that a single member of the Jatha was armed even with *lathis*? And if these people had *chhavis*, why did not the police arrest them? The national moths attained martyrdom through the firing of guns and blows from swords. They were trampled by horses, beaten with *lathis* and pinioned. Not a single sepoy was, however, wounded by their *lathis*, *chhavis* and guns. All these tactics are being employed by the authorities only to throw a veil over their tyrannical deeds. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 78).

***Kesari*, 29 February 1924**

A correspondent of the *Kesari* expresses the opinion that no blame could attach to the Punjab Government or the Government of India had the civil authorities at Amritsar taken preventive measures against the Akalis proceeding to Jaito. The Shahidi Jaito was an unlawful assembly and he is surprised that no steps were taken by the Amritsar District Officer or the officers at Ferozepore and Faridkot during the march of the Akalis through their jurisdiction. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 80).

***Akali*, 29 February 1924**

The same issue of the *Akali* publishes the Shiromani Gurdwara Committees' *communiqué* No. 860, which is as follows: "We have heard with regret that the corpses of those killed were handed over neither to the Jatha nor to their relatives, but were burnt by sweepers by sprinkling kerosine oil over them. The Shiromani Committee has been greatly shocked by the disrespect showed to the martyrs." The *Akali* also publishes the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee's *communiqué* No. 862, which is as follows: – "It has been learnt through a reliable source that when the martyrs were going to cremated on the 22nd February the medical officer-in-charge was told that three of them were in a state of agony. The doctor replied: – 'Never mind. Burn them also along with the others as they cannot survive.' What more inhuman treatment can there be than this?" (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 83).

***Punjab Darpan*, 29 February 1924**

The *Punjab Darpan* writes: –

"We shed tears at the fate of the wounded left at the mercy of a blood-thirsty officer like Mr. Wilson-Johnston. According to the report so far received by us, an old Sikh lady who was pouring water into the mouths of the wounded was

so thrashed that she fell down senseless and about 60 other Sikh ladies were arrested for a similar offence." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 96).

***Babar Sher*, 29 February 1924**

In a subsequent issue the paper [the *Babar Sher*] remarks that the officials of the bureaucracy are greater savages than even Nadir Shah. Barbarous Nadir Shah was more prudent than Lord Readings, the god of justice and reason. The Jaito incident has proved that the Jallianwala massacre was pre-concerted and the massacre of 200 Sikhs at Nankana Sahib was effected by the "invisible hands" of the bureaucracy. During the Martial Law days the bureaucrats removed veils off the faces of our sisters and spat at their mouths. At Jaito shameless myrmidons of the savage and pitiless bureaucracy shot our sisters and their innocent children going to the *gurdwara* and arrested them after binding them with ropes. The Sikhs were born to destroy oppression in the world and have ever been engaged in fulfilling this mission. They are sacrificing their all for the liberty of their nation. The bureaucracy is trying its bets to put an end to the existence of religious-minded people. A war is in progress between gods and demons. If God wills that truth and religion shall triumph this satanic rule will assuredly suffer defeat in the end. The Sikhs will now settle final scores with this sinful and tyrannical rule. Either the religious minded Sikhs or the sinful bureaucracy will now live in the Punjab. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, pp. 94–95).

***Kesari*, 29 February 1924**

The *Kesari* publishes the following impressions of "A Sikh from Afghanistan": –

"I found 14 wounded men in the Sri Guru Ramdas Hospital of Amritsar brought from Jaito. These included a Muhammadan youth who was shot in the shoulder. I learnt that in addition to the 22 martyrs who were cremated with kerosine oil, many other corpses have been secretly burnt at night. A rumour is current in Amritsar that many martyrs have been buried with their beards and hair uprooted. This reprehensible and detestable act is due to the anxiety of the Nabha officials to cover their doings by confusing the identity of the buried Sikhs. On my returned I found on a platform of the Lahore Railway Station a group of 34 or 35 Akalis who were being taken from Bhai Pheru to Multan Jail. They delivered a message to those present on the platform that the Khalsa should not relax their efforts under any persuasion from the leaders who were for postponing the dispatch of the Jathas, failing which a worse tragedy than that of Chora Chori would overtake them." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 83).

***Bande Mataram*, 29 February 1924**

In the course of a leading article in a later issue the *Bande Mataram* writes: –

“The Jaito tragedy has demonstrated that there is no dearth of Dyers and O’Dwyers under this alien Government and that the cowardly treatment meted out to the unarmed Akali Jatha is not in any way less serious than the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. From all circumstances and evidence it is proved that the Akalis were acting in a spirit of non-violence and they had no arms with them. The Nabha authorities had no proof against this non-violent spirit of the Akalis and it was their duty before firing to see some manifestation of violence from the Jatha. It was not wise to get confused merely on seeing the number of the crowd. The fact is that no value is attached to the lives and property of Indians. Slave Indians can be crushed at any time. There are still a large number of people who will try to deliver themselves from the grip of this alien Government only when India will have no power of resistance left and be thrown away like a squeezed orange.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 78).

***Islah*, 1 March 1924**

The *Islah* observes that the Nabha authorities wanted to allow batches of 50 Akalis to enter the gurdwara at a time. Was there any harm in permitting the whole Jatha of 500 to do so? The authorities fired upon the crowd of eight or ten thousand Akalis, with the result that many were killed, wounded and arrested and the rest ran away. What could have prevented them from taking similar action against 500 Akalis if they had done anything in contravention of the law? Were these unarmed people going to occupy Jaito or Nabha? And if the Akalis deliver political speeches at Jaito without transgressing the law, what harm can they do to the Nabha State? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 93).

***Loyal Gazette*, 2 March 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* asks if there is no one to enquire from the authorities who empowered them to prevent the worship of God in *gurdwaras*. Have they forcibly taken possession of the Nabha State or the Sikh religion? What oppression, satanic deed and rigour that was possible has not been committed by them in the State? Have they gone to Nabha to raise such memorials for them? Shame! The blood of the martyrs of the Jallianwala Bagh has not yet been obliterated from the walls. Was it not a general massacre that was committed on the 21st February by thousands of innocent and non-violent men, women and children being fired upon? This hard-heartedness on the part of the Administrator of Nabha has reminded us of the oppressions of Tamerlane and Nadir Shah.

The latter practised oppressions in times of ignorance and not on their own subjects but on those of other kinds. But the bureaucracy of Nabha got bullets fired on an inoffensive civil, religious and unarmed crowd, consisting of its own and British subjects, thereby surpassing even Nadir Shah, Tamerlane, Changhez Khan and Halaku. In 1921 the Duke of Connaught loudly advised Indians to forget and forgive the past. By perpetrating a general massacre at Jaito, however, the bureaucracy has proved that so far as it was concerned, the advice fell on deaf ears. Not only has there been a general massacre again, but efforts have been made to surpass the Jallianwala Bagh massacred in cruelty and hard-heartedness. Shall we be thus killed like sheep and goats? Will our lives be considered so valueless that an office may fire even on our peaceful crowds whenever he so wishes? No Government in the world practices the tyranny of preventing its subjects from visiting religious places and killing people for entering them. One Jatha going to Jaito has been mixed in blood and dust. But another is following and will be succeeded by a third. We shall either regain our birth-right of visiting the Gangsar Gurdwara and holding the *akhand path* there or 30 lakh Sikhs shall die at the door of Guru Gobind Singh one after the other. People used to think that Sir Edward Maclagan would prove a better ruler than Sir Michael O'Dwyer. But in the matter of oppression he has proved a worse ruler. During his five years' rule he has practised more oppression than Sir Michael did in six years. The only difference between the two is that while O'Dwyer was bold, Maclagan is weak and cowardly. What oppression is there that has not been practised in his time? The editor concludes by urging his co-religionists to go to the Gangsar Gurdwara and drink the cup of martyrdom, praying to the Satguru to preserve the honour of the Panth. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 98).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 3 March 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* learns that many wounded Sikhs confined in the fort have died. The total number of the dead is about 225 and of the wounded is also very high. It is rumoured that the wounded members of the Jatha have been poisoned and the dead bodies of the martyrs have not yet been cremated. Further, rumour has it that five Sikh soldiers of Patiala who refused to go to Jaito to fire have been shot. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, pp. 95–96).

***Updeshak*, 5 March 1924**

A correspondent of the *Updeshak* positively asserts that the Akalis were unable to fulfil their pledge of non-violence. The leaders of the Jatha did not observe the principles of Satyagraha. In passing through villages they used

coercive methods to compel people to join in their demonstration and allowed their sympathisers to carry swords, firearms and axes. Indeed, all the Akalis or the great majority of them were armed with different weapons. It is also true that they fired the first shot. The Nabha troops fired only in self-defence. The Granth Sahib and its accompaniments were treated with all respect. It was with difficulty that the inhabitants of Jaito and other villages were restrained from attacking the Akalis, as on their way to Jaito the latter treated people in an high-handed manner. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 94).

Akali, 9 March 1924

The *Akali* publishes a communication from the General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, who complains that by taking shelter behind the Mahant of Nankana Sahib the bureaucracy got more than two hundred gallant youths burnt alive in ovens, simply because they were guilty of the offence of possessing the spirit of religious liberty. They were besmeared with petrol and burnt or made into minced meat. Having done all this in broad daylight the bureaucracy issued a communiqué to the effect that no one should accuse government officers. It wished to pass time "by placing guns on the shoulders of others," but, in the end, it has had to enter the open field. The truth is that the conspiracies about the general massacre at Nankana Sahib emanated from the brain of the bureaucracy. They came clearly to the forefront in the general massacre of Jaito. After killing thousands of innocent men at Jaito the shameless and conscienceless disciples of the bureaucracy were prompt in announcing that the Jatha fired the first shot and pursued the Administrator. All these announcements, preventing respectable members of the Assembly from entering Nabha territory and imprisoning national leaders constitute efforts to throw a veil over the oppression practices on the Shahidi Jatha marching from the Tibbi Sahib to the Gangsar Gurdwara. Guns were again fired and several persons were killed and wounded. Next the Jatha was surrounded by cavalry, when the former sat down. Meanwhile the authorities gathered the *badmashes* of the village by means of threats to beat the Jatha. They were kept drunk of set purpose and mercilessly beat the Jatha with bludgeons covered with barbed wire. The Sikhs sitting behind the Jatha were run over by horses. They were then dragged away, placed in carts and thrown into a barbed wire enclosure. Here the Jatha was badly beaten. The doctors who had gone to serve the wounded were arrested at the outset. The Sikhs attending the wounded in Tibi Sahib were penned in the barbed wire enclosure and given sound beating. More than 500 persons are so far reported to have been killed and wounded. And in order to destroy all vestige of the martyrs the bureaucracy despatched

many of them to distant places in railway wagons. Many brave men were burnt alive. It is our duty to uproot the tree of oppression with our united force and with the powerful weapon of non-violence, so that the Akal Takht may not be dishonoured, the Granth Sahib may not be fired upon and the blood of the hopefuls of the nation may not be shed again. The bureaucracy desires to destroy our religion at Bhai Pheru and Jaito with its brute force. The good sons of the Panth should obey the Shiromani Akali Dal and suffer arrest and martyrdom. They should offer themselves for the third Shahidi Jatha and also go to Bhai Pheru. Moreover, they should zealously collect subscription in aid of the Five Pice Fund started by the S.G.P. Committee. Let the brave Sikhs enter the arena. The question now is one of life and death. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, pp. 106–107).

***Desh Sewak*, 13 March 1924**

With reference to the statement made by a person in the office of the Shiromani Committee that the wounded and martyrs were put into boxes and sent to some unknown place, the *Desh Sewak* remarks: – “O tyrants, have you not yet drunk your fill of blood? O heartless butchers, such high-handedness has not so far been practised by any one. Alas, it is not known were hundreds of half-dead and wounded hopefuls of the Guru have been sent in such a ruthless manner. Different objects underlying this action are being brought to light. The tyrants riddled with bullets a Sikh who went to look for the body of his brother. Such oppression has been practised at Jaito that religious-minded people cannot keep their feelings under control.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 107).

***Akali*, 21 March 1924**

The *Akali* publishes *communiqué* No. 538 from the General Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, who remarks that by opening fire from Lewis guns on the first Jatha, the myrmidons of the bureaucratic Government killed and wounded numberless brothers, sisters and innocent children. Their blood-stained guilty hands had not the courage to fire bullets on the second Shahidi Jatha. Tyrannical Wilson-Johnston, who is a human being with Satan's attributes, addressed entreaties to the Jathedar. The Government *communiqué* stated that a settlement was being reached with the Shiromani Committee, but no terms have yet been laid before the Committee. The rumour regarding the settlement has been set afloat only to cause an abatement in the Sikh agitation. Are the Khalsa going to be taken in by such tricks and can they feel satisfied without gaining complete victory? In order to expose the maneuvers of Government it has been decided to start the dispatch of an endless chain of

Jathas. "You have blunted the weapons of a Government which prided itself on its police, troops and weapons. On previous occasions also it had frequently to suffer disgrace and indulge in entreaties against its will. To-day also we will not rest until we have brought it to its knees. Get ready, O heroes, and terminate this sacrificial ceremony by sacrificing yourself in the sacrificial pit of this final but active *morcha*. The whole community of forty lakhs Sikhs should sacrifice itself. The time has come when the heroes who are restless for sacrifice should act upon the saying: 'A disciple can be considered dead only when he is accommodated in the Guru's grave.' This body is mortal. Enter the field. You should reach Amritsar before the 20th and Sri Anandpur before the 25th March, join the Shahidi Jatha and revive the traditions of Sikh history with your blood." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th March 1924*, No. 13, p. 123).

Kirpan Bahadur, 22 March 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* states that according to a Brahman of Jaito, who saw the tragic events there with his own eyes, motor lorries were engaged the whole night in carrying off dead bodies. The railway train stopped for more than an hour and he heard a soldier say: "Two carriages have been filled to the brim with dead bodies. Where will the other corpses be placed?" He also heard an officer say that deep pits should be dug and corpses buried in them. This was done. He thinks that if the well and pools near Jaito are searched some corpses will be discovered there. He also says that the number of the dead was so great that they could not be counted. Can the obstinate, shameless, butcherly and oppressive Administrator of Nabha and the Government of India contend in face of this evidence that the number of those killed is only 25 or 30? Elsewhere, the paper observes that the reported conduct of a high official at Peshawar in having tried to set the Sikhs and Pathans at each other's throats in a satanic move and many such methods are being adopted by the bureaucracy. The firing upon the first Shahidi Jatha, however has brought the Akali organization into prominence. Another jatha is going to Gangsar Gurdwara to break the strong chain of tyrannical restrictions imposed by the Christian Government and to restart the interrupted *path*, the exclusive object of which is the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th March 1924*, No. 13, pp. 123-124).

Babar Sher, 10 May 1924

The *Babar Sher* refers to Mr. Pannikar's report and says that unarmed, innocent and peaceful Sikhs proceeding on a pilgrimage to a shrine were shot down under the delusion that they were going to take possession of the Nabha States. How long can Indians tolerate a Government the officers of which are

such credulous and blind fools that they can kill hundreds of people under a mere whim? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924, No. 20, p. 183*).

Akali, 6 July 1924

The *Akali* publishes S.G.P.C.'s *communiqué* No 1794, which states that the case has been tried in camera in order to assure the Home Government that the Shahidi Jatha was the first to fire. But the public has already become sufficiently aware of the mistakes of the deceitful bureaucracy and cannot be satisfied till an independent and impartial committee is appointed to enquire into the affair. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924, No. 28, p. 241*).

Akali, 18 July 1924

A correspondent writes to the *Akali* that the Jaito firing case was simply a deception practised by Government in the name of law and justice to crush the religious spirit of the Sikhs. But the officers are deceiving themselves if they think that they will succeed. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924, No. 29, p. 245*).

5 Actions and Sacrifices by Women

Akali, 25 February 1924

The *Akali* further states it has learnt from a reliable source that a woman went to see the battlefield where firing took place and the Shahidi Jatha attained martyrdom. An English officer thrashed her with his own hands and pushed her out of the place. This is a specimen of the love for law and order of the authorities at Jaito. Was the officer in question afraid that the woman would cause a mighty revolution? Has the blood of Indian women less value than of their English sisters? Should not Government abstain from insulting our women while crushing our religious susceptibilities and birth rights? Men hold two things in the world most dear – religion and the honour of the weaker sex. Both these are not safe at the hands of the present Government. The *akhand path* has already been stopped. The Sikhs have been made to attain martyrdom in the presence of the Granth Sahib and they are not permitted to go on pilgrimage to the Gangsar Gurdwara. And now a woman who went to see the bloody spectacle and congratulate her brethren was turned out after being beaten. These acts constitute an ugly blot on the forehead of the Government,

a blot that will remain there for ever. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 82).

***Akali*, 29 February 1924**

In a subsequent issue the paper [the *Akali*] writes that the readers must have read how a lady offered her child as a target to the bullet and how she dropped the child on the way. It goes on to say: "O Mr. Johnstone! Incarnation of General Dyer! Hast thou blood in thy body and a heart of flesh? Art thou proud of the murder of such innocent beings? O Lord Reading! Is it justice which thou didst boast of beyond the seven seas? For what peace, law, responsibility, justice and administration has this Government been established? Through the pride satanic powers, efforts are being made to try satanism! But Satan can never triumph over the Providence of God. The death of suckling babes, the lamentations of innocent women and the blood of lion-hearted but unarmed martyrs will shake the Throne of Almighty God. O Lord Reading, who dost reply on swords and guns! This blood of martyrs will assuredly work wonders. Thou hast still more injured the wounded hearts of the nation by firing bullets. Thou hast sprinkled still more salt by issuing announcements full of lies. We have not been so wounded by the bullets of the tyrants as by the dissemination of lies. How cowardly and shameless this is! Unarmed Sikh martyrs, innocent children and helpless women were fired upon. And yet it is boldly asserted that it was the people who were the first to open fire! If the authorities had no ulterior aim in view, why did they not allow disinterested gentlemen to reach the Gangsar Gurdwara? If the Government has the smallest truth on its side, it should promptly appoint an independent commission. It has been ascertained that among those brave persons who shot unarmed and peaceful soldiers of the Guru there were the brave soldiers of Patiala. Bravo Maharaja Bhupinder Singh! This is what is called 'Thy house is my house.' It was not proper for you to dip your dagger into the blood of your innocent brethren. We cannot but shed our tears over these unfortunate, conscienceless, traitorous and shameless persons who, for the sake of the crumbs left by the authorities, sold their conscience and honour. These cruelties have grieved our wounded hearts more than Mr. Johnstone. The blood of martyrs cannot but destroy all powers of tyranny." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, pp. 82–83).

***Loyal Gazette*, 16 March 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* asks if Hindus and Muhammadans will tolerate the insult done to Sikh women at Jaito through being handcuffed and taken from place to

place. If it is our turn to-day, theirs will come to-morrow. They must start such a strong agitation against the insulting treatment of Sikh ladies by the “new British Government” at Nabha that they might prevent its repetition. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 116).

***Zamindar*, 6 July 1924**

The *Zamindar* says that the passing of severe sentences against those who participated in a non-violent movement can, in no way, be held justifiable, and especially the throwing of a weak woman into jail for four years is an act of which British courts alone can feel proud. A woman who quite innocently accompanied the Jatha to serve her religion did not deserve to be dragged before the police and the court. The alien authorities in India claim to have great respect for women, but do they make this claim by throwing Shrimati Parbati Devi and Shrimati Krishen Kaur into jail? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, p. 241).

6 Governmental Statements and Enquiries

***Tribune*, 23 February 1924**

Commenting on the firing on the Shahidi Jatha at Jaito, the *Tribune* remarks that firing on a body like the Jatha can only be justified by the clearest and most imperative necessity and the public has a right to know whether and how far this necessity existed in the present case. In another issue the paper says that there is only one way in which Government can satisfy the public that its own version of the incident is correct, namely by holding a searching enquiry by means of a mixed committee, including popular representatives in the Assembly as well as the Punjab Council noted for their probity and independence. Let it not make the mistake it has so often made in the past of proceeding on the assumption that it is enough to satisfy itself by a merely official enquiry. The fire upon a crowd and inflict casualties upon it to the extent of at least 14 killed and 34 wounded is a much more serious thing than even beating non-violent Jathas to unconsciousness, as was done at Guru-ka-Bagh, and the Government must clearly see the infinitely greater danger in the one case than in the other of letting judgement go against it by default. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 70).

***Loyal Gazette*, 24 February 1924**

The Government *communiqué* on the firing at Jaito is vehemently criticized and sought to be discredited. The *Loyal Gazette* remarks that the only

difference between the occurrences at Jaito and Nankana Sahib is that whereas the latter were the work of a selfish and tyrannical Mahant, the hand of Government officials is at the bottom of the former. The Government *communiqué* states that the Akalis were the first to fire, but it is as clear as day light that they remained perfectly non-violent. Moreover, Government does not name a single villager who was wounded by them. And wherefrom did they get guns? Another incredible statement in the *communiqué* is that neither the members of the Jatha were fired upon, nor was any one of them wounded or killed. If it was not intended to stop the Jatha or injure any of its members, why were bullets fired on the congregation? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 75).

Akali, 25 February 1924

The *Akali* argues that even if it be admitted that the members of the Jatha had arms which is hardly possible, we ask why they were not arrested. The statement that the Akalis were on horseback is a downright lie, seeing that it was impossible for them to ride when the Granth Sahib was being carried by their brethren on foot. Will the world believe such statements or those made by the members of the Jatha on their return to Amritsar? The *communiqué* further states that the Granth Sahib was no insulted. But does not the fact that the Sikhs headed by the Granth Sahib were received with a shower of bullets amount to insulting that scripture? If it was not intended to shoot the Jatha why were so many preparations made? Government is trying to throw a veil over its black deeds. Hindus and Mussalmans should bear in mind that Government will employ all possible means to deceive them into parting company with the Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 75).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 25 February 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* remarks that in order to cover up the loss of life at Jaito the Government of India have issued a statement which is full of lies. It is asserted that the Akalis fired at the troops, but no one was wounded, though 600 Akalis took aim. No one dare tell such a white lie, except the Indian bureaucracy. Lala Hans Raj, Sardar Kartar Singh, M.L.A.'s, and Mr. Zamand, an American, were not allowed to come near, while Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Gidwani were taken into custody. Was not all this done by the bureaucracy to find an excuse for its lies in order to conceal the horrible slaughter perpetrated by it? Wherefrom did the Akalis get firearms? The Shahidi Jatha left on the 9th instant on foot and other Akalis accompanied it. Did not Government come to know then of their being armed? We are sure that every human being, who has a grain of sense

in his brain, will shower curses upon this absolutely false statement of the Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 75*).

Kesari, 25 February 1924

The *Kesari* questions the correctness of the allegation in the official *communiqué* that the Akalis were armed with guns, etc., and that one of them was the first to fire. It is possible that some rascals looking like Akalis but really in collusion with their enemies might have perpetrated the deed. But even if the incident did occur it had nothing to do with the Jatha. Besides, as long as Government is not prepared to bring forward the men who were wounded by the Akalis no one can acknowledge its statements to be true. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, p. 76*).

Bharat, 25 February 1924

The *Bharat* states that the agents of Government do not abstain from using all sorts of barbarous methods. Government always labours under the impression that it can refuse to concede a just demand by threatening the people with guns and swords. But it will certainly get unnerved this time, seeing that people ready to sacrifice their lives are pitted against it. "We offer our congratulations to our Khalsa brethren. They were subjected to tortures, beaten and fired upon, but they offered no resistance whatever. Government has, by its high-handed action, created a critical situation. Lord Reading's threats have made matters still worse. It is not good to rely on arms and try to maintain prestige by adopting repressive measures. Will Government admit its mistakes even now and effect a compromise with the brave Khalsa? It is mistaken if it thinks that it can suppress the present movement by shedding the blood of Indians and riddling their chests with bullets. All doors for enquiries into the firing at Jaito by independent persons have been closed. The time when official *communiqués* used to satisfy the people has passed. It is absolutely necessary that Government should at once appoint a responsible non-official body to proceed to Jaito to enquiry into the incident." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, pp. 78-79*).

Akali, 27 February 1924

The *Akali* reports an interview between its representative and Jathedar Gurdit Singh, who characterised the official *communiqué* as false and baseless. Not a single man rode a horse nor were men armed with guns, pistols or *chhavis*. None assaulted or even abused the Administrator or any other official. The Jatha

and the public were indiscriminately fired upon. Government has published a wrong *communiqué* to give a bad name to the Akalis. It was the Jatha that bore the brunt of the first firing. Firing took place three times. Lewis guns directed their dres straight in front of the Jatha, which resulted in heavy casualties. An eye-witness deposes that police constables, who were dressed as peasants and appeared to be under the influence of liquor, maltreated the members of the Jatha after pinioning them with ropes. The same issue of the *Akali* asserts that in order to throw dust on the blood of our martyrs Government is publishing announcements through tis myrmidons to the effect that it was justified in firing. We are in conflict with a cunning and scheming Government and should gird up our loins to maintain our organization. We should bid farewell to our worldly affairs in maintaining our honour and dignity and be ready to sacrifice ourselves at the feet of our Satguru. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 75).

***Tribune*, 27 February 1924**

The *Tribune* states that the *communiqué* issued by the Government of India, so far from allaying the feeling of indignation and bitterness, has considerably accentuated it. The extreme seriousness of the tragedy itself makes it absolutely imperative for Government to hold an immediate enquiry into the matter by means of an independent committee, including a substantial number of popular representatives who enjoy the confidence of the public generally and the Sikh community in particular. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 76).

***Zamindar*, 28 February 1924**

The *Zamindar* states that while all representatives of newspapers and certain eye-witnesses assert that a machine gun was used at Jaito, the official *communiqué* is silent about the matter. Moreover, the number of killed as given in various non-official statements is 10,14, 15, 50 and 150, but the official *communiqué* puts it at 14. As Government is a party and has shed blood its report cannot be relied upon. The Congress should forthwith appoint a committee of enquiry. The whole country may well feel proud of the unprecedented spirit of courage, bravery and sacrifice displayed by our Akali brethren and sisters. And the fact that in spite of its being powerful and in possession of war materials Government opened fire on unarmed persons affords proof of its cowardice. This foolish and tyrannical act casts infinite shame and disgrace on the department of the Government responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 76).

Akali, 28 February 1924

The *Akali* writes that Rai Bahadur Lala Amar Nath is said to have been appointed to enquire into the Jaito massacre. The achievements of this man are not unknown to the Khalsa and it was he who convicted Baba Gurdit Singh. His appointment shows what sort of justice will be done and what kind of enquiry will be held. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924, No. 9, pp. 83–84*).

Gurdwara, 8 March 1924

The Jaito incident still evokes heated comments from the Sikh papers, which denounce Government and express the determined resolve of the Khalsa to start the *akhand path* at Jaito regardless of all consequences. The *Gurdwara* comments on the official *communiqué* in a Supplement and states that the Government cunningly observes that great care was taken not to interfere with the procession of the Granth Sahib. But is it in any way short of interference that the Nirmala Sadhu who was waving a *chauwar* over the scripture was shot, that the Jatha was fired upon, that those who were carrying the Granth Sahib were beaten to unconsciousness, that the Granthi, Bhai Labh Singh, was pinioned and taken before Johnston, that these people were kept hungry and thirsty for three days and sent off to Nabha, and that the Granth Sahib was caused to be carried by policemen with blood-stained hands and removed to whichever place they liked? It is a piece of falsehood to say that the bureaucracy regards the religions of India with respect. Nay, it has been proved during the past two or three years that it does not avoid treating them with disrespect. It is also false that the wounded were promptly looked after. The medical party with the Jatha and other *sevadars*, including women, were arrested and all medicines, etc., plundered to ensure the death of the wounded. The cavalry hunted down people bringing water from distant places for the wounded and those killed and wounded were taken in custody. Is this what is called prompt treatment of wounded? Does Western civilization teach only such human sympathy? Experience shows that Indian lives are held very cheap and are destroyed on ordinary pretexts. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924, No. 12, pp. 115–116*).

Gurdwara, 8 March 1924

The Magisterial report about the Jaito affair is strongly criticised by all sections of the press. The *Gurdwara* remarks in a Supplement that the Sikh Magistrate appointed to enquiry into the Jaito affair is not a disinterested person or a true Sikh. The world's curses will continue to fall upon Government so long as it

does not give dishonesty. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 116).

***Tribune*, 15 March 1924**

The following extracts are taken from the leading article in the *Tribune*: –

“If the object of the authorities in instituting an enquiry through Sardar Balwant Singh, P.C.S., into the recent deplorable incident at Jaito was to satisfy the public of either the correctness of the official version of that incident or the justifiability of the official action, we have no hesitation in saying, after a careful perusal of the report of the enquiry, that in that object they have entirely failed. On most of the important points connected with or arising out of the affair the report is, in fact, only an amplification of the official statement first made through a *communiqué* and subsequently repeated by the Home Member in the Assembly ... Indeed, it has always seemed fairly clear to us that no crowd would have accompanied the Jatha at all had it not been for the expectation of sensational developments at Jaito, and there is nothing in Sardar Balwant Singh's report to lead us to alter that opinion.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 109).

***Akali*, 23 May 1924**

Writing to the *Akali*, the General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal, alleges that the general massacre of Jaito was not confined to the Shahidi Jatha. All persons wearing yellow clothes and visiting the Gurdwara were killed or wounded with bullets, badly beaten with bludgeons and thrown into jail. Brave men like Dr. Kitchlew and Professor Gidwani were imprisoned to prevent the black deeds of Government being exposed. Both lawful and unlawful measures were adopted to keep the murder of innocent people concealed and stores were concocted to justify firing. Dr. Kitchlew's roar, Mr. Pannikar's enquiry and Mr. Zimand's letter have made it known to the world that the Government of India not only killed innocent people but also made most cowardly attempts to conceal the facts. The writer also refers to the appointment of Lala Amar Nath as Special Magistrate and to some statements made before him. Commenting, he complains that falsehood and craftiness have reached their climax. This is natural, however, seeing that Government itself is based on these. Mr. Zimand's statement having torn Balwant Singh Nalwa's report to tatters is has been found necessary to conceal facts with the help of Rai Sahib Lala Amar Nath. The wily policy of Government, which is apt to dye its hands with the blood of the oppressed, cannot, however, prove successful. If it is not wholly devoid of truthfulness and humanity it should have impartial

enquiries made into the incident. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 31st May 1924*, No. 22, p. 199).

***Desh Sewak*, 10 July 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* states that the magistrate, Amar Nath, is the notorious “Lakhu” of Amritsar who was born in order to exterminate the Akalis. All that he has done is to whitewash the ruffians of Nabha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, p. 241).

7 The Second Shahidi Jatha

***Akali*, 24 February 1924**

The *Akali* remarks that the puppets of the Government, *i.e.*, the authorities in the State, have blackened their faces with the stain of a “black deed.” The Guru Sahib was fired upon and the authorities of a Sikh State offered us the cup of martyrdom. The Jatha remained non-violent and accepted the cup, but refused to obey the satanic Government’s order to return. We heartily congratulate our brethren on remaining non-violent and attaining martyrdom at their destination. We offer sincere congratulations to Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Gidwani and others who sympathise with the Sikhs on the occasion. We appeal to our brethren to control their zeal and remain completely non-violent. The Khalsa should organise themselves in Jathas and reach Amritsar in accordance with the command of the Shiromani Committee to join the proposed second Jatha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, pp. 81–82).

***Akali*, 2 March 1924**

The *Akali* publishes an order by the Jathadar, Sri Akal Takht, to the members of the second Shahidi Jatha. It alleges that Government has left nothing undone to insult *gurdwaras* and the Granth Sahib. Government committed a grave sin by prohibiting the *akhand path* at the Gangsar Gurdwara and has aggravated its sin by firing on the Shahidi Jatha. The Granth Sahib also could not have escaped this firing. Government has used our sacred shrines as fortifications for military purposes. The Khalsa cannot tolerate this gross insult. The order also urges the Jatha to remain non-violent. They must be ready for the supreme sacrifice to achieve their highest aim. They must either perform the *akhand path* at the Gangsar Gurdwara or join their martyred brethren and sisters. The great Guru on his blue charger will be with them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 96).

***Desh Sewak*, 20 March 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* states that the second Shahidi Jatha of the lions of the Tenth Guru reached the battlefield of Jaito on the 14th March. No one could have expected prudence from the blood-sucking authorities of Nabha, who so relentlessly spilled the blood of the first Jatha. The curses, maledictions and reproofs of the good and wise people of the world, however, had their effect on these sinners. They laid down their arms this time and entreated Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for a reconciliation. This shows that the Akalis have won this *morcha* also by means of non-violence. But can the wretches, after dyeing their hands with the sacred blood of our brethren, rest in peace in their bungalows by bringing about such a reconciliation? No, we will demand the price of the blood of our religious heroes and have our leaders set free. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th March 1924*, No. 13, p. 123).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 March 1924**

Writing to the *Akali-te-Pardesi*, Sardar Tara Singh, M.L.O. says that the heartless (? Nabha) officials were not satisfied with the severities practised by them on the Jathas daily proceeding to Jaito. On the 1st Shahidi Jatha starting from the Akal Takht Government issued orders allowing fifty persons to enter the *gurdwara* on condition that they would leave immediately after completing the *akhand path*. In connection with the second Jatha, Government announced that the whole Jatha of 500 could enter the Gurdwara. The Sikhs know full well, however, that if they accept any condition affecting their free entry into the Gurdwara, they will be deprived of their religious freedom for ever. They cannot be deceived by nominal concessions like the above, which are in reality restrictions imposed on the freedom of religion. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924*, No. 14, p. 130).

8 Advises of Mahatma Gandhi***Akali*, 28 February 1924**

The *Akali* would not altogether ignore Mahatma Gandhi's message and thinks that it would not be wholly useless if a few prominent Akali leaders interviewed the Mahatma and discussed the matter with him. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 84).

***Desh*, 28 February 1924**

The *Desh* criticizes Mr. Gandhi's advice as based on ignorance and misunderstanding. For the last two years Mr. Gandhi has not been in touch with the development of the Gurdwara Reform movement. He has had no occasion to form a just opinion regarding the Sikhs. From the outset they have always counted upon an intensely self-disciplined attitude of non-violence and on public support and sympathy as essential for their success. The whole country is loud in its admiration of their success in having been non-violent. It is recognized that there is no better instance of self-suffering in peace in the history of the world. The second Jatha will follow in the footsteps of its predecessor in its peaceful, non-violent and religious character. The members will not carry any arms, the *kirpan* excepted. The Committee believe that it has the support and sympathy of the public. There is no reason to postpone the dispatch of the second Shahidi Jatha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 84).

***Partap*, 28 February 1924**

The *Partap* thinks that the Akalis should adhere to the sacred principle of non-violence and accept the advice of Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai to send no more Jathas without consultation with the leaders. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 85).

***Bande Mataram*, 28 and 29 February 1924**

The *Bande Mataram* remarks that the Akali question now concerns the whole country and the brave Akalis should act upon Mahatma Gandhi's advice. In a subsequent issue the paper writes that Mahatma Gandhi's message shows that after meeting in a conference the nationalist leaders should at once commence rendering assistance to the Akalis. If Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Maulana Muhammad Ali want to arrive at a decision after holding a conference they should act promptly. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 84).

***Kesari*, 29 February 1924**

The *Kesari* writes to the same effect and goes on to affirm that the consideration underlying the message appears to be Mr. Gandhi's lack of implicit confidence in the Akalis' vow of non-violence. We draw his attention to *communiqué* No. 843, issued by the Shiromani Committee, appointing an impartial committee to satisfy themselves as to the non-violent methods and attitude of the Akalis prior to their entry into Jaito. We cannot bear the loss of a single

life, be it of a Hindu, Muhammadan or Sikh. We do not even advocate the dispatch of a Jatha as an imperative measure. But we do not find any sense in Mr. Gandhi's message. His advice is a life saving measure, but we cannot say it will have any effect upon the Sikhs. We cannot also help pointing out that the Congress have not helped the Sikhs in any appreciable degree and any advice emanating from the Congress will not be welcome to them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, pp. 84–85).

***Punjab Darpan*, 29 February 1924**

The *Punjab Darpan* assures Mahatma Gandhi that the Sikhs will be hacked to pieces and exterminated rather than retrace a step once taken by them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 96).

***Kesari*, 1 March 1924**

The *Kesari* is opinion that Mr. Gandhi should have understood the true position of the Sikhs before sending his message. Of course, the crowd of many thousands that gathered round the Jatha became unmanageable, but even this could not justify the Nabha officials in opening fire, as no damage had been done. The Jatha itself did nothing to deserve blame. If the second, third or fourth Jatha also proves to be peaceful in attitude and intention Mr. Gandhi will have no cause for complaint. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 96).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 1 March 1924**

A correspondent of the *Akali-te-Pardesi* says that we have neither acted upon the Mahatma's advice before, nor can we do so now. If we look back all our sacrifices will be thrown away. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 96).

***Loyal Gazette*, 2 March 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* accuses Lajpat Rai of misguiding Mahatma Gandhi and making him say things which will certainly shake the faith of the Sikhs in him. The Sikhs, however, have never desired any outside help, nor do they need it now. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 97).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 3 March 1924**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* states that according to rumour, the bureaucracy has itself asked the Mahatma to stop the Akalis from sending more Jathas. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 97).

***Bande Mataram*, 3 March 1924**

The *Bande Mataram* publishes an article from Pandit Karam Chand Shukkal, who avers that the Akalis have borne all repression in a spirit of the utmost manliness, perseverance and non-violence. They have demonstrated the practicability of Mahatma Gandhi's principles and shown us the path of success. Will the country allow the Akalis to be crushed by an "unbridled bureaucracy"? If the brave Akalis are suppressed India will be fettered in new chains for an indefinite period. Which is the law what was violated and what is the inconvenience caused to Government if not 50 but 51 or 500 Akalis recite the Granth Sahib in the Gangsar Gurdwara? Wilson-Johnston fired upon the peaceful Jatha to uphold British prestige; but the Sikhs, who have shed their blood for the British Government in all parts of the world, can lay down their lives for their Satguru in their native land. In perpetrating barbarities at Jaito, Wilson-Johnston was only obeying the orders of Government and had no authority of his own. The shooting of the passengers of the Komagata Maru and the events of the Jallianwala Bagh, Guru-ka-Bagh and Jaito will remain undying instances of the use of the so-called minimum force. The bloody swords of Mir Mannu, Farrukh Siyar and Aurangzeb could not crush the Sikhs' love for liberty and religion. What can Wilson-Johnston or anybody else do? The Sikhs represent the strength of the Punjabi nation. All Hindu sects have always supplied recruits to them in times of trouble. It is to be regretted that Mahatma Gandhi has advised against the dispatch of more Jathas. This advice is a tactical mistake. If the writer had been in the Parbandhak Committee he would have raised his voice against it with full force. Human beings on this earth, gods in the heavens, the Tenth Guru and Bharat Mata are ready to shower flowers on the Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, pp. 93–94).

***Siyasat*, 5 March 1924**

A correspondent of the *Siyasat* justifies the dispatch of the second Shahidi Jatha, despite Mr. Gandhi's advice. The Sikhs are convinced that the best opinion of the country is with them. They assure Mr. Gandhi of their increased faith in non-violence. Akali leaders regret that the presence of a crowd gave the authorities a pretext to manufacture fiction. In future only those whose presence is absolutely necessary will be allowed to accompany the Jatha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 96).

***Akash Vani*, 9 March 1921**

The *Akash Vani* is of opinion that the Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal have not acted wisely in dispatching another Shahidi Jatha to Jaito against

Mahatma Gandhi's advice. Mahatma knows better than they the difficulties incidental to a non-violent conflict. To reject his advice is tantamount to disobeying him. The Akali suspect Lala Lajpat Rai to be responsible for the advice. They are trying to bring the Lala into discredit, in spite of the Mahatma's denial that he ever gave him any advice on the subject. We would tell them that he cannot be injured by the insult they have offered him or by their attempt to give him a bad name. It is the Akalis themselves who will be injured by these attempts. Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai are at present the most prominent leaders of the Indian people. The Akalis are losing the sympathy of the whole country by ignoring their advice and speaking ill of them. The country is with the Akalis only because the Congress, the Lala and other leaders sympathise with them. The S.G.P. Committee should carefully consider the matter respect the leaders of the country and win them over to its side. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924, No. 11, p. 107*).

9 The Third Shahidi Jatha

Akali, 5 April 1924

In another issue the paper [the *Akali*] affirms that Government is conspiring to completely annihilate the Sikh nation. Speaking figuratively, the lightning of oppression is flashing and the clouds of high-handedness are banking up. The black winds of misery have caused such darkness that one cannot, even with the help of a lamp, discover any trace of justice, humanity and gentleness. Government's high-handedness continues. Streams of blood of martyrs will flow before Government thoroughly understands that the Sikhs will not tolerate insult to their Gurus or interference in their religious affairs. The third Shahidi Jatha is on its way to end the sin and oppression prevalent in the Nabha State, which the Guru claimed as his own. The Akalis should lay down their lives to maintain the prestige of their nation, country and community. They are confronted with the problem of getting the throne or the coffin and must solve it. Elsewhere the *Akali* publishes a message from Mahkan Singh, a blind Sikh of Gujranwala, who asks his community to continue its struggle, retaliate upon the ungrateful Government and destroy this tyrannical Government by means of non-violence. The paper also publishes a message from Sadhu Singh and Sundar Singh, who have been exiled from the Frontier Province. They exhort the Sikh residents of Peshawar to carry on their agitation with the utmost vigour. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th April 1924, No. 15, p. 137*).

Bande Mataram, 9 April 1924

The *Bande Mataram's* representative at Jaito states that the Nabha, Jind and Patiala troops came back on the 5th. A motor lorry and a large number of stretchers have been brought for removing the wounded. Four or five more lorries are yet to come. Then more Lewis guns have also been imported and troops are expected from Ferozepore. A rumour is rife that it has been decided to end the Akali movement by every possible means. This is why the authorities have encamped themselves at Jaito more firmly than before. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th April 1924*, No. 15, p. 138).

Babar Sher, 11 April 1924

The *Babar Sher* alleges that the enclosure in which the members of the second Shahidi Jatha are kept contains no building or shady place. It is overgrown with grass, which abounds in snakes and other dangerous reptiles. The members of the Jatha have not so far been supplied with any coverings. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 145).

Kesari, 11 April 1924

The *Kesari* states that military preparations had been made on a vast scale. Beside a large force of foot and mounted soldiers, there was a large number of Lewis guns and machine guns on the spot. The Jathadar [Jathedar] was arrested and rendered helpless. After the Akalis had been bound and were about to be taken into the barbed wire enclosure one of them refused to go. Upon this he was lifted by six men and taken towards the enclosure by being kicked with boots. On their being taken in the members of the Jathas were deprived of water-bottles, blankets and gram. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 145).

Siyasat, 11 April 1924

The special correspondent of the *Siyasat* reports that after the arrest of the Jatha an Akali was beaten mercilessly, kicked and taken into the enclosure. The Granth Sahib was forcibly taken away from the Jatha and made over to some people of Jaito. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 145).

Akali, 13 April 1924

Writing to the *Akali*, Sardar Tara Singh and M. Fazl Haq, Members of the Punjab Legislative Council, state that they found about 60 Akalis bound with ropes and being taken to the fort by the police. They also saw an Akali, with his turban off and hair dishevelled, being dragged and kicked with hobnailed-shoes

by troops. Further, they were told that the Guru Granth Sahib had been forcibly taken from the Jatha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 145).

***Tribune*, 3 May 1924**

The *Tribune* states that Sardar Tara Singh, M.L.C., of Moga, reports certain facts about the alleged hunger strike of the third Shahidi Jatha and the death of six prisoners under certain circumstance. Whether the men died from sunstroke or from ill-treatment, the matter deserves immediate enquiry. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 173).

***Akali*, 23 May 1924**

The *Akali* calls upon the Government to issue a *communiqué* about the death at Nabha of eleven Sikhs of the third Shahidi Jatha owing to alleged ill-treatment, violence, insanitary conditions and want of medical aid. The members of the Jatha are kept in a cattle pen infested with ticks. Even a most savage Government nursing a spirit of revenge in its heart of stone could not have been guilty of such cruelty. Will this state of things continue in the British (administered) Nabha? Again, according to the Shiromani Committee's *communiqué* No. 1475 nearly all the members of the second Shadidi Jatha are lying ill in consequence of the merciless beating given them. They have injuries on their knees and their fingers have festering sores. Even the sick are kept in solitary cells and the use of foul language has become common. Elsewhere, the paper remarks that the thunder of oppression is roaring in Nabha. The third Shahidi Jatha has specially incurred the wrath of Johnston's Government. Sikhs are attaining martyrdom one after another. The news has been received that Sardar Mohindar Singh, Sardar Naunihal Singh and two other Sikhs have succumbed to the oppression and cruelty practised on them. The members of the Jatha are being beaten to make them sue for pardon and give evidence (against their brethren). But those who have already placed their heads on the palms of their hands cannot fear the blood-thirsty wolves of Nabha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 31st May 1924*, No. 22, p. 199).

***Desh Sewak*, 29 June 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* remarks that Shahidi Jathas are still being subjected to various hardships by the myrmidons of the bureaucracy, although the S.G.P. Committee has announced that they go to Jaito only to restart the *akhand path*. It seems that the bureaucracy is determined to destroy the Sikhs or make them fall away from their religion. They should take up the challenge thrown down by the hooligans of Nabha and become ready to deliver a final non-violent

attack. If the bureaucracy does not desist from unduly interfering in our religion it has no right to expect loyalty from the Sikh Panth. The Sikh leaders should consider the question of starting propoganda work for launching non-violent civil disobedience by stopping the payment of taxes in the Punjab, especially in the Sikh districts. Shahidi Jathas should preach to the people of the places through which they pass to organise themselves and make preparations to this end. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th July 1924, No. 27, pp. 231–232*).

10 Subsequent Shahidi Jathas

Gurdwara, 26 March 1924

The *Gurdwara* states that the person to whom the crown and throne of Nabha has been entrusted in place of Raja Ripudaman Singh has arrested the second Shahidi Jatha by deception. He assured the Jatha that he would arrive at a settlement with the S.G.P.C. in three days. Many days have, however, passed since. No one knows that treatment is being accorded to the second Jatha in darkness. A fourth Jatha will soon leave Anandpur and the fifth starts from Amritsar on the Baisakhi day. Jathas will next start from Panja Sahib, Nankana Sahib, Tarn Taran and Muktsar. If the Sikhs still fail in gaining their object a Jatha of 5,000 persons will start from Amritsar. If even this leads to no result, a list will be opened to record the names of those who are desirous of sacrificing themselves at the Jaito *morcha*. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th March 1924, No. 13, p. 124*).

Akali, 31 March 1924

The *Akali* states that the Sikhs have been harshly treated for the last three years, as is shown by the cases of the Golden Temple keys, Guru-k-Bagh, Bhai Pheru and Jaito. The advice to them to stop sending Jathas to Jaito cannot be acted upon until their rights are recognized. They are ever prepared for an honourable understanding with Government if it is really anxious to extend the hand of friendship to them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924, No. 14, p. 129*).

Desh Sewak, 17 April 1924

The *Desh Sewak* learns that applications from 410,000 Akali heroes have already reached the S.G.P. Committee. The applicants are entreating the Committee to enroll them in Shahidi Jathas and to prevent their being disappointed, it

is under consideration to send Jathas of 5,000 instead of 500 each. We could counsel our old friend (Government) to give up its obstinacy and let the Sikhs perform the *akhand path* at Jaito. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 155).

***Baba Sher*, 27 April 1924**

The *Baba Sher* observes that Sardar Mohinder Singh has been arrested because he is truthful, sympathises with the Panth and put up the fourth Shahidi Jatha in his bungalow. "O lovers of mammon, see how the sinful Sarkar is snatching your religious rights. ... Why do you not march into the arena of national service like Sardar Mohinder Singh? We say plainly that he is no Sikh who calls himself so and has not turned a rebel. His service has not been approved in the house of the Guru." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 163).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 28 April 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* publishes *communiqué* No. 1,299 issued by the Shiromani Committee, which says that the arrest of Sardar Mohindar Singh, the suspension of Sardar Har Chand Singh from his lambardarship and the launching of a prosecution against Sardar Jodh Singh show that the bureaucracy has resorted to the policy of subjecting even Sikh Councillors to trouble. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 160).

***Babar Sher*, 22 June 1924**

The *Babar Sher* remarks that it is perhaps for the first time that a respectable gentleman of the position of Sardar Mohindar Singh has been awarded such a severe punishment for serving his co-religionists. The bureaucracy cannot tolerate that any Sikh, high or low, should sympathise with the Akalis. Its object in practising this tyranny upon the Sardar is to cow the Sikh aristocracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924*, No. 26, p. 228).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 28 June 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* remarks that the conviction of Sardar Mohinder Singh has clearly proved that the bureaucracy looks upon every Sikh as its enemy. Those Sikhs who are desirous of getting something from it by cooperating with it should come to their senses even now. It is bent upon crushing the Sikh community. "O Sikhs – Government (civil) employés, soldiers, policemen and members of the C.I.D. – come to your senses." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th July 1924*, No. 27, p. 233).

***Babar Sher*, 9 July 1924**

Writing in a later issue the *Babar Sher* says that since the Maharaja of Nabha has been treacherously deprived of his throne by the bureaucracy a new wave has taken rise in the heart of every Sikh and the Sikh community is determined to sacrifice its life in securing atonement for this oppression. Khalsa ji, the present is the final struggle between the bureaucracy and the Sikhs. Elsewhere the paper remarks that so far nine Shahidi Jathas have left for Jaito and the tenth is about to leave; but Government has not yet receded an inch from sin. Four thousand Akalis have been arrested at Bhai Pheru, and hundreds of other Akalis have fallen preys to section 17 (a) and 17 (b), Criminal Law Amendment Act, and 124-A, Indian Penal Code, and are rotting in jails; but the Nabha question is still unsettled. The Sikh community should make desperate attempts to attain the end. Non-violence should not be given up in any case. Elsewhere, Giani Gian Singh says that it is our misfortune that whitemen became the rulers of this country. From the day they wrested the Punjab from the Sikhs they are after them, hammer and tongs. At some places they are demolishing the walls of *gurdwaras* and at others snatching the keys of the Golden Temple. Now they have dethroned the Maharaja of Nabha and are then tormenting the Sikhs by stopping the *akhandpath* in the Gangsar Gurdwara at Jaito. Elsewhere, the paper remarks that the Sikhs have been serving these whitemen of the West for eighty years. They have never spared their lives in flying all over the world the flag of these men, who are false at heart and sweet of tongue, while the Sikhs alone were the chief cause of the victory of these self-seekers during the last European War. But these false friends have forgotten all the deeds and obligations of the Sikhs and are sitting upon the bosoms of the latter and clenching their teeth to exterminate them. The royal family of Nabha has all along been rendering service to these people of white skin and Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, Malvendar Bahadru, helped these false friends during the war with lakhs of rupees and an Aeroplan, but these offspring of serpents did not hesitate to bite even such a true friend and these shameless beings turned that well-wisher and helper out of the country and themselves took possession of his State. The bureaucratic rule has now transgressed all limits and it bites him who serves it with milk. If it wants to enjoy a few days more in India, it should give up its tyrannical conduct. If it wishes its Government well, it should restore his throne to the Maharaja of Nabha with the same hands with which it wrested it; otherwise from the spart of the Nabha question will arise a conflagration which will burn the edifice of British rule to ashes. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, p. 240).

Akali, 27 July 1924

Writing to the *Akali* the Secretary of the Central Sikh League, Amritsar, reports that 5,500 Akalis have gone to Jaito in the form of eleven *shahidi* batches of 500 each. Nine of these batches have gone to jail. Five thousand Akalis went to court arrest at Bhai Pheru in batches of 25. Of these 3,400 Akalis are in jail and the rest have been released on some pretext. More than 1,000 Sikhs have been arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. More than 50 Sikhs have obtained martyrdom by sacrificing their lives for their religion as a result of firing at Jaito on the 21st February. Twenty-two Sikhs have already died owing to malaria and also because of their residing outside the Nabha Jail. More than 700 Sikhs were wounded on the bloody day, *i.e.*, 21st February, at Jaito. One hundred and Sikh leaders were arrested in batches of 49 and 56. The leaders in the second batch were awarded the horrible punishment of rigorous imprisonment. Fifteen Sikhs died owing to rigours practised on batches, each of which was composed of 25 Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924*, No. 31, p. 258).

Desh Sewak, 21 August 1924

The *Desh Sewak* remarks that even savage and barbarous countries accord gentlemanly treatment to war prisoners. During the dreadful European war Germany and Turkey, which are characterized by these Feranghis (? Englishmen) as tyrannical, captured thousands of Feranghis and Frenchmen, but returned them safe and sound to their homes on the termination of hostilities. It is held to be most cowardly, mean and satanic to practise oppression and tyranny on prisoners. But our wonder knows no bounds on finding that then Feranghis, who are in the habit of loudly boasting of their morality, came into conflict with the invincible Khalsa nation they not only threw law, justice, religion, etc., overboard, but felt not the least shame in contravening the civilized rules relating to prisoners. Such oppression is being practised on Shahidi Jathas in the Nabha Bir that the less said about it the better. They have intentionally been shut up in stinking stables, which are so overgrown with rank vegetation and are so filthy, dirty and old that centipedes, scorpions and poisonous snakes crawl about them in the same way as toadies swarm at the bungalow of a Governor. Reports of Sikhs dying daily through being bitten by poisonous snakes are coming in quick succession. It appears that the Administrator of Nabha wishes to destroy all the Sikhs by shutting up these truly beloved ones of the nation in such dangerous places (and) by separating them from one another on (divers) pretext(s) and in secrecy. This conduct on the part of the murderers

of Nabha is so inauspicious, shameful and mean that there is no parallel to it. If the Khalsa Panth had not been under the vow of non-violence, such a conflagration would have been caused in the Punjab owing to this butcherly conduct on the part of the tyrants that these satanic intriguers would have come to their sense. The oppression practised on the national moths should make the Khalsa consider what their duty is at this moment. The present time has become one of life and death for us. All the Khalsa should take the vow that as long as these tyrants are not extirpated it will be shameful for us to take rest. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924, No. 36, p. 293*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 27 October 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* learns that in order to maintain the honour and glory of the Panth and in reply to Government taunts, the Sikhs of Malwa wish to send a shahidi jatha of 500 to Jaito every month. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924, No. 44, p. 348*).

Babar Sher, 17 December 1924

The *Babar Sher* opines that if the second Shahidi Jatha also had, instead of courting arrest, advanced to be fired upon, the bureaucracy would certainly have come to its knees and apologized to the Khalsa. As it is, even twenty more Shahidi Jathas can do it no harm. Only one or two Jathas which willingly receive bullets can, however, completely kill its haughtiness. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924, No. 51, p. 401*).

11 Sudhar Sangat Jatha

Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate, 14 October 1924

The *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* disapproves of the decision of the Sudhar Committee to perform the *akhand path* after accepting the prescribed conditions. All the Panthis papers, Gurdwara Committees, Singh Sabhas and even the Chief Khalsa Diwan are against the imposition of any restrictions. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 18th October 1924, No. 42, p. 331*).

Tanzim, 24 October 1924

The *Tanzim* reports that the jatha was composed only of title-holders, their sons, military pensioners, Zaildars and Lambardars. Its dispatch to Jaito will not achieve the object which its organizers have in view nor can it afford satisfaction to the public. Government should abandon its notions of prestige and

make an honorable peace with the Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 348).

Babar Sher, 24 October 1924

The *Babar Sher* observes that the bureaucracy has been saying from the beginning that it did not interrupt *akhand path* at Jaito, and has, on that pretext, killed hundreds of Sikhs and imprisoned thousands more. The dispatch of its *jatha* to Gangsar has, however, told the world that the *path* had really been interrupted, because otherwise there was no need of sending a *jatha* to recommence it. The Sikhs, however, regard its performance by a traitorous party as another insult to their Guru and they will keep up the Jaito fight until all restrictions imposed on pilgrimage to Gangsar are removed and they are permitted to perform *akhand path* without let or hindrance. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 348).

Bande Mataram, 26 October 1924

The *Bande Mataram* states that the Sangat has been required to give an undertaking to leave the Gurdwara after the *akhand path* is over. Has anyone the right to ask any religious body to pray in its places of worship only for three days? Will any Muhammadan tolerate that he should be turned out of a mosque after three days? Does this not constitute a shameful restriction on religion? No self-respecting person ever tolerate it. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 348).

Akali, 26 October 1924

The *Akali* states that the Sudhar Sangat entered the Gurdwara after accepting all the conditions laid down by the Administrator of Nabha. One of them was that the Sangat should leave the Gurdwara after three days. No true Sikh can, however, accept this condition, which is insulting and constitutes manifest interference with the Sikh religion. The treatment meted out to the Jathedar of the Special Akali Jatha by the State authorities and the agents of the British Government shows clearly that the doors of the Gurdwara are open only to those persons who dance to the tunes of Government and are, at its instance, ready to behave treacherously towards their religion and nation. If to-day Government considers that our good behaviour consists in delivering the keys of Gurdwaras to it and that the police and the military should be posted at Gurdwaras and no one should enter them without giving a bond (*tahrir*), then it must be remembered that Hindus and Mussalmans will be similarly treated to-morrow. The paper also refers to the alleged arrest of an old lade, who was going on a visit to the Gurdwara to hear the *akhand path* and complains that

high-handed acts by the white Sarkar and black Gurdial Singh have assumed such proportions that even our mothers and sisters have begun to be arrested for the offence of going on a pilgrimage to Gurdwaras. "Khalsaji, will not your sense of honour be roused even now? How long will you continue to see the worthy sons and daughters of the tenth Guru disgraced like this? Rise and gird up your loins." As long as all the restrictions imposed upon pilgrims to the Gangsar Gurdwara are not removed and these pilgrims cannot perform their religious duties unconditionally the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee will firmly stick to this morcha. It is the duty of the Sikhs to assist the Committee with their persons and property. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 348).

Akali, 1 November 1924

The *Akali* asserts that the performance of *akhand path* by the Ghaddar (traitorous) Jatha does not end the Jaito affair. The question will be settled only when all restrictions on the performance of our religious duties are removed. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th November 1924*, No. 45, p. 355).

12 Prisoners at Nabha Bir

Akali-te-Pardesi, 18 February 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* alleges that the Sikh leaders imprisoned in the Nabha Jail are being grossly oppressed. They are required to do the hard work of pounding and have been immured in cells. Those who cannot do hard labour through weakness are subjected to still greater rigour. The Sikh prisoners have not been allowed to wash themselves during the last four months. No *Akali* in the jail is permitted to have soap. Those whose cases are *sub judice* are not tried for months and efforts are being made to induce them to apologise. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 71).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 13 April 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* complains that the convicts are being treated in a very heartless manner. They have been confined in cells furnished with hand-mills and are not allowed to come out even to ease themselves. Several of them are beaten and abused in a grossly filthy manner. Every one of them is given 18 seers of grain to grind in a separate cell, and those failing to do the task are severely beaten. Several of them have been bar-fettered for no offence. Other *Akalis* also are treated in the same manner. Those who fail to grind the full quantity of grain are beaten with shoes and sticks. Their holy *keshas* and beards are

also pulled. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924, No. 16, p. 145*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 14 May 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that report of the death in the Nabha Bir of eight Sikhs have so far been received. Efforts are being made to keep secret the facts as to how these Sikhs died and what is happening to other members of the Shahidi Jatha confined in the Bir. Further reports say that no medicine is administered to the sick. The bureaucracy has, instead of shooting down the Sikhs, hit on the tyrannical idea of killing them in jails by subjected them to rigours. Bureaucratic rule is synonymous with lawlessness and injustice. Every advocate of peace and order based on justice should sacrifice his all to replace the present bureaucratic Government by a democratic one. We pray to God to end such a sinful *raj*. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924, No. 20, pp. 183–184*).

Pritam, 28 May 1924

The *Pritam* states that very horrible and soul-consuming reports of oppression practised on Akali prisoners in Nabha are pouring in. It appears as if a bitter vengeance is being wreaked on the prisoners at the instance of the bureaucracy. Many Sikhs have died, many have fallen ill, many are like half-dead men and many have given up taking food. The end of the bureaucracy will draw nearer in proportion of the increase in the oppression practised. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 7th June 1924, No. 23, p. 204*).

Milap, 26 July 1924

The *Milap* refers to the conviction of Sardar Mohindar Singh, M.L.C., for supplying comforts to the Shahidi Jatha and enquiries if it is really an offence to extend one's hand to help the Shahidi Jatha. If so why was this law not enforced against Chaudhri Shahab Din, President, and members of the Lahore Municipal Committee, who supplied comforts to the Shahidi Jatha on a much larger scale than Sardar Mohindar Singh? Justice demands that either Sardar Mohindar Singh's sentence should be remitted or Chaudhri Shahab Din and other members of the Lahore Municipal Committee should be brought within the clutches of law. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924, No. 31, p. 260*).

Desh Sewak, 31 August 1924

The *Desh Sewak* remarks that in their struggle with the Khalsa community the British, who proudly call themselves a free people, feel no shame in violating

the jail rules. Unbearable tortures are being practised on Shahidi *jathas* in the Nabha Bir. The *jathas* are confined in insanitary stables infested with centipedes, scorpions and venomous snakes. Reports of deaths from snake-bites are frequent, while the Administrator is always eager severely to belabour the members of *jathas* in secret on some pretense or other. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd August 1924*, No. 34, pp. 276–277).

***Punjab Darpan*, 19 September 1924**

The *Punjab Darpan* states that the horrors perpetrated on the Akalis in the Nabha Bir are indescribable. Owing to the absence of a drain, urine and dirty water passes through the kitchen and hundreds of Akalis are lying ill in consequence. And when the doctor is requested to supply medicine he replies that they should tender an apology, that being the only medicine available there. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 27th September 1924*, No. 39, p. 312).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 26 November 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* writes that although we have become tired of exposing the untold and unbearable hardships to which the Shahidi *Jathas* are subjected in the Nabha Bir under the British Government, it appears that the tyrannical and ruthless bureaucracy has not yet been moved at all. Reports of the death of a Sikh or two are still received daily. The latest report is that two members of the Seventh Shahidi *Jatha* dies of pneumonia on the 8th and 12th November, respectively, and that chill, cough and fever are getting prevalent in the Bir. It is very strange that the Sikhs who have been arrested for having gone on pilgrimage to the Gangsar Gurdwara are supplied with insufficient blankets and good food is not provided, while the sick are not attended to. This clearly means that Government has determined to end the Shahidi *Jathas* by subjecting them to tortures. The bureaucracy is digging its own grave by committing such brutal and butcherly acts. By subjecting Shahidi *Jathas* to tortures, it wants in reality to incite the Sikhs, so that they may get out of control and begin to cause bloodshed and practise violence, so as to provide it with an opportunity to crush the Sikh Panth. When repression was practised at Guru-ka-Bagh some desperate youths, who could not bear to see such repression, had recourse to violence. We would, however, request the Khalsa not to become excited on hearing reports of deaths and repression in the Nabha Bir. They should, on the other hand, go on suffering hardships calmly. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th November 1924*, No. 48, p. 377).

Quami Dard, 27 November 1924

The *Quami Dard* states that an official list of the Akalis confined in the Punjab jails and Nabha Bir has recently appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the mouthpiece of Government. We have been stunned to learn from it that there are only 5,183 prisoners in the Nabha Bir, whereas there number must have been over 6,000. This means that 800 Akalis are missing. The bureaucracy has not stated where these 800 brethren or ours are. The "criminal silence" maintained in the matter by this blood-thirsty bureaucracy shows that several of these innocent men might have suffered death through tortures inflicted by it. This unreasonable wish of a bureaucracy has acquired the habit of practising so many rigours on us that it neither cares for its illegal actions nor does it consider its butcherly behaviour to be a sin. No day passes when reports of the death of two or three Sikhs from among those confined in the Nabha Bir are not received. It is a great wonder that the Sikhs arrested on the charge of having gone on pilgrimage to the Gangsar Gurdwara are not supplied with sufficient blankets to protect them from cold. Does this mean that Government is bent on thus torturing to death the religious minded persons confined in jails for no offence? "O tyrannical and butcherous bureaucratic witch, remember that the blood of these innocent persons must bear fruit some day. The boat of thy oppression and sin has now been filled to the brim. The day is drawing very near when the harrowing sighs of the orphans and widows left by the Sikhs who have suffered martyrdom at thy hands will involve thy sinful boat in wreck and ruin." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924, No. 49, p. 386*).

Babar Sher, 6 December 1924

The *Babar Sher* complains that the administration is wholly indifferent about the reports of excesses committed in the Nabha Bir. It can be concluded that, following the instructions of the bureaucracy, it is killing the Akalis of set purpose. They have been supplied with only one blanket each for nights of intense cold and the result is that many of them have contracted bronchitis and pneumonia and several have passed away. The food given to them is unfit for human consumption, while the sick are furnished neither the light diet nor medicines. In the forest jail, where half the Akalis are ill, there are only 30 beds in the hospital and the remaining sick prisoners have to lie on the ground, whereby their condition is becoming worse day by day. Is the bureaucracy treating these religious prisoners with so much rigour and oppression because it regards the Akali movement as a danger to the State or because there is nobody to take

count of its misdeeds? What right has a Government to imprison people when it is unable to provide food, clothing and lodging for them? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th December 1924*, No. 50, pp. 394–395).

***Quami Dard*, 6 December 1924**

The *Quami Dard* says that such heartless and oppressive treatment is being meted out to 6,000 Akali heroes in the barracks in the Nabha Bir which were formerly reserved for cattle that it makes one's hair stand on end. The Shiromani Committee has received a report to the effect that 4,600 blankets have been supplied to the prisoners. This means that all of them cannot get even one blanket each. Moreover, these blankets are thin and of small size. Over 103 Sikhs have already died of pneumonia, chill and cough or fever for want of blankets and 150 more are on the verge of death for the same reason. Further, our correspondent reports that the Sikh prisoners in the Nabha Saddar Jail have been on hunger strike for the last four days. If this painful state of affairs continues, these prisoners might also expire. Whatever may happen, however, Government does not care a straw. Will the bureaucratic witch rest only after devouring all our brethren in this way? The press has long been crying over the matter, but this blind and deaf Government does not want to look into or listen to anybody's complaints. To whom should we then complain? We implore God to preserve the honour of His saints and annihilate this tyrannical bureaucracy soon. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th December 1924*, No. 50, p. 395).

***Zamindar*, 8 December 1924**

The *Zamindar* states that according to Sardar Mangal Singh, 14,000 Sikhs have so far been subjected to gross repression by the Nabha administration. They are arrested without warrants and not put on trial. Thousands of human beings have been thus unlawfully thrown into jail under the lawless law of autocracy. Further, these unlucky people are confined in places where the laws of sanitation are not observed and where the police and jail officials mete out extremely barbarous treatment to them, with the result that 130 of them have died during the last few months. The autocratic authorities of Nabha and the agent of Lord Reading's Government alone are responsible for these horrible incidents. Indians should raise an effective voice of protest against this clear injustice, oppression and autocracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th December 1924*, No. 50, p. 395).

Kirpan Bahadur, 18 December 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* states that reports received by the Intelligence Department of the S.G.P. Committee show that in order to render them irreligious, the Akalis confined in Nabha are served with food which has bones and tobacco mixed in it. Will not British rule be destroyed by such actions? Is this not direct interference in religion? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924, No. 51, pp. 402-403*).

Religious Ideologies and Responses

1 Religious Interference and Insults

Singh Sahai, 14 May 1890

The same paper [the *Singh Sahai*] in its issue of the 14th May 1890, in an article on the incarnation of Guru Nanak and the necessity felt by his disciples of bringing their co-religionists into a military disposition, states that when the Sikh *Gurus* were prohibited from preaching their religion during the Mogul period and were troubled in many ways they felt obliged to adopt measures in order to defend their religion and to prepare their co-religionists to withstand their enemies. The foundation of the reform was laid by *Guru* Hargobind. At last *Guru* Gobind Singh formed the Sikhs into a military force, and this resulted in the establishment of Sikh rule. But the Sikhs lost their kingdom by neglecting their religious duties. They can, however, better their position by avoiding such neglect. The writer then advises the Sikhs to strictly follow the teachings of their religion, and remarks: "Every ruler who desires the stability of his rule should not interfere with any religion. The British rule has hitherto flourished because no religion is interfered with. But, when interference is made in religion, disturbances are sure to take place to which no other reason can be assigned but disrespect shown to that religion." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 31st May 1890*. Vol. III, No. 22, p. 190).

Punjab Darpan, 27 July 1921

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 27th July says that when the Sikhs passed in order through the hills of Gallipoli the battle-fields of France and Mesopotamia, shouting Sat Sri Akal and reciting hymns, the English officers rejoiced to see them and tossed up their hats in the air to express their joy. But now when Sikh parties go to serve their Gurdwaras reciting hymns, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, a responsible English officer, takes exception to this. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 6th August 1921, No. 31, p. 337).

Pardesi Khalsa, 10 April 1922

A correspondent of the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 10th April thinks that the Government appears to be dominated by the idea that by sending detachments of

the military and the police into the villages and insulting their religious books, as was done in the Ludhiana jail, the Akali heroes will give up their principles. It does not perhaps know that they are the descendants of those martyrs who were dismembered, were sawn through, and gave their lives cheerfully to remove tyranny and free their religion while they remained perfectly non-violent. The Government should remove its misunderstanding and not court trouble for nothing. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd April 1922. No. 16, p. 192).

Punjab Darpan, 13 April 1922

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 13th April refers to the Akali Dal's resolutions about the religious insults alleged to have been offered to the Sikhs at different places and says that the Government should clear its position, not by denying the allegations on the reports of its officers but by appointing an impartial committee to enquire into them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th April 1922. No. 17, p. 202).

Akali, 22 April 1922

The *Akali* of the 22nd April asserts that the bureaucracy is opposing the Akali movement more than ever. The Akalis are being singled out and arrested in the villages and a storm of repression is raging everywhere. The police and other Government officers are openly insulting *keshas*, the Siri Guru Granth Sahib and the religious feelings of the Sikhs. Again, the *kirpan* is a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy, which wishes to wrest it from the Sikhs by diverse tricks. The *Akali* fully realizes its heavy responsibility and onerous duties at this critical times and will try its best to fulfil them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th April 1922. No. 17, p. 203).

Pardesi Khalsa, 3 May 1922

Writing to the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 3rd May, GYANI SHER SINGH observes that it has been said for a long time past that no one's religion is insulted at the time of his arrest. The news has, however, been received from Rawalpindi that in arresting Bhai Amar Singh the police doffed his turban and he arrived in court bare-headed. Again, reports from Lyallpur jail have caused a shock to the people. With what heartlessness the small turbans of the Sikh prisoners there were removed! The convicts were even beaten and the heart of the Sikh community was rent through disrespect being shown to their long hair. People are also being imprisoned and beaten for shouting *Sat Siri Akal!* Moreover, although the Akali Jathas have never been banned, still their members have been thrust

into jails as members of unlawful assemblies. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 13th May 1922. No. 19, p. 224).

Pardesi Khalsa, 19 May 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 19th May is confident that the Khalsa, who immolates himself for religion, will shatter the hope of Government that the Akali movement has been suppressed. It should be declared that we are all Akalis and no Government has any right to dishonour the Sikh religion by suppressing the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 27th May 1922. No. 21, p. 244).

Loyal Gazette, 6 August 1922

Referring to the reply given by Sir John Maynard to the question put by Rai Singh Lala Thakur Das regarding the pulling of an Akali Sikh's beard by Mr. Prance, Assistant Superintendent of Police, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 6th August says that with the warning given to Mr. Prance, the insult offered to religion cannot be atoned. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 12th August 1922. No. 32, p. 379).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 11 September 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 11th September 1922 writes: – “O beloved of the Bazanwala Guru! The mean one, for whom you ruined yourselves, is to-day thirsting for your blood. The coward, whom you extricated from the clutches of death, is to-day shooting arrows at your breast like a hunter. The henchman of the faithless Government, which you saved from extinction in 1857, are to-day dragging your children by their sacred *keshas*. The tyrant not only beats us but also interferes in our religion.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 456).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 22 March 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 22nd March says that the subjection of Sikhs to barbarous tortures is described in their history, but that nowhere in it is there any mention about the pulling of *keshas*, flogging of prisoners, starving them or confining them in solitary cells. The tyrannies perpetrated at Guru-ka-Bagh are also unprecedented. Is there no remedy for these oppressions? Only two courses are open to us. We should either submit to Satanic forces or end the days of this oppressive bureaucracy. It has lost all sense of shame and it is useless to go on writing or speaking against it. Those Sikhs are greatly mistaken who think that the bureaucracy might come to an honourable settlement with

them by releasing Sikh prisoners. On the contrary, it is thinking of disgracing us, and as long as the reins of the administration are in the hands of men like Sir John Maynard we should hope for no honourable settlement. We appeal to the Khalsa finally to break away with the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 31st March 1923. No. 13, pp. 167–168).

Babar Sher, 14 February 1924

In a still later issue, the paper [the *Babar Sher*] publishes a letter from Narinder Singh, Assistant Secretary, District Gurdwara Committee, Lahore, who states that in consequence of the Akalis having raised shouts of victory on the occasion of the recent visit of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore to Kahna warrants were forthwith issued for their arrest. Such is the courage of Government, which boasts of cannon and aeroplanes. It cannot tolerate *jaikaras* and feels no shame in suppressing the religious shouts of the Sikhs. It now behoves the Khalsas of the Manjha to repeat their past history in gold characters and upset the machinery of the bureaucracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 65).

Akali, 5 April 1924

Commenting upon the *fracas* between Hindus and Sikhs at Amritsar on the occasion of the Holi, the *Akali* remarks that those who keep India a slave and suck its blood know full well that religion is an effective weapon for them to break national solidarity with. After its success in bringing Hindus and Muhammadans to blows, the bureaucratic Government is trying to foment a strife between Hindus and Sikhs. The leaders of both should be on the alert, lest national unity be marred in the very struggle for national freedom. The Hindus and the Sikhs who fight with each other should be considered to be outside the pole of religion. The leaders must not allow mischief-makers to raise their heads. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th April 1924*, No. 15, p. 138).

Akali, 29 August 1924

The *Akali* urges the Sikhs to decide whether they want life or death. Government has put this question in clear words. If they wish to live like human beings, they should become ready to make sacrifices. Government cannot tolerate that they should perform their religious duties in *gurdwaras*. It therefore begun to appoint non-Sikhs as receivers of *gurdwaras* in order to grant its henchmen possession of those places. If they remain silent at this juncture, all their sacrifices will go in vain. They should rise and prove to Government and its

henchmen that they are alive and can in no way tolerate that any non-Sikh should interfere in their religion. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 290).

***Akali*, 15 October 1924**

The *Akali* remarks that the *Gores Shahi* Sarkar (Government of the whites) used to make secret efforts to crush the religious feelings and views of Indians. And as the latter put up with these in silence, the authorities have become so emboldened that they have now begun to act open and fearlessly. If we still remain silent, the day will come when all temples, mosques, gurdwaras and other places of worship will become the property of Government and Indians will have to obtain licenses for performing *pujas* or saying *namas*. We should not tolerate any interference with our religion and should make all sorts of sacrifices for it. The life and death of the Sikh community is bound up with the *morcha* at Jaito. So long as a single Sikh remains alive, he will not tolerate interference with his religion and the performance of his religious duties. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 18th October 1924*, No. 42, p. 330).

***Akali*, 18 October 1924**

In its next issue, the paper [the *Akali*] remarks that the services rendered by the Sikhs to this ungrateful bureaucracy will be recorded in bold characters not only in the history of India, but also in that of the world. But what have the Sikhs received in return for these services? Bombs were thrown on them, they were shot with machine-guns, attempts were made to drown them in rivers, blows from *lathis* were showered on their heads, their beards and sacred hair were pulled and the Granthis engaged in the *akhand path* (at Jaito) were imprisoned. In short, there is no misery and trouble which the bureaucracy has not inflicted on them. The Sikh religion is being shamefully interfered with and the meanest oppressions are being practised on the Khalsa. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 18th October 1924*, No. 42, pp. 330–331).

2 **A Religious Struggle and War**

***Akali*, 27 November 1921**

SUNDAR SINGH of Lyallpur contributes an article, headed “The war of Swaraj,” to the *Akali* of the 27th November. The writer says the proper and only way of obtaining swaraj is that we should feel a firm and unalterable longing for putting an end to the existence of foreign rule. We are engaged in a religious war.

We should consider the life and honour of a white-skinned man or woman as sacred as we consider the lives and honour of our brothers and sisters. The rulers are misguided persons and are inebriated with the wine of wealth. If they consider you as strangers and shoot you and shed your blood, are they not sinners and irreligious? But although the Sikh religion holds it lawful that a tyrannical butcher should be killed in order to save the lives of many weak people, cows and helpless persons, still this is permitted only when all other measures fail. The time has not as yet come when the Sikhs should wield the sword. The sword should be used when the parties are equal. But while we are unarmed and helpless, the bureaucracy has an army and police equipped with machine-guns, guns, cannon and bombs. This is like a conflict between cows and lions. At present, we are in the thick of the war and in the midst of the most vigorous conflict. We shall not rest until we bring the conflict to an end. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 10th December 1921, No. 49. 532).

***Punjab Darpan*, 30 March 1922**

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 30th March says that the Akali movement was purely religious and intended to reform *gurdwaras* under the Parbandhak Committee's orders. The policy of repression pursued by the Government shows that it wishes to weaken the Committee's position by weakening the Akali movement. At some places it forms local committees, consisting of Sikhs of its own choice, with the object of shattering the authority of the Parbandhak Committee. At others attempts are being made to take *gurdwaras* back from the Committee by a display of the military and the police. Indeed, in some places they have actually retaken. Elsewhere whole-sale arrests are being made, and the result of all this will be that the religious Akali movement will automatically be converted into a political propaganda. The Government will have to rue one day that it had lost a community, which had been loyally and devotedly serving it for seventy years, merely under a suspicion. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th April 1922. No. 15, p. 186).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 6 April 1922**

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 6th April publishes a letter from KARTAR SINGH, Assistant Secretary, Akali *Dal*, Guru-ka-Bagh, Amritsar. He says that in these days when wholesale arrests, particularly of Akalis, are being made enlistment in the Akali *Dal* should, instead of slackening, receive an impetus. Every one should take *amrit* and step into the field. All sorts of troubles should now be borne, seeing that the hour of victory is near. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th April 1922. No. 15, p. 186).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 31 August 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 31st August writes that there was a time when the tyrannical Mir Mannu had stopped all inlets to Amritsar to prevent the Sikhs from visiting the Golden Temple. But the heroic nation which is religious to the core did not pay the slightest heed to his order. The same state of affairs prevails now under the regime of those who boast of civilization, who are educated and intelligent but who are the false followers of Christ. Simple-minded people say that peace prevails under British rule. O brother! What sort of rule is that under which there is no place for religion and which opposes the religious and supports the rogues? We do not pray to Lord Reading or Sir Edward Maclagan, for they neither listen to us nor do they possess any power. They are mere puppets that dance as they are directed. We are helpless and oppressed and we pray to Almighty God alone. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 426).

Partap, 14 September 1922

The *Partap* of the 14th September anticipates that in the spiritual war at the Guru-ka-Bagh the Government shall suffer a defeat. It has the right to arrest any one who, in its opinion, breaks the law, but it has not right to beat and inflict injuries. In consideration, at least, of the meritorious services which the Sikhs rendered to the Government in its hour of need it should not stand in the way of their reforming the Gurdwaras. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 459).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 25 October 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 25th October remarks that the bureaucracy is steadily coming under the influence of Satan. Its threat that it has instructed the Inspector-General of Prisons to arrange for the accommodation of five to ten thousand more prisoners has met with a practical response from the Sikh military pensioners, who have shown that they care nothing for their pensions and are ready to sacrifice themselves for their Guru. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, p. 542).

Gargaj Akali, 11 February 1923

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 11th February says that after giving up the duty of administering justice and ignoring its 70 years' old friendship with the Sikhs, the bureaucracy helped the Mahants against the Sikhs. Finding the Mahants too weak for its purpose, however, it now openly stands arrayed against the Sikhs to crush the Gurdwara reform movement. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 17th February 1923. No. 7, p. 99).

***Desh Sewak*, 8 June 1923**

The *Desh Sewak* of the 8th June says that, like other communities, the Sikhs also find religion and politics to be at variance with each other. This separation of the two is regrettable and repugnant to the dignity of the Sikh community. We can remain religious without having the Nankana Sahib or any other Gurdwara in our possession; but we cannot be called religious if we see unmoved a human being in suffering or a lady being insulted. "O Sikh nation! Realise thy chief religious duty. Crores of Indians, creatures of God, are suffering and starving before thy eyes. The Gurdwaras can be emancipated, afterwards and their dilapidated buildings (re-) erected. If thou wilt leave off the affairs of the Gurdwaras at this juncture and help suffering and helpless humanity, thy religion will increase to three or four times its present extent." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 16th June 1923. No. 24, pp. 309–310).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 June 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 30th June ask how the bureaucracy can tolerate our organization, which has proved very injurious to it. The Sikhs also are not angels and cannot forget the Guru-ka-Bagh beating, the Panja Sahib and Rawalpindi tragedies, the oppression (practised on their co-religionists) in jails, the use of insulting language towards Guru Gobind Singh, the pulling of their *keshas* and beards, etc. The (bureaucracy's) dispute now is not about the reform of the Gurdwaras but about our organization. It wants to undo it and to crush us so that we may not be able to raise our heads again. The bureaucracy said during the days of the Guru-ka-Bagh: "Either we shall remain or the Sikhs." Matters have now come to such a pass that either we shall remain or the bureaucratic system of Government. Neither we can have any settlement with it, nor can mutual confidence be restored. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 7th July 1923. No. 27, p. 344).

***Desh Sewak*, 27 July 1923**

The *Desh Sewak* of the 27th July remarks that no Sikh can now be unaware that bureaucratic oppression has reached its climax and that blow after blow is being dealt, not only to the Sikh community, but to the whole of India. The flood of oppression is rising and there is no likelihood of its ebbing away. It is, therefore, impossible to believe that we shall have any settlement with the bureaucracy or that we can do any work of reform under its *regime*. The attitude of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has from the very beginning been that its object is to reform the Gurdwaras and that this can be done under the bureaucracy. To our mind this is not right. In the first place, Gurdwara reform means nothing if you leave alone the suffering and starving

creatures of God. We have to preach Sikhism to other communities. Just as Guru Tegh Bahadur laid down his life for suffering humanity and Guru Gobind Singh sacrificed his four sons in the same cause, so we too can preach Sikhism only by sacrificing ourselves for others. The bureaucracy wants to exterminate the Sikhs. If the latter wish to maintain their existence, they should aim at extirpating the bureaucracy. Mere Gurdwara reform (and that at the hands of the bureaucracy) cannot save our existence. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, pp. 403-404).

Babar Sher, 17 August 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 17th August states that during the days of the Guruka-Bagh incident a respectable Sikh gentleman asked of a responsible myrmidon of the bureaucracy under what law Government officers pulled the long hair and beards of the Sikhs. The reply given was that the Sarkar was at war with the Sikhs and no laws were observed in war. We think, therefore, that the act of taking possession of Nabha also falls under the same category. But we ask of the bureaucracy, which claims to be the chief of civilized nations, whether or not an ultimatum is necessary before the proclamation of war. The Sikhs are crying for justice, considering themselves to be the subjects of the British Government; but the bureaucracy interprets their agitation as war and is proving faithless to its subjects. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 25th August 1923. No. 34, p. 438).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 24 October 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 24th October observes that although the bureaucracy has laid its hand upon the Khalsa, yet it has already become nonplussed. We are aware that in a fit of petulance it will fall upon us but its opponents too are no women. "Khalsaji, our whole past and future history depends upon this (new) morcha. Exterminate bureaucratic rule from here. So long as it exists, we can have no sound sleep. We inform the autocratic Lord Reading that attempts to conceal the truth will never be successful. The world will not find out who is the conspirator, whether the Shiromani Committee has engineered a conspiracy of Daya Kishan at the instigation of the officers of the Government of India. Khalsaji, form peripatetic jathas and tour in the villages and do such propaganda work that at a given signal payment of all taxes may be stopped. Convince the people how this clever bureaucracy wants to keep us in slavery by making us irreligious." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 582).

***Akali*, 25 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 25th October publishes a leader headed "The Executioner's dagger! A question of life and death for the Khalsa Panth." The unnatural, foreign and narrow-minded Government of India, says the editor, does not desire that Indians should possess warm hearts and reflective intellects. The Government regards only that man as loyal who has wooden brains and a stony heart. It rewards such loyalty by grant of land, jagirs and cash. It desires that the person who is loyal to it should sell to it his conscience, faith and religion. The *gurdwaras* were in the possession of men whose lives and consciences were under its control. The position of the Mahants resembled that of ordinary Jagirdars and Raisas. The kitchen (*langar*) of the Guru was utilized to provide banquets to the officials. The magnificent building of the *gurdwaras* were excellent bungalows for the authorities. It was necessary for a Mahant to please the powers that be and when this point was gained, nobody could look askance at him. People could not complain even if their daughters and daughters-in-law were dishonoured in religious temples and if prostitutes danced and drunkenness prevailed in the holy precinct. The Khalsa saw this destruction of his religion with bloodstained eyes and decided that the management of the *gurdwaras* should in future rest not with the authorities but with the Panth. The sacrifices which the Khalsa offered to gain this end form a brilliant chapter in the history of martyrdom in India, and now Government has begun to attack *gurdwaras* under the pretext of the Nabha affair. How false and shameful it is that it should declare the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Akali Dal to be unlawful assemblies and yet boldly disclaim interference with the reform of the *gurdwaras*! We wonder whether law, justice and statesmanship have suffered bankruptcy. We know that India is helpless and in the grip of oppression. But if we remain alive, we shall live as Wah Guru's Khalsa or Guru Gobind Singh's sons. It is better to die than lead lives of degradation, faithlessness and dishonour. Our religion, our *gurdwaras*, the blood of our martyrs and the sacred bones of our ancestors form our spiritual and sacred wealth. It will be an accursed and shameful life if we remain alive after squandering away this wealth. We prefer death to such a life. O Hindu and Mussalman brethren, truth and faith are being murdered before your eyes. The present attack has been delivered not merely on religious liberty but also on the honour, self-respect and conscience of the whole country. How oppressive it is that the myrmidons of the bureaucracy should stop the *akhandpath* of Granth Sahib, the holding of religious diwans and pilgrimage to the *gurdwara*. If there be truth anywhere, the imaginary powers of pride will be assuredly destroyed. The Government

has made an attack on the martyrs and the honour of Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Religion is being destroyed and the dagger of the executioner is striking at Sat Guru's breast. It is for them now to preserve the honour of religion. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, pp. 580–581).

Akali, 29 October 1923

The *Akali* of the 29th October says that Lord Reading keeps the sword of oppression concealed in the wrapper of law and justice. The cunning, treachery, deception and threats of repression employed by the Government of India to bring about the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha will probably be disclosed in the trial of the case instituted against the Sikh leaders. The unpardonable offence committed by the Shiromani Committee is that it ventured to declare the truth. The bloodthirsty and beastly agents of Lord Reading sprinkled salt in the wounded hearts of the Sikh Panth by disgracing the *Akhand Path* and the Gangsar Gurdwara at Jaito. Upon this *jathas* went there and the whole *jathbandi* of the Khalsa was declared seditious in reply. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a very loyal friend of the Government and remained so till his death. But how did the British Government appreciate this old friendship in the case of the Maharaja's innocent and minor son, Prince Dalip Singh? His religion and State were robbed in the name of friendship. The Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal have been declared to be seditious for visiting the *gurdwaras* for which the Maharaja sacrificed his life and property. "You have the sword in your hand. This very sword was in our hands one day. Being the masters of the sword you are proud of your power and describe innocence as weakness and love for religion as rebellion. O Master of the Two Worlds! There is none to do justice to us except Thee. The Chief Justice of this earth has shown the sword in reply to our sighs."

Elsewhere the paper publishes an open letter to the Sikh *raises*, Sardars and Maharajas, which says that the prestige for the Khalsa Panth and the honour of *gurdwaras* are in danger in consequence of the arrest of the latter's servants and the great repression practised on the Sikhs. This has affected every follower of Sikhism who has Sikh blood in his veins or Guru Gobind Singh's *amrit* in his blood. Great indignation prevails among Sikhs over the unjust proceedings taken by Government and the community is determined to sacrifice its last pie and last drop of blood, if necessary, to prevent *gurdwaras* being disgraced or the Panth getting a bad name. "O sons of Sikhs, the Khalsa Panth expects you to remain faithful at this critical moment. See that no one plays a dodge with you and you do not prove traitors to your Panth. If you are energetic, you should take your stand in the lines of your helpless Akali brethren to oppose the efforts

which are being made to disintegrate the organization of the Panth and upset the management of *gurdwaras*. But if you are unfortunately unable to do so, you should not at least oppose your Panth and Guru and should have no connection with people who are hostile to their Guru. Otherwise, you will be held responsible for the murder of Guru Gobind Singh." Maharaja Bhupindra Singh got Maharaja Ripudaman Singh deposed and had innocent Akalis sent to jails by joining hands with the bureaucracy. He has made the Sikh community suffer irreparable loss at the hands of a non-Sikh Minister. The Khalsa Panth will forgive this, but he should know that if he joins forces with the bureaucracy to increase the present troubles of the Khalsa Panth, his name will be remembered with hatred in history. Maharaja Jagjit Singh is asked to lend a helping hand to the Panth at the present juncture, to take no part in any Government propaganda against the Panth and not to help the bureaucracy in ruining the Shiromani Committee or appointing a new Committee. Sikh Sardars should tell the bureaucracy by beat of drum that they will not allow the *jathabandi* of the Panth to be undone and a change to be made in the management of *gurdwaras* against the wishes of the Panth. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 10th November 1923. No. 45, pp. 593-594).

***Akali*, 31 October 1923**

In another place the paper [the *Akali*] says that *Diwali* and Nankana fairs are drawing near. Who will managed them? The Akali Dal and the Shiromani Committee are seditious bodies. There is no know what mischief and uproar will be caused at these fairs by the unscrupulous agents of the Government. This is the time for the Panth to exercise vigilance. The treasure of religion which was secured with the blood of martyrs is being looted. The gift of Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak Dev is being forcibly seized from us. Sikhs should assure Government that until forty lakhs of them are blown away with bombs, machine guns and aeroplanes the *jathabandi* of the Panth will not come to an end, nor will *gurdwaras* pass into the hands of Government's agents. God, who gave his helping hand to Prahlad, still exists. God, who saved Prophet Moses from the tyranny of Pharoah, will protect the Sikhs also. He who lent strength to Guru Gobind Singh will not let them die. The whole world and twenty crore Indians are not so callous that the blood of the Sikhs community should be shed and no one shall call the agents of Government to account. Even if it be supposed that we shall die, the death of bravery is preferable to a life of cowardice. The Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal have been declared rebellious bodies. We accept this charge of rebellion. The Khalsa should remain non-violent, keep their minds and bodies under control

and go on sacrificing themselves for *Akhand Path*. Victory will assuredly be on their side. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 10th November 1923. No. 45, p. 594).

***Akali*, 1 November 1923**

The *Akali* of the 1st November remarks that if the thought of liberty plain speaking and national *jathabandi* constitute rebellion, all Sikhs are rebels. In civilized countries, it is a crime to call such lawful and constitutional acts by the name of rebellion or sedition. The authorities know that neither the Shiromani Committee nor the Akali Dal is rebellious. They only wish to crush our national *jathabandi*. The time has now come when Indians in general and Sikhs in particular should impress on the authorities that they are not prepared to accept shamelessness and cowardice as being synonymous with loyalty. According to a moderate Sikh, there is only one more test for his co-religionists to undergo, namely, that Government should shoot unarmed and peaceful people. We can confidently assert that the sons of Gobind Singh will smilingly offer themselves as targets for bullets. If Government fires and we accept the "reward" by remaining non-violent, the time will come when this proud and powerful Government will be put to shame. The Akalis appeal to all educated "brethren" in the name of the Sat Guru to leave off their private work and enter the field of national service by binding shrouds over their heads. Nearly all Sikhs are shedding tears of blood at the sight of the beastly and brutal oppression practised by the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 10th November 1923. No. 45, p. 594).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 14 November 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* reminds the Khalsa that they are engaged in a struggle for life and death with the bureaucracy. Young men should resign their posts and volunteer their services to the Shiromani Committee. The paper retains that history is repeating itself, as during Mughul rule those who furnished supplies to the Sikhs were punished and the Sikhs were prevented from attending the Diwali at Amritsar. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th November 1923*, No. 47, pp. 612–613).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 23 November 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* thinks that in the eyes of a foreign Government religion and sedition are synonymous terms and it is not surprising at the bureaucracy having dubbed the whole Sikh community as an unlawful body. It is the duty of every Sikh to gird up his loins to maintain the dignity of his religion and be

ready to sacrifice his all. The paper which believes the Government is persecuting the Sikhs to destroy Sikhism, exhorts the Panth to enlist in Akali jathas and subscribe to national funds. It affirms that every Sikh child is at present ready to offer his last sacrifice for the cause of Swaraj and assures Hindus and Muhammadans that the allegations of Government men that Sikhs want to establish their own rule in the Punjab is absolutely false. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st December 1923*, No. 49, p. 628).

Akali, 2 December 1923

Several articles have appeared on the much discussed question of the relations between government and the people, especially the Akalis. The *Akali* writes that the Government has become old and is at the point of death. It strongly appeals to Indians, especially Akalis, to take charge of their work. They should always be on the alert, because it is not known when the life of the Government will be taken out by the Angel of Death. They should be firm in their religion and, trusting in God, take the administration of country into their hands. Their religion cannot be safe as long as the bureaucratic Government exists. They should throw the yoke of slavery off their necks and liberate their ancestral home. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th December 1923*, No. 50, p. 636).

Akali, 9 December 1923

The *Akali* observes that there is no oppression or rigour which is not being practised on the Sikhs by the co-called civilized foreign Government. Efforts are to-day being made to sweep them out of existence, but this has not terrified them. The bureaucracy will itself be swept out of existence in trying to end the days of the Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th December 1923*, No. 51, p. 644).

Akali, 10 December 1923

In its next issue the paper [the *Akali*] says that in the opinion of Government both the Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal are engaged in seditious work, but he is the real rebel who in order to fill the stomach of a few persons causes the whole creation of God to writhe in pain and after turning away people from His worship is engaged in making slaves of them. All these acts are being committed by our foreign bureaucracy. It should now leave bag and baggage. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th December 1923*, No. 51, p. 644).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 13 January 1924

In a subsequent issue the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] observes that it was already convinced that the bureaucracy was bent upon destroying Sikhism. If any brother had still any doubt about the bureaucracy interfering in the Sikh faith he should now lay it aside. The only question before the Sikhs is whether they will be able to keep their religion alive or the bureaucracy will be successful in destroying it. Time has come when the community should be ready to make its last sacrifice. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924, No. 3, pp. 26–27*).

Desh Sewak, 27 January 1924

The *Desh Sewak* writes: – “When we turn the pages of the history of the Feranghi Raj (in India) and look at the old and new tactics of the bureaucracy, we come to know that if there is any cowardly and lily-livered bureaucracy it is the Feranghi one. It is the most selfish and faithless bureaucracy in the whole world. It possesses only two weapons, *viz.*, gold and force, to keep Indian in subjection to satisfy its lust for power and pelf. When both these fail it feels non-plussed. Hence, O Khalsaji, you should carefully feel the pulse of the Feranghar and remember this formula that you should never fear the Feranghi Government, but should rather confound it, when victory will be assuredly yours, since your aim is good and your ideal holy. Remember at the same time that you should not be aggressive, but should, like men, offer your breasts (? to be smitten). Receive the blows of the bureaucracy, but neither raise your hand nor budge an inch from your position.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th February 1924, No. 6, p. 50*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 31 January 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* avers that the bureaucracy wants to destroy the wonderful organization of the Akalis by hook and crook. To this end it is now trying to bring the leading workers of the S.G.P.C. into bad odour by spreading false and baseless rumour against them. The *Punjab Darpan* remarks that it is not for the first time that the Sikhs have been declared to be rebels. They were similarly treated whenever they stood up to propagate their religion or help the oppressed. Farrukh Seer did not leave anything undone to exterminate them. The Government, for saving which from ruin in 1857 we got a bad name in the world, for which we sacrificed innumerable lives in the battlefields of France and the juggles of Mesopotamia and the ravines of Gallipoli, cannot today even tolerate that we should be free to reform our gurdwaras. A religious war is going on between the Panth and the bureaucracy. The whole community should now come under the organization of the S.G.P.C. and step into

the arena. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th February 1924, No. 7, p. 58*).

Desh Sewak, 7 February 1924

The *Desh Sewak* urges the Sikhs of the Doaba to enter the arena of war. The non-violent warriors have joined the lists, placing their heads on the palms of their hands to pressure the honour of Sikhism. The Doaba Sikhs should let the bureaucracy know that they will not be repressed by its rigorous and unjust oppressions and will end its oppression by shedding rivers of blood. The days of those who strike innocent, unarmed and helpless people will come to an end and the boat of oppression will be drowned. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924, No. 8, p. 65*).

Akali, 13 February 1924

“A patriot” writing to the *Akali* says that a great calamity has recently befallen the Akalis. Government is determined to trample on their rights and their religious susceptibilities and sense of self-respect. The educated community knows, however, that the Sikhs have from the very beginning been pledged to non-violence and are acting on Mahatma Gandhi’s golden principle of Satyagraha. It is not their object to harass or destroy Government; their aim is only to secure their own freedom. They wish to be totally independent in their religious affairs. The writer then refers to the Golden Temple keys and Guru-ka-Bagh affairs and says that now Government has hit upon the plan of starving Akalis. It has also transpired that it wishes to take possession of the Akal Takht and the treasury attached to it. We used to hear that the English were very prudent and wise. They made a fool of Wilson, sent the Kaiser about his business and tormented Napoleon to death. So far, however, they have come across only the Antwerp Fort and those who hide themselves in trenches, thrown shells from a distance of one hundred miles, capsize ships by hiding themselves in water and drop shells from the sky. They had never to deal with a nation which can eat unparched gram, remain naked and without food and water for two or three weeks together, and is firm in protecting its rights. This is the characteristic of the lions inhabiting the Indian jungles. They do not know how to run away like English dogs with their tails between their legs. They try to the last to confound their enemy by their roars. The same will be the case in the present war. The lions (Sikhs) cannot starve, seeing the thirty crore Indians are at their back. Government has hitherto had to deal with jackals and not lions. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th February 1924, No. 7, p. 58*).

Akali, 27 February 1924

The *Akali* observes that the rigours and oppression practised in Jaito will ever remain an unparalleled event in the history of the world. On one side, there was matchless bravery and, on the other, unbounded severity. On one side, there was fearlessness and, on the other, stone-heartedness. On one side, there was non-violence and, on the other, a conflict with man-eating demons. Such an event is unknown in the history of the world. Indeed, Satan himself is at the present moment the Government. He is treating with gross violence the unarmed "pilgrim sons of Guru Gobind Singh" who are reciting the name of Satguru in a non-violent manner. The paper adds: – "O representatives of Satan! Come to your sense a little. This oppression will not remain unavenged. You have struck an axe at your roots by committing a general massacre of the good sons of the Satguru. Is it a Government? Gross injustice is being done to us. There is now only a powerful gang of dacoits in our country, which is practising every oppression on us. O you people who are inebriated with the wine of rule! If you have the least trace of humanity in you, you should consider that those beloved of the Satguru whom you hunted down in this way are after all human beings. They have also families and children in their houses. You have not feel the least pity for them. O embodiments of Satan! You are the disciples of some Ahriman (the genius of darkness or evil). You made many helpless Sikh ladies widows. You have made many innocent children orphans in a trice. Their life-long sighs will produce their effect in the end. God will surely avenge upon you for the oppression of His creatures. O Khalsa heroes! What are you waiting for? Your brethren, good sons of the Tenth Guru and moths of the lamp of religion, have been slaughtered by the butchers who are inebriated with the wine of rule. Before the perseverance of these religious heroes even bullets become cold. Such bravery, sacrifice and martyrdom cannot be found in the history of the world. Such examples cannot be found even in the past history of the Sikhs. At Nankana Sahib, cowardly Bowring stated that Singhs were not brave and that one or two fires would make them run away. These 'disciples of Satan' have now fulfilled their wish. O Khalsa heroes! Your brethren have undergone all sorts of sacrifices. They have maintained the dignity of the Panth and have offered their lives at the feet of the Satguru Kalghidharji. It is now your turn to perform your duty. The brave ones who have passed away from this transient world have rivetted their eyes on you and are waiting to see when you follow in their footsteps and afford proof that you desire to maintain the dignity of the Panth. Bid farewell to your household affairs. The Tenth Guru is demanding your sacrifice in the Gangsar Gurdwara." A correspondent of the *Akali* argues in the same issue that an unjust and unwise step by an officer of Government

will bring it into disrepute and unpopularity for ever. Government can learn a lesson at every step, but its officers are inebriated with authority and continue to make mistakes. These things cost them very dear. They have with their own hands planted a tree which will gradually grow and destroy the present system of administration. It appears that the boat of tyranny and oppression is about to be filled. When it will sink remains to be seen. The existing state of affairs indicates that a mighty storm is about to burst which will carry away the present system of Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, pp. 77–78).

***Akali*, 3 March 1924**

The *Akali* thus addresses the Government: – “Our arrogant Government, why are you intoxicated? Do you not see incidents in history? Why have you stopped to wicked acts of the misguided and accursed? Do you not remember that, like you, some one else spurned the law of God and claimed to be God himself? Do you not remember the age of Pharaoh who claimed to be God? A servant of God sunk in the Nile the naval craft of this self-styled God. You had better judge of your strength. You are not more powerful to-day than Pharaoh was. Five hundred servants of God, dear ones of the Guru and the light of God, are going to the Gangsar Gurdwara to overthrow you. Remember and see that Satan has always sustained defeat. Recall precedents and see that God has enabled the weak to overthrow the Government of the mighty. It is not good to be so proud. O bureaucratic Government, the fire by which you are standing will consume you soon before you distinguish good from evil. Allow the dear ones of the Guru, the children of the Sikh Panth, the manly people of whom humanity feels proud, to carry out Wahi-Guru’s order. Do not prevent them or God’s wrath, from which there is no escape, will soon visit you.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 96).

***Babar Sher*, 10 March 1924**

The *Babar Sher* writes: – “O lions, you have now entered on the final struggle. Bullets were not made use of before, but this has now been done. A desperate struggle has commenced. This opportunity has been given you by God. Finish your work quietly as there lies a heavy burden upon your shoulders. Thirty-one crore Indians are looking to you for help. Have courage, rely upon God, win this war and then begin another. You were born to destroy tyranny. Being preparations from now to steer the barge of Bharat.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, pp. 105–106).

Akali, 13 March 1924

The *Akali* observes: "The whole country loves the Sikhs for the war they are waging to secure religious liberty. O Government open thy eyes and see how the imaginary frame-work of thy laws and peace is being dragged through the mire. The day is not distant when not a single Indian will profess even outward loyalty to thee. Thou wilt have to carry on thy administration without the help of Indians. Nay, thou wilt have to depart from this country in a wretched condition. Repent of thy past misdeeds and resign India." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 106).

Akali, 2 April 1924

The special correspondent of the *Akali* reports that on judgement being pronounced in this case [the case against the second batch of Akali leaders] four gentlemen of Gujranwala, *viz.*, Autar Singh, Barrister, Waryam Singh, Asa Singh Jandoli and Amrik Singh, sent the following message to the Sikhs of their districts: – "You know fully now that the bureaucracy is determined to obliterate the existence of the Sikh community from the table of existence. It is, therefore, our foremost duty to settle all our personal differences and take part in this national war with our body, mind and wealth. ... This war is a question of life and death for the Khalsa. This is the time for their test. Beware lest you should be found wanting in the discharge of your duty." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924*, No. 14, p. 131).

Partap, 5 October 1924

The *Partap* remarks that government is determined to end its war with the Sikhs by utilizing all its resources. The Sikhs will be unable to oppose Government longer if they do not organize their forces by acting on some fixed principle. They should have only one morcha, for otherwise they would get exhausted and be unable to secure a sufficient number of men to continue their struggle. It is not improbable that Government may compel them to establish *morchas* at Nankana Sahib and Guru-ka-Bagh. It would be wise to select only one of these and concentrate their entire strength on it. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 11th October 1924*, No. 41, p. 325).

Akali, 27 October 1924

The *Akali* writes in the course of an article headed "War between religion and irreligion": – "Blinded with the intoxication of authority Government is bent upon making the Sikhs extinct by hook and by crook. The end of this war is not, therefore, in sight. There is only one way in which Government can be brought to its senses and this religious also can soon be carried to a successful issue,

namely, those of our brethren who have not as yet taken a practical part in this war should jump into the field without any further delay. Someone has rightly said that those who do not listen to words must be brought to their senses with kicks. The case of the bureaucracy is exactly the same. It is not accustomed to paying heed to written petitions or oral requests. The truth is that no Government bows its head before its subjects until the latter convince it by their spirit of sacrifice and self-denial that they are strong enough to humble the greatest Power on earth. We would, therefore, request all our brethren not to content themselves with passing resolutions. The question of the life and death of the Sikh community and also of the emancipation or slavery of India are bound up with this struggle. No effort should, therefore, be spared to make it a success." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, pp. 346–347).

Sardar, 31 October 1924

Writing to the *Sardar*, "An Observer" states that there was a time when things grew so hard for England that it could find no place of refuge and even graveyards gave it a wide berth. It was the Sikhs who then saved the English from certain death. There was a mutiny in India, a war with China, fighting in the Crimea and a dispute with America. British statesmen were also in trouble over a conflict between Austria and Italy. There were the times when a certain Englishman declared that the days of the English were numbered. It looked then as if even the God of the English had gone into some place of worship after having been caught in the whirling of the Trinity. In short, it was a time when the English had no friend or helper. A unitarian community, whose name is remembered in history as "Sher-i-Khalsa", helped the English at that juncture. The Khalsa heroes forsook their kith and kin in those troublous days and shed their blood to save, from certain death, this nation of a different race, country and religion. The reward for this has been received at Budge Budge and the shambles of Jaito. The Great European War again threw the English into the same vortex of destruction in which they were involved in 1857. Then, too, united India, particularly Sikh lions, protected British interests with their blood and are now being punished for this. India collectively left nothing undone to champion the cause of England. Its beloved sons gave up their lives, thinking that their sacrifices would bring liberty to their country. But if you wish to see the picture of this doubtful liberty you should look at the walls of the Jallianwala Bagh. On the conclusion of the war it was hoped that India's services would be rewarded in some form or other, but the first instalment of this reward was paid in a very extraordinary shape, *i.e.* the Rowlatt Act was passed. Every possible effort was made to uproot the "seed of liberty" which

had sprung up in the country. Mention must be made of the Gurdwara reform movement in this connection. Simultaneously with the liberty movement the idea of reforming their community also took birth among the Sikhs. The powers that be put a wrong interpretation on this desire of the Sikhs. They read the messages of death in the awakening of the Sikhs and a reign of repression and coercion was ushered in. Unspeakable tyrannies were practised on the Sikhs. The officials used their influence to have the tragedy of Nankana Sahib enacted and things came to such a pass that the only religious body of the Sikhs was declared unlawful and the masses were terrorized in every possible way and by means of every unspeakable oppression. Nothing, however, came of all this. Government continued to extend its "circle of oppression", but, in the last resort, it elected to achieve its object by secret maneuvers, of which the Sikh Sudhar Committee was the first upshot. It is evident that this is the final maneuver made by Government to gain its objects. A few pensioners and stipendiaries, whose only means of livelihood is to play the toady to the officials are going about screaming in all directions; but the end will be only a defeat for the Government. The arrow of Hindu-Muslim unity so pierced the heart of Government that it suffered a shaking up to London in consequence of the writhing pain. Then commenced the machinations which resulted in such tragedies of those of Delhi, Saharanpur, Amritsar and Multan and later in that of Kohat. Every sensible person can understand to what extent the authorities are trying to cause incitement (? between different communities). Did not the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat fail to take any steps to prevent a Hindu-Muslim quarrel, in spite of a clear warning by his Mussalman assistant? The promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance is the latest addition in the present situation, at which all self-respecting and sensible Indians are expressing indignation. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924, No. 44, p. 347*).

3 Invoking the Gurus and Exhorting Sacrifices

Jhang Sial, 25 March 1911

The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th March 1911, publishes some verses in Urdu headed "The spirit of the Guru." The writer, Sufi Lachman Pershad, Kayastha, states that some time back, when he was staying at a *Serai* at Sirhind, he saw Guru Gobind Singh in a dream. The latter told him that when (*i.e.*, under Muhammadans) (his) *bhagats* (Sikhs and Hindus) were in trouble, he came into the world and saved them from the sword and bullet, and that the

oppression practiced in those days was past and the people here enjoyed complete religious liberty. It was, however, a matter for regret to him that all had become indifferent to religion and the country had fallen a prey to every kind of disease. He then advised the writer to prefer religion to death, and went on to say that if there were a cow in every house (in India) the sick and poor would become unknown (in the country). The writer also saw Guru Gobind Singh's two young sons built around up to the neck and they, too, told him to value religion above life. In conclusion, he urges his readers to sacrifice themselves, mind and body, at the altar of religion. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 1st April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 13, p. 324).

***Jijnasu*, 1 June 1911**

The following is from the *Jijnasu* (Lahore), of the 1st June 1911: –

“Service of humanity is the beginning of all true Sikh life. In fact Sikhism was invented to serve mankind. Its history, the history of its Gurus and the history of early Sikhs, testify to the correctness of the above. The more deeply we would read into the lives and teaching of our Gurus, the more clearly would appear to us the importance they attached to it and the emphasis they laid thereon.

“I say what was the ruling spirit of Nanak during the whole of his life. Was not the service of man the one end of his life and labours. What led him to sacrifice the sweet comforts of home and part with the nearest and dearest relations, father and mother, son and wife, sister and others, to traverse to far distant lands never traversed by a single missionary, and awaken the people from the sleep of sin and let into their hearts the light of His glory. Was he not actuated in these efforts by noble motives of service?

“His tenderness towards suffering has never been equaled. Whenever a need was felt and whoever was in want, in peril, in trouble, the Guru was on the spot with all his help. He was ready to go here and there, to do this or that, in the cause of the needy and the suffering. Never he shrank from pain, toil and tyranny when an occasion occurred to heal the hearts of oppressed hearts, to relieve the distress of the distressed minds and to wipe dry the tear out of the eye of grief. He pleaded the cause of the people and told Abraham that justice and not injustice will be admitted into His Kingdom. His words, pious and full of light, were not welcome to the stiff and dark mind of the King. Nanak was cast into dungeon. What cared he for that. The Guru went to the dungeon as cheerfully as he would go anywhere else. His heart was overflowing with love for man, and love minds no prison, no fetters, no toils. It overcomes all. It endures all.

“In fact the whole life of the Guru was one devoted on the alter of the well-being of others. The works he did to redress countless wrongs.

“To minister to appealing needs, and to carry the torch of truth to the farthest and remotest corner are standing testimony to the fact how he laboured with unfailing zeal and sympathy for fellow-men. He stood up against *Sati* system. He spoke against slave trade. He pleaded the regard for women. His service to man is the greatest debt of gratitude man owes him.

“Service of humanity was the first step of the ladder of approbation in the eye of the Great Teacher. Whoever desired to win the special favour of the Guru must enter by that door. Nanak taught his disciples that promotion with him went not by birth-right, much less by flattery or any family influences, and that the way to distinction was *via dolorosa* of service and service done without pride and desire of reward. ‘Service of humanity’ says he ‘is a noble work.’ Without service none shall bear fruit. All services to be done.

“It was this service which made Lehna what he became afterwards. The future Guru of the Sikhs and Nanak II was a common Khatri, who entered the service of Guru Nanak and distinguished himself above others by his whole-hearted devotedness to fellow-men. He would wash the feet of the pilgrim. He would shampoo the legs of the weary way farers, and took thousand little troubles that added to their comforts. He would do the work of scullion. He would cleanse the shoes of the *sangat*. Lehna stood the closest scrutiny and severest trials of service, and in reward was exalted to that position which he very well deserved. Nanak deprived his sons and appointed his successor a stranger because Siri Chand and Lakshmi Dass were weak and proud and lacked that spirit of service which Nanak prized above all, while Lehna first in meekness, first in obedience, came out first in the service of humanity. His sons grumbled, but it availed little. The reply of father was ‘he ought to sit on the throne who is worthy of it.’

“Such was the spirit which Nanak was infusing into his disciples both by this example and precept throughout this earthly career. The early Sikhs caught this spirit, and their achievements were immense. History tells us how when a hot persecution was pursuing a populace, the Sikh, the brave Sikh, the dutiful disciple of the Guru, responded faithfully to the cry of suffering mankind and came forward to stretch out a helping hand. What sacrifice it involved him is memorable in the annals of India to the great credit of Sikhism.

“A storm of Mughal wrath arose. The friends of people were declared foes to the State. The advocates of justice were called enemies to the Empire. An edict from the Emperor pronounced them outlaws. Death, dungeon, torture followed. The price of a Sikh head rose as high as Rs. 80. But the manly Sikh

braved all risks. In the discharge of commanded duty he met death with a courage that led even his very enemies to think that there was something wonderful in the faith he professed. A peculiar peace marked his face in the midst of the most exquisite tortures. His boldness to suffer for the sake of others exceeded all bounds, and neither the Emperors of India nor the armies of Empire could succeed to put out that glowing fire of self-sacrifice which the Gurus had kindled in his heart.

“But alas! To-day it has gone out of itself and without a blow. That burning fire has long died and the glory of Sikhism is rolling in the dust. To-day is the darkest day Sikhism has ever seen. Sikhs never were so depraved, the Church never was so corrupted, there never was such a formalism and such a want of spirit in service. Sword is not always the weapon of service, although it has its times of service. We may sheathe our sword and lay down our armours but let us not ungird our loins from service. The need of service is as great now as ever was, and our duty to fulfill it is as imperative as ever.

“There are hundred institutions that need the help of our hands. There are thousand schemes that await funds for execution. There are ten thousand works of charity that appeal to us for aid. How much have we contributed towards the accomplishment of all these, we stand abashed to reply. Plague has broken out in the country of India, and the gross of the dead and dying rise from every nook and corner. Famine is devastating this goodly heritage of ours, and multitudes of famished, poor, wretched tottering creatures are perishing in a most miserable manner. The night of darkness that once hung over land is not as deep as it was a century ago, but the clouds have not whole passed away the horizon. Here, from here, come our calls to service. And the Guru says: ‘Blessed are they that carry light and relief to others.’ The command is clear, the cry is loud, the field is wide, but the soldier, the Sikh soldier, is asleep in the sleep of carelessness, inattentive to the voice of duty. He is deaf to the bitter cries that come from the dens of famished areas and infected quarters and dark places. The burden of responsibility presses sorely, but he is not alive to the object of his mission. His energies have been drained off from higher duties on account of scrupulous attention to forms and shows. It is poor. It is humiliating. It is saddening state. If Sikhism continues to be so represented any longer, it must fall and fall deservedly.

“Why is it that Sikhism to-day has lost its attractive power and ceased to draw followers towards itself. Why is it that Sikhism to-day does not enjoy that popularity it has enjoyed so well in the past. Why is it that the religion of Guru Nanak is losing ground everywhere and even those who are born Sikhs, educated in Sikh schools and reared in Sikh surroundings grow to part away with

their father's religion. Why is it that Sikhism to-day grapples so feebly and ineffectively with other religions. Because Sikhs have departed from their primitive principles. Because that spirit of self-sacrifice which was once the gaze of the world around has disappeared from among them. Hence all its failure of to-day.

“There was a time when it cost something to make even a profession of Sikhism, when the very invitation to it involved the absolute and unreserved surrender of *Tan, Man, Dhan*, when a life of perfect usefulness was only to be commended. Those were the palmy days of Sikhism; but alas! Those days have gone by. To-day a few outward forms would make one a Sikh the most sincere in Sikhism. Hence all its defeat of to-day.

“If Sikhism is to come again into prominence, it must march accompanied by principles on which it was founded and gained footing. Sacrifice, devotion and consecration – these must come in the van, and these should be the distinguishing marks of a Sikh and not any externals and shows.

“Sacrifice is a very difficult thing, and service is really hard to render, no one can deny, but to be a Sikh is not a joke, my friend. Sikhism is no mockery. Sikhism is no pleasant dream. Sikhism is no bed of roses. It is a real warfare. It is a soldier's life. It is struggle between life and death. Go to the Great Captain and listen to the reply he gives – ‘The path to Sikhism is sharper than the edge of sword and finer than a hair,’ and the path to everything truly noble and sublime equally lies in thorny paths.

“Enter the gates of the once Imperial Delhi and a small structure will yet be shown you as one preserved in the memory of a high personage who lived the noblest life on earth, who declined the most tempting offers of vast treasures, rich lands, etc., and preferred to give up his life rather than give up the cause of suffering humanity. His glorious reply to some of his friends and followers who bemoaned his impending loss is worth its weight in gold – ‘This earthen vessel of mine,’ said he speaking of his body, ‘must break to pieces to-day or to-morrow. What a blessedness, if it comes in the service of man.’ He was Nanak IX, thine Tegh Bahadur. The sacrifice was made and it did its work. The blowing of a storm and the shaking of earth soon after his martyrdom convinced the oppressed populace that the sacrifice was heard in heaven. And a candid observer will not fail to perceive from a close survey of history that the end of the reign of oppression began from that very hour.

“Such was the price paid by the Pattern for the service of mankind, and a true Sikh must never hesitate to sacrifice all for the good of others. If he does all that duty requires of him to do, he is of the number of those of whom Nanak

says 'Blessed are they that convey light assistance to others.' Nay we belong to that number."

(A Sikh.)

(*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 15th July 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 28, pp. 715-717).

Loyal Gazette, 2 November 1914

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore) of the 2nd November, 1914, publishes from Maulana Abdullah Imadi, Joint Editor of the *Zamindar* newspaper, a communication headed "The sacred personality which brought the message of eternal life." India, which is at present torn by internal strife should take a warning from the Teachings of Guru Nanak who alone points out the way of India's salvation. Guru Nanak's message was not intended for the Sikhs alone; he appealed to all India. Hindus and Muhammadans should, therefore, bear this in mind and strive to evolve the idea of a strong and united Indian nation. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 7th November 1914*. Vol. XXVII, No. 45, p. 1002).

Bande Mataram, 8 December 1921

In its issue of the 8th December the paper [the *Bande Mataram*] reproduced a manifesto issued by Ram Bhaj Datt Chaudhari, President of the Congress Committee Lahore, to the people of the Punjab in connection with the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai. Addressing the public of the province, the Chaudhari says that while at Lahore the President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee has been arrested along with Pandit K. Santanam, Dr. Gopi Chand and Malik Lal Khan, at Amritsar the Sikh leaders have been sent to jail and taken across the Indus. The Punjabis should not get excited over these incidents: they should remain calm and quiet. A war has now been declared [? between the people and the Government]. Liberty is man's birthright and it is his duty to maintain it. As regards our duty, see what Guru Gobind Singh has said:

If you are a true warrior fight for religion,

Be hacked to death, [but] never leave the field.

We should show, not to the interested and inebriated bureaucracy, but to the whole civilized world that our Rishis did not chant Vedic hymns of the Punjab rivers for nothing. We – Hindus and Muhammadans – are Punjabis, descended from the sages who received endless and undying spiritual power from the Almighty. We belong to a common nationality and the same heart beats in us. We Punjabis should again display our soul force and bring back the

golden age. The writer appeals to all classes of people to wake up, saying that the sun of freedom has risen. We are free from this day and no one can deprive us of our liberty of speech and writing and the right of association. Every town and *mohalla* should have *panchayat* and watchmen of its own. No bodily harm should be caused to any European or other foreigner. No Punjabi should attack another. Do not touch any Englishman, Christian, Hindu or Muhammadan who may help the bureaucracy against us. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 14th December 1921, No. 49: Supplementary, p. 552).

Sansar, 14 June 1921

The *Sansar* of the 14th June remarks that ignorant people accuse Indians of cherishing the desire to expel Englishmen from India, but the accusation is entirely wrong. From the way in which Indians have shown blind loyalty, it is difficult to believe that they desire the expulsion of the English. The fact, however, is that it is becoming increasingly difficult day by day for the bureaucracy to live, the days of which divine dispensation has numbered. We have repeatedly stated that the policy of rigour can never succeed; but the sense of the bureaucracy is so overclouded that it cannot understand this and is rigorously practising repression, especially on the Sikhs. The true servants of the community and the jewels of the Panth are falling victims to repression. This is perhaps due to the loyalty and friendship which the Sikhs have shown towards the British Government. If this is the real reason, then the Sikhs have undoubtedly paid dearly for their friendship. But the greater the oppression which the bureaucracy practices, the happier we feel, as this is the most effective method of putting an end to one's prestige and power. The greater the sins of the bureaucracy, the more speedily will its funeral hymn be sung. We, however, request our brethren to bear their troubles patiently. Do not fear the handcuffs of the bureaucracy. Do not be afraid of jails. It does not matter if indiscriminate arrests are being made. So long as a single Sikh child is alive the bureaucracy cannot sweep us out of existence by arresting our representatives. If you turn yourself away from your religion, you will enjoy shortlived name, honour, and happiness, and in the end, such name, honour and happiness will surely turn to misery. Will you renounce your religion for the sake of transient happiness? Certainly not. Let the bureaucracy then practice repression. Be prepared to gladly welcome all kinds of sorrows. Revive the memory of those pages of history which show that the Sikhs love martyrdom and are ready to emulate each other in its attainment. The time has come for the attainment of martyrdom. With the power of our innocence, we should not allow the bureaucracy to

lead a distressed life but help in putting an end to its existence. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 2nd July 1921, No. 26, p. 283).

***Akali*, 28 December 1921**

BHAI RAI SINGH contributes an article to the *Akali* of the 28th December. When the clouds of misfortune, says the writer, are hovering over the heads of the Sikh community and when the flashes of the sword of the Tenth Guru are appearing in the dark clouds of oppression, the tyrants are continuing their oppression, nay, they are growing bolder and bolder. The Sikh community has now nobody to look up to, excepting the tenth Guru. It is time for us to offer our heads to the Tenth Guru. It is time for us to save our *gurdwaras* from the tyrants. What can be a greater sin than that the tyrannical bureaucracy, which drinks the blood of cows and the poor, has forcibly taken possession of the *gurdwaras*? Will the Sikhs ever like their *gurdwaras* being interfered with by anybody? O you flattering Sikhs [sic]! Do you not feel ashamed to call those tyrants and rascals Sikhs whom the Ninth Guru summoned? Think a little whom the Tenth Guru calls Sikhs. What are those bad things by doing which a Sikh is degenerated and becomes an un-Sikh. The Sikh who eats *halal* flesh, who has abandoned Sikhism, who shows disrespect to long hair, who smokes tobacco, who enjoys others' wives and who turns his face away from the Guru, is a degenerate fellow. Now tell us what are those principles of Sikhism which these Feringhees, who you go to *salam*, follow. Think for a little how the Sikhs are trying to bring under their possession the abode of the Guru, the Father, an abode which the Sikhs made over to the Panth after suffering much trouble. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 10th December 1921, No. 49, p. 540).

***Akali*, 4 and 5 January 1922**

In its combined issue of the 4th and 5th January the *Akali* publishes an article by one Gopal Singh, B.A. The writer says that when Aurangzeb oppressed the Hindus, Guru Gobind Singh commanded the Sikhs to end his oppression at the risk eve of their lives. Our Padshah Guru commands them even now through the elected and representative Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, which is his very embodiment to realise their dignity, to fill jails for the sake of their religion and independence and to perform sacrifices peculiar to Sikhism although they may be dismembered. They should thoroughly non-cooperate with the bureaucracy, which has wrested from them the keys of the Darbar Sahib and the *gurdwaras* connected with it. It is sacrifice that leads nations to the highest ideal. Nations are made by sacrifice. If we do not wake up now

when the English are interfering with our religion, when they have wrested the keys of the Darbar Sahib and thrown obstacles in the way of the reform of *gurdwaras*, when they have cast our honourable leaders into prison and when the bureaucracy is giving the greatest trouble to Mother Bharat, we shall resemble a soldier who boasts of his prowess but keeps in hiding in times of war. O Khalsas! Obey the behests of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee implicitly and place yourself at the disposal of the Panth. If the bureaucracy sends you to jail for the time being you should go there peacefully and say to the authorities in doing so: "O tyrant! Your jail is an ordinary thing. Here is our bosom if you wish to shoot us." The writer also appeals to the educated Sikhs, specially the students of the Khalsa College, to realise their duty. The eyes of the nation are upon them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th January 1922. No. 2, p. 18).

***Punjab Darpan*, 6 April 1922**

Writing about the recent Paris Conference, the *Punjab Darpan* of the 6th April says that the British Government has, in response to the Muhammadan demands, agreed to return the Turkish territories conquered by it during the war. On the other hand, it has begun to practice repression on the Sikhs whose only demand is that their *gurdwaras* should be entrusted to their community and the Government should not interfere with them. Elsewhere the paper assures Government officers that the Sikh community, which sacrificed thousands of its members for its friendship with the British, will cheerfully make sacrifices for the Akali religion founded by the Tenth Guru and the movement for the reform of *gurdwaras*. We feel confident that every Sikh, whatever views he may hold, will afford proof of his love for religion and of his being a true Sikh by coming under the Akali banner. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd April 1922. No. 16, p. 193).

***Ramgarhia Gazette*, 13 April 1922**

The *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 13th April writes that the tenth Guru is testing the Sikhs again. He orders us to reform the *gurdwaras* and fulfill his old mission of suppressing the tyrants and helping the oppressed. The Government is again sending our leaders to jail and it now behoves everybody to take part in the reform of the *gurdwaras*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th April 1922. No. 17, p. 203).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 17 April 1922**

JAGAT SINGH KALGI, writing to the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 17th April, refers to a recent *communiqué* in which the Government expresses its sympathy with

the Gurdwara Committee and the reform movement inaugurated by it, and comments as follows: – “Does the bureaucracy think that, on the one hand, it can like Furrukh Sier remain busy in exterminating the Sikhs and, on the other, it can deceive people by issuing such sham communiqué and squander their hard-earned money like this? Such deception should be now stopped. Will the Khalsa abandon their non-violent war and get terrified at this bluster? Never.”

Pardesi Khalsa of the 17th April publishes a letter from the President, District Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Hoshiarpur, who says: – “Khalsa ji! The time of your trial has arrived and the tenth Guru is telling you by signs that if you wish to liberate the gurdwaras you should, in order to cool the burning oven of the bureaucracy and remain non-violent like the 150 heroes of Nankana Sahib, cheerfully fill the jails. Receive bullets on your naked chests, go to the gallows and get blown from the cannon’s mouth, but take care not to assault anyone even by mistake. We want non-violent innocent people. Wash away the sufferings of India with your sacred blood and start fountains of non-violent blood.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th April 1922. No. 17, p. 203).

Pardesi Khalsa, 6 May 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 6th May publishes a letter from DIAL SINGH, Jathadar, Nirbahi Akali Jatha, Ludhiana, who says that no further light is needed to show with what cruelty the bureaucracy is crushing the Akali movement. And now when the Government is, by open and unduly interfering in our religion, pressing us in brutal ways and in a high-handed manner in the pride of its possession of cannon, machine-guns and armies, what does the silence of the Sikhs of the Gurus at this dreadful and critical time mean? Have we become so slavish that we consider it unjust (*lit.* oppression) to step into the field even for the sake of religion? Every Sikh, whether moderate or extremist, should, in order to maintain the dignity and honour of his community, come into the religious field and tell the bureaucracy by the spiritual power of his truly practical Sikh life that all the 40 lakh Sikhs are, like moths, ready to immolate themselves for the sake of religion and cannot tolerate the insult which the bureaucracy is offering to the Panth. The Nirbhai Akali Jatha Diwan has been keeping silence since repression has begun to be practised. This silence has been misinterpreted by the bureaucracy and its henchmen. The real reason was that the crops had to be but. We not tell the bureaucracy by beat of drum that the Diwan’s programme has been made out and will be given a practical shape as soon as grain has been harvested. The bureaucratic Government should fully bear in mind that we cannot be suppressed by its inhumane and immoral prestige. If the *kirpan* falls from our hands, do not consider that our courage also has fallen. We

shall still die like lions, although we cannot return attack for attack. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 13th May 1922. No. 19, p. 224).

Akali, 8 May 1922

The *Akali* of the 8th May observes that the Gurdwara Bill is another dangerous mistake on the part of the Government. The Khalsa Panth, nurtured with the blood of martyrs and in the light breezes of liberty, will break the chains of slavery with the greatest ease, while the Government will have to lose by its mistake what it did not lose even by the passing of the Rowlatt Act or the Jallianwala massacre. The time has now arrived when we should imitate the Gurus and the martyrs on the field of sacrifice for religion and render our lives fruitful by liberating it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 230).

Partap, 11 May 1922

The *Partap* of the 11th May publishes an article from Sardar Shamsher Singh, Khanjar, B.A., who affirms that repression is being practised on the Sikhs with greater rigour than before. Akalis are being arrested and convictions are the order of the day. This much is certain, however, that the bureaucracy will not be able to gain its object. The Sikhs cannot retrace their steps and no power on earth can stand in their way. Let the jails become full, but the Akalis cannot become extinct or shirk their duty. As long as a single Sikh is alive, the Akalis will sacrifice themselves for their faith and honour. In former times, the Akalis were put to death by persecution and torture, their skulls were blown off, their skin was flayed, they were wrapped up and burnt alive, they were cut into pieces and thrown into the laps of their mothers, and they were put in the rack. Surely imprisonment can have no terror for such a people and they cannot cast a stain on their past traditions by neglecting the mission which they have undertaken. When the Sikhs were searched out to be put to the sword they did not swerve from the path of duty and they cannot do so now. They have learnt to be put to the sword with smiling faces. Their bodies were made the targets for bullet shots. They are and will ever remain ready. They have from the very outset learnt Satyagraha, non-violence and non-cooperation, and known how to die. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 233).

Pardesi Khalsa, 30 May 1922

In an article published in the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 30th May, Sardar Lal Singh, Secretary, Singh Sabha, Tandilianwala, writes: – “O officials of the present Government! Do you expect the Sikhs to turn away from the reform of their gurdwaras for fear of jail, gallows, etc.? Do you believe that the conviction of Sardar

Kharak Singh and many others beloved of the Guru has cooled down the movement? The Sikhs fear neither jails nor gallows. They are ready to immolate themselves for honour and cannot tolerate insult to their religion." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 10th June 1922. No. 23, p. 263).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 27 August 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 27th August says that a rumour has been afloat for some time past that the Sikhs will turn the immoral Mahants out of the gurdwaras and take their management into their own hands. It appears that this rumour prompted the Government to wrest the gurdwaras which are already under the control of the Sikhs. The affair of the gurdwara at Guru-ka-Bagh which has been under the management of the Shiromani Committee for more than a year is an instance in point. The arrogant bureaucracy has become so bewildered that it will suffer such a defeat in the non-violent struggle that it will not be able to rise again. This is the time when the national dignity and love for religion of the Sikhs will be tested. In the desire to immolate themselves for their religion, the living martyrs should come forward and be ready even for the dismemberment of their bodies. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd September 1922. No. 35, p. 413).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 28 August 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 28th August publishes a note under the heading 'Break the rabid bureaucracy': – O Khalsa heroes! Your national honour is in danger. You might be dismembered or scalped but do not utter a sob. If you have sense of honour, sacrifice yourself for national honour. If you are religious, sacrifice yourself for religion. Come forward! The bureaucracy is bent upon crushing us and we have to crush it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd September 1922. No. 35, p. 413).

***Gargaj Akali*, 4 September 1922**

A correspondent of the *Gargaj Akali* of the 4th September affirms that it would have been better if, for its own sake, the Government had maintained its old friendly relations with the Sikhs and not interfered with their religion. We have now opened our eyes and come to know that this Government has never maintained friendship with any body. It is intoxicated with the wine of power. Writing to the *Gargaj Akali* of the 4th September, one "Sarung" of Tarn Taran says that Bhai Tara Singh "Shahid" was put to death by the tyrannical rulers of the past for supplying rations to this Sikh brethren who were rebels in the eyes of the those rulers. Similarly, provisions sent to the Guru-ka-Bagh are now cut off and whoever supplies water to the Sikhs proceeding to the

Bagh is stigmatized as a “rebel”. The bureaucracy is thus becoming a deadly foe of the Sikhs. The time has come when religious-minded persons serving the Sikhs like Bhai Tara Singh will be cut to pieces. The Sikhs should muster courage and set the bureaucracy right by serving the Gurus. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, p. 440).

***Gargaj Akali*, 8 September 1922**

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 8th September publishes a communicated article, the writer of which says that the whites with whom we established friendly relations and for whom we sacrificed our lives have at last turned out to be dishonest and faithless. These tom-cats batted on our milk and cream. We gave them butter and brought them up nicely. Indeed, we maintained friendship with these faithless person to such an extent that we forgot our true religion. Brethren, now they are not our friends at all. On the other hand, they are our enemies, seeing that they ruined the Guru Nanak steamer, demolished Rikabganj Gurdwara, which was erected in memory of Guru Tegh Bahadur, whereby the Sikhs were shocked, brought about the dreadful incident of Nankana Sahib, took away the keys of the Golden Temple, and are now expressing great love for us at the Guru-ka-Bagh. These strange friends prostrate Sikhs with *dangs* and then order mounted soldiers to ride over them. The world is bewailing their unique oppression. Sikhs of the Guru, come, suffer beating, nay, become martyrs, bring honour to your mothers and drown the Ferangi Raj in your innocent blood. This bureaucracy has assumed the appearance of a *chandal* and butcher and is shedding your blood. Think what can make you immortal. The cowardly bureaucracy has firmly determined to break up your respectable Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Moreover, your venerable leaders have been put into jail and other workers of your community are being daily arrested. The bureaucracy has made grand preparations to destroy the Sikh community. The Sikhs are also determined to make sacrifices of every kind and become martyrs at the hands of the bureaucracy in the peaceful war for their Gurdwaras. The Khalsa should, therefore, enter the arena of religious war and become martyrs. It is cowards who fear death. The writer then asks the Chief Khalsa Diwan whether or not it has shaken off its sleep and exhorts it to extend a helping hand to the Shiromani Committee, if it has any trace of Sikhism in it, as the beloved ones of the Gurus are now being tortured like goats before its very eyes. In the other event, it should bear in mind that it will have to repent for ever afterwards. The writer adds: – “O member of Councils, your sense of self-respect demands that you should never sit on the chairs red with the blood of your brethren on whom this tyrannical Government is practising oppression and should side with your religious-minded brethren at this

junction. Hindus and Muhammadans should join Sikhs in drowning the boat of the tyrant." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, pp. 437-438).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 10 September 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 10th September remarks that the Sikhs gave their lives for Rs. 11 a month [in the First World War] to strengthen the foundation of this tyrannical Government. They became slaves themselves and enslaved others. We committed a mistake for which we are suffering now. The Government is now bent upon crushing us. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 456).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 19 October 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 19th October asserts that as long as there is life the religious-minded Akalis, they will, while remaining non-violent, rather be hacked to pieces than let a single wicked Mahant remain in possession of a Gurdwara. We hear that the Government's first estimate was that at the utmost 6,000 Akalis would come forward to court imprisonment. Now, however, arrangements are being made in jails for the accommodation of 10,000 Akalis. We want to tell this miserable bureaucracy and its mad advisers, that let alone 10,000, it should arrange to receive ten, nay, forty lakh Sikhs as its guests. This is a religious agitation and will not end easily. Both moderates and extremists will make "non-violent sacrifices" cheerfully and the bureaucracy will see what happens. It should remember that those who, for the sake of religion, used to be broken on the wheel, dismembered, scalped, and sawn asunder and who offered themselves to be burnt alive, cannot be frightened by arrests to-day. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 527).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 23 October 1922**

Writing about the military pensioners' jatha, the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 23rd October calls on the Sikh graduates also to come forward and make their degrees fruitful by offering sacrifices at the door of the 5th Guru. It has learnt from a reliable source that several graduates have already offered themselves for pilgrimage to jail. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 527).

***Daler Akali*, 11 November 1922**

The *Daler Akali* of the 11th November writes that the Government has challenged the Sikhs and force them to step into the arena to offer religious sacrifices. The world has realized the high motive underlying the sacrifices of

the Sikhs, by the myrmidons of the bureaucracy have not yet understood the Sikhs' love of religion, even though they have themselves been utterly defeated on four or five occasions. A match is being played at Guru-ka-Bagh to test the spirit of sacrifice of the Sikhs. The Punjab Government is bent on putting them to the test, even though it has already read and heard accounts of their sacrifices. One hundred innocent and religious-minded Sikhs are daily arrested for chopping wood for the Guru's *langar* and sentenced to rigour imprisonment. The paper thus concludes by address the Sikhs: – "O good sons of Kalghidhar (10th Guru), when you have not hesitated to sacrifice yourself for the sake of religion even after you have been cut to pieces and burnt alive, jails are nothing to you. Muster up courage, step into the arena of sacrifice and tell the world that the blood of your forefathers is running in your veins, and that self-sacrifice is second nature with you. O heroes, as long as you are prepared to offer every kind of sacrifice for your religion no power in the world can suppress you. Every Sikh should enter the lists to take advantage of the present opportunity. The result of sacrifice is always good. Present sacrifices will surely bear fruits like the past ones and history will add to the glory of the Sikhs." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 581).

Daler Akali, 24 December 1922

The *Daler Akali* of the 24th December writes: – "O brave sons and beloved Akalis of the Tenth Guru! The strange and surprising spectacles of tyrannies, excess and injustice, for the destruction of which the Beloved Giver of Life organized and patronized you, have again become clearly visible. Bound with the strong chains of slavery, India is suffering unbearable hardships. Such acts of high-handedness are being committed in broad daylight in the name of justice as make one's hair stand on end. At this critical time, it is your duty to display bravery, courage and self-sacrifice and serve the country and Panth. For celebrating the birth anniversary of the Giver of Life and Beloved One in the true sense of the term, all Sikhs should take a vow to-day to offer their lives to the Guru for the emancipation of their religion and then enter the arena to inform the world that the life-giving power of the Guru is still present in them. Every brave Akali should realise his Guru's splendid deeds of self-sacrifice and resolve boldly and firmly to serve the Panth and country as long as excesses and acts of injustice are not completely destroyed. It is absolutely improper for us to remain outside jails when our brethren are confined there. Every Akali should, in commemoration of this birth anniversary of the Guru, prepare to go to jail for the emancipation of his religions." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, p. 13).

Loyal Gazette, 22 July 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 22nd July asks every Sikh to remember that his trials in connection with the Gurdwara reform have not yet come to an end. There is no likelihood of an early understanding on the subject being arrived at between the Sikhs and the Government. Moreover, *kirpan* cases are being again instituted in large numbers. There has also arise the question of the Nabha State. Further, reports show that Akali prisoners are being subjected to greater hardships than ever. The Sikhs should sink their differences, become one during the period of their trials and be prepared to suffer every trouble. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 403).

Desh Sewak, 27 July 1923

The *Desh Sewak* of the 27th July remarks that no Sikh can now be unaware that bureaucratic oppression has reached its climax and that blow after blow is being dealt, not only to the Sikh community, but to the whole of India. The flood of oppression is rising and there is no likelihood of its ebbing away. It is, therefore, impossible to believe that we shall have any settlement with the bureaucracy or that we can do any work of reform under its *regime*. The attitude of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has from the very beginning been that its object is to reform the Gurdwaras and that this can be done under the bureaucracy. To our mind this is not right. In the first place, Gurdwara reform means nothing if you leave alone the suffering and starving creatures of God. We have to preach Sikhism to other communities. Just as Guru Tegh Bahadur laid down his life for suffering humanity and Guru Gobind Singh sacrificed his four sons in the same cause, so we too can preach Sikhism only by sacrificing ourselves for others. The bureaucracy wants to exterminate the Sikhs. If the latter wish to maintain their existence, they should aim at extirpating the bureaucracy. Mere Gurdwara reform (and that at the hands of the bureaucracy) cannot save our existence. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, pp. 403–404).

Akali, 24 September 1923

A correspondent of the *Akali* of the 24th September remarks that the Sikh community took its birth from the sharp edge of the sword. It has been brought up in bloodshed. It is futile to try to overawe such a community by the sword. The worthies should bear in mind that the Sikhs suffered their bodies being sawed and their heads scalped. They were massacred with sword and walled up alive. They were nailed to walls and trampled underneath the feet of elephants. Still they never abandoned truth. The writer makes the following appeal to the

Sikhs: – “O good sons of Mother Sahib Kaur! Be ready. The enemies are on the prowl. You are fond of martyrdom and have experience of suffering. You have the blood of martyr Dalip Singh (in your veins). You have the blessing of martyr Lachhman Singh. Be on the alert for the sake of the *Satguru*, for the sake of your faith, for the sake of your brethren, for your own sake and, above all, for the sake of truth, for (the defence of) which you were created. Your *Satgurus* set aright proud potentates. Remember that this duty still devolves on you. The time of your trial is approaching. The enemies will incite Hindus and Muhammadans against you. But be assured that they have understood you. Their sympathies will be with you.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, p. 524).

Akali, 26 September 1923

In the paper's [the *Akali's*] issue of the 26th September the writer says to the Sikhs: – “You have and should have no love for the Maharaja of Nabha personally. The question is one of principle. A person more powerful than another wishes to swallow up the latter. This cannot and will not be tolerated. If any one has the vanity (to think) that he will realise his desire with the aid of imprisonments and bloodshed he should learn a lesson from filthy Kings like himself. They (*lit.* he) will tell him that the more oppression a person has practised the more hollow his foundations have become. ... The oppressors of the Sikhs always forget one thing, namely, that the latter will (not) be controlled by (their) heads being cut off. O ignorant people, it is your duty to read the story of the birth of the people on whom you practise oppression. They were born only to offer (*lit.* by offering) their heads. The (self-) respecting Sikh(s) were (*lit.* was) created only on the condition that they should get themselves beheaded. ... How can your blunt swords, sham rifles and worthless guns frighten them? Come to your senses and learn a lesson from the traditional sacrifices of the Sikhs. Otherwise, you will fare just as did those who tyrannized over the Sikhs.”

In another communication the writer says that on the 9th September the army of the Tenth Guru ... encamped just one step on this side of the destination. The enemies threatened the Sikhs, saying that they were powerful and would take the latter to the prison and beat them. But the Sikhs cared nothing for these empty boasts. What estimate of their strength could be found by these enemies, who are blind, deceptive, treacherous and incarnations of falsehood? The enemy has not lost his senses and is thinking of the terms of peace. The Sikhs should not retrace their steps after nearing their destination. There is yet one more state to traverse. The land there is said to be thirsting after the blood of Sikhs and the guns of the forts will welcome them. The soil of this place will take care of their dead bodies until the angels sent by the *Satguru* might

carry these away into His lap to enjoy eternal life and happiness. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 6th October 1923. No. 40, pp. 524–525).

***Desh Sewak*, 16 November 1923**

The *Desh Sewak* exhorts the Sikh Panth that it is their duty to sacrifice everything to maintain their honour and tell the bureaucracy that they will have no rest, nor allow others to take rest, until they return to England a Government that claims to hold a monopoly of justice. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th November 1923*, No. 47, p. 613).

***Gurdwara*, 23 November 1923**

Several Sikh papers have brought out special numbers in honour of Guru Nanak's birthday. The *Gurdwara* writes that purity, honesty and religion to support, which Guru Nanak came into the world, are being again trampled by the Government of the day. Tyranny and sin are rife, dacoits are let alone and innocent people are arrested and tortured. Justice has taken wings and injustice reigns supreme. The Guru's followers are rotting in jails like robbers and dacoits, his Sikhs have been declared to the rebels and the preaching of his religion is called a seditious act. His sacred places are locked up by the Government, because his followers preach the unity of God there day and night. "O Guru Nanak, the cup of patience is full to the brim. Come and free the Sikhs from the clutches of the tyrant." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th November 1923*, No. 48, p. 622).

***Tribune*, 23 November 1923**

The *Tribune* prints an appreciation of Guru Nanak from a Sikh correspondent, who winds up this article by stating that the followers of such a person must necessarily be steel-like strong in faith and indomitable in courage. They hold their lives in trust for their leaders and when they are called upon for sacrifice they do not flinch, for they know they have little to lose. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th November 1923*, No. 48, p. 622).

***Nation*, 23 November 1923**

The *Nation* has a leader in which it writes: –

"Guru Nanak appeared at a time when India was in a very bad way. The glory of Hindu India was vanishing under the heavy onslaught of the Muhammadan invaders. Unable to stem the tide of the onrush of the new religion, which was forced upon the people on the point of the sword, and having lost the initiative when they had to struggle for mere existence, the Hindus in his time were clinging mere fondly than ever to mere forms and ceremonies. As for the

religion of the conquerors, Guru Nanak saw that though they had risen to the spiritual height of adoring one God in silent prayer, they had yet much of the ape and tiger in them. In a moment of spiritual illumination he saw that the real salvation of India lay in making a happy blend of the noblest teachings of the two religions, Hindu and Muslim." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th November 1923*, No. 48, pp. 622–623).

***Nation*, 28 November 1923**

A correspondent of the *Nation* affirms that Sikh history is charged with a message of fire and it was the fire-bath that the Sikhs took in the days of the Guru. They who would be loyal to truth are tested with the bath of fire. It seems the Sikhs are again called to pass through the flame. A new India will not be built without sacrifice. In the 15th century appeared Guru Nanak who proclaimed a messages of Synthesis, of Harmony and of Love. Will India listen, will the nations harken to the message of Synthesis and Harmony – the message of Love? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st December 1923*, No. 49, p. 630).

***Akali*, 26 January 1924**

Writing to the *Akali*, one Shiv Ram, Zakhmi, Civil Bazar, Campbellpur, addresses the Sikhs as follows: – “Give up the life of pleasure and do some work for the nation. Improve your future. God’s wrath will visit the traitor who even thinks against his nation. The kettle-drum of war has been beaten and the forces of Satan have raised aloft their standard. Rise, therefore; for this is the time to show bravery. The angel of freedom – the Kalghidhar Guru – will lead you. Deliver such an attack that the enemy may be routed. There is nothing more important in this world than national honour and dignity. Look upon worldly temptations as worthless things. Whoever tries to induce you to yield to temptations consider him a traitor. You will have to show to-day that a Sikh does not get persurbed under the shower of bullets and the shadow of the sword. Do not show cowardice today, win applause by displaying the qualities of the sword of non-violence and attain honour and reputation.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd February 1924*, No. 5, p. 43).

***Desh Sewak*, 10 February 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* asks the Sikhs manfully to join in the non-violent war begun by the Shiromani Committee and immolate themselves on the lamp of religion like moths. A correspondent says that no nation can rise by living in ease and sloth. The blood of martyrs is a powerful cement for welding the scattered units of a nation. Commenting the editor urges the Khalsa to rise, seeing that

the war for martyrdom has begun. "Raise the nation to the height of progress with the blood of martyrdom." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 66).

***Babar Sher*, 20 February 1924**

A correspondent writing in a subsequent issue [of the *Babar Sher*] remarks that if the Panth had followed in the footsteps of the Nankana martyrs the Akalis would have been spared their subsequent troubles. Their hair and beards would not have been pulled in Guru-ka-Bagh and a tyrannical Feringhee like Beatty would never have dared to place his boots on their sacred hair and ask where their Guru Gobind Singh was. Now when the Khalsa Panth and its representative body, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, have entered on a conflict with a powerful Government, it behoves the Sikhs to follow in the footsteps of the martyrs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 65).

***Babar Sher*, 26 February 1924**

The *Babar Sher* observes that the bureaucratic rule, for the maintenance and development of which the Sikhs have shed torrents of blood during the last seventy years, is acting to-day like a witch towards them. They ask no return or reward for their services. They merely desire to manage their own shrines. During the last three years the whole world has been resounding with cries of the horrors perpetrated by this irreligious Government upon the religious and non-violent Sikhs and Mother Bharat has been shocked to see these horrible tyrannies, but the tyrannical bureaucracy is, in the pride of its power, every day advancing in its oppressive methods. The English people claim to be the most wise, sagacious and just of all nations in the world; but the beating, starving and shooting of peaceful Akalis at Jaito shows that the British administrators are a band of *badmashes*, free-booters, dacoits and murderers. We invite outside people to come and see these sanguinary scenes with their own eyes and proclaim to the world that the English are a savage and heartless nation in the garb of gentlemen. They should, therefore, free 32 crore unarmed and innocent creatures of God from the claws of the tyrants. Khalsa ji, in this battlefield you have turned blunt even this least weapon of the bureaucracy, but there is still a demand for further sacrifices in order to achieve final victory. It has accordingly been proposed to send more Jathas of 500 each in this crusade to the Jaito field. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee fully trusts that you will encourage its efforts by supplying men and money as offering to the Guru. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 84).

Akali, 27 February 1924

“A Journalist of Note” portrays in the *Akali* an imaginary Diwan presided over by Guru Gobind Singh. The Jatha reaches near the Tibbi Sahib Gurdwara and like a Pharaoh the Administrator orders his soldiers to fire. The Sikhs fall down unconscious and the Guru whispers in their ears some message the sweetness of which is known only to them. At the Diwan he makes the following speech: – “My darlings and beloved sons! I am very much pleased with you all. The bark of tyranny has now been filled to the brim. God will shortly visit it with His wrath. Time is quickly coming when the power of Satan will be overthrown and truth will reign supreme. I accept your sacrifice and decorate you with the medal of everlasting life.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 87).

Desh Sewak, 9 March 1924

Ajit Singh, *Musafir*, writes as follows to the *Desh Sewak*: “O Khalsaji, the bureaucracy is determined to exterminate the Sikhs, to leave no gurdwara in the country and thereby to dry the fountains of religion. It is shooting religious people and parching them like gram. How long will you bear all this? The tyrants have taken possession of the sacred shrine of Guru Gobind Singh at Jaito. How long will you tolerate the possession of your gurdwaras by foreigners? Will you put up with showers of bullets upon Sri Guru Granth Sahib? If not, come forward, wearing bracelets of martyrdom and determined to emancipate your *gurdwaras*. Enlist in the *Jathabandi* (organization) at Amritsar, march to Jaito and prove that you possess the Sikh faith. Tell Government that while remaining non-violent you will immolate yourselves and be hacked to pieces, but will not tolerate indignity to your *gurdwaras*.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 105).

Shahid, 14 March 1924

The *Shahid* praises the Akalis for their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion, which has not only sent a wave of spirituality over the Punjab but has also strengthened Indians in their determination to obtain Swaraj. The martyrdom of the Khalsa has caused deep searching of the heart in timid, vacillating eccentric and tyrannical men. The Akalis' moth-like sacrifice for the sake of their religion has broken the spell of the deceitful, cunning and cheating bureaucracy. It was reserved for the descendants of Guru Nanak to expose in all its naked hideousness the bureaucracy which sucks the blood of the poor, opens fire on its peaceful subjects and has the sole monopoly of oppression and injustice. Humanly speaking, it is bankrupt and has died a moral death. The Akalis should cultivate their spit of sacrifice to deal such a staggering blow

to Government that it may never rise again to harass an ruin the angelic sons and daughters of Bharat and may continue to struggle in the sea of hate and curses and earn the wages of its sins. The world is tired of oppression and the Akalis are bound to hep persecuted India, liberate their *gurdwaras* and preach the gospel of the Sikh religion. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 114).

Akali, 14 March 1924

The *Akali* publishes the following letter from Mohindra Pratap: – “My heart is stricken with grief. This is a time of sorrow. A good many of our brave brethren have been killed. I cannot, at this moment, indulge in any lengthy discussion. Speaking briefly, I will say that those who are still alive have some duty towards their murdered brethren. We should stand by them, so that no one may say that we are unmanly enough to think of saving our own skin after having them murdered. Brave people do not know how to withdraw or retreat. It is now a question of life and death. Whatever anyone may say, be it even a voice from heaven, it is shameful for us to retreat. Brave Khalsaji, you should either die or capture the *morcha*. It is of no consequence what injury you may have to suffer and whether or not even one Sikh is left alive. The question is one of the honour of the Panth. You are no *baniyas*. You are brave people. Victory and defeat depend upon yourselves. Indeed, it is you who will get the country liberated. O Sikh, Muslim, Rajput, Mahratta, Dogra, Gurkha and Jat brethren, mere talking will not do. Show your natural heroism. The other day people in Japan put me to shame by saying, ‘What manner of people are your countrymen who think that it is bravery to be beaten?’ If, however, we show the white feather even in the matter of beating we shall suffer irretrievable ruin. We shall not be able to show our faces in other countries. You should not think that I ask other to die while myself fear death. Brethren, I am always ready to die. If you stand on your own legs I shall at once come to you and resist the enemy in every way. You should not consider that even as it is I am saving my life from danger. The fact that I am going about in different countries for the good of my countrymen amounts to resisting danger constantly. When you afford me an opportunity for service in your company, you will see that, by the grace of Satguru, I shall lag behind no one. Love is my religion and I consider infidelity to be a sin. I am a man of literary pursuits and want to serve humanity irrespective of caste, country or community. My forefathers were neither Pandits nor lecturers, but unsophisticated Jats. It was an ordinary thing for them to give up their lives to preserve their self-respect. I shall, therefore, prove myself an undutiful descendant if I abstain from laying down my life for the sake of honour.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 108).

Kirpan Bahadur, 13 April 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* publishes some pictures and states that the report about a fresh attack by the bureaucracy has made the faces of the Akalis glow with religious fervour. The blood of the brave Khalsa has increased by one seer each. Look at Bhai Mani Singh, who is being dismembered, Bhai Mehtab Singh, who is being broken on the wheel, and Bhai Taru Singh, who is being scalped. What do their examples teach us? These are old scenes. Look at Bhai Sewa Singh and Bhai Sucha Singh, who have become very think on their separation from the *kirpan* and consider it unlawful to take any food or water in their present state. Not one but crores of bureaucracies may attack us, but we shall, still live. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 144).

Loyal Gazette, 18 April 1924

In a leading article the *Loyal Gazette* takes a retrospective view of the Akali struggle and concluded that the Akali's spirit of sacrifice and non-violence will soon bring the Governments of India and the Punjab to their senses. Victory is at hand. The innocent should press onwards until force bends before non-violence and yields to humanity and justice. The brave Sikhs should convince the world that they will rend asunder the chains of slavery with the power of their sacrifice. If they try to save their skin they will be killing the nation. Their leaders shall rot and die in jails. Their *gurdwaras* will pass into the hands of aliens. Their religious freedom will come to naught. The worlds will laugh at them and history feel ashamed of them. They should, therefore, tread the path to jails, the doors of which will open at their knock. The young men of the Panth should follow in the footsteps of their revered leaders and win freedom for themselves and liberty for their imprisoned leaders. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 151).

Akali, 25 July 1924

In a still later issue the paper [the *Akali*] says that we want to make a clear announcement to the effect that 40 lakh Khalsas are ready to die for preserving the 'honour and glory' of their Panthic jathabandi, when required. We shall die and have ourselves effaced, but shall never suffer the least interference in our religious affairs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th July 1924*, No. 30, p. 251).

Narol Khalsa, 25 August 1924

The *Narol Khalsa* publishes an article in which Mother India asks the Tenth Guru if he has not seen how his devotees were cut to pieces, burnt with

kerosene oil and shot at Nankana Sahib. The article goes on to say: "Oppressive and sinful. Beaty belaboured your beloved ones proceeding to Guru-ka-Bagh – your home – and dishonoured their *keshas* with his shoes, but has come by no harm. The sinful, murderous and mischievous bureaucratic witch shot many persons in the Jallianwala Bagh, but has not yet been gratified. It fired at my children who were on their way to Gangsar. Another person (Sir Malcolm Hailey) has come to annihilate the Sikhs. Since his arrival in the Punjab oppression has been on the increase" (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 30th August 1924*, No. 35, p. 283).

***Desh Sewak*, 28 September 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* complains that the religious freedom of the Sikhs is in great peril at present. More than twenty thousand Akalis are rotting in the dark dungeons of Multan, Nabha, etc., and a veritable war between religion and irreligion is in progress. The myrmidons of the bureaucracy are inventing new methods to devour the Khalsa Panth like hungry wolves. Religion, justice and respect for the law have vanished from the Punjab, particularly the Doaba. Arrangements are now being made to crush the people (Sikhs) of the Doaba by imposing punitive taxes on them, by declaring them to be Babar Akalis, and the like. All of them should gather under the banner of the s.g.p. Committee, wearing shrouds and the armllets of martyrdom, and become ready to be hacked to pieces for the sake of religious liberty. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 4th October 1924*, No. 40, pp. 317–318).

4 The British Compared to Mughals

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 9 February 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 9th February states that in a letter contributed by him to the press on the subject of the Lawrence statue Lakhshman Singh enquires how far the departure of the English from India at the present juncture will be advantageous for the Sikhs. Our answer to his question is that the end of British rule will prove as advantageous for us as the termination of the Mughal rule did. The English are as much the enemies of the Sikhs as the Mughals were in their time. The Mughals were determined to crush the Sikhs and so are the English. The Mughals scented rebellion in the Sikh religion and the English smell sedition in the Gurdwara reform movement. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 17th February 1923. No. 7, pp. 97–98).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 9 May 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 9th May says that there is so much of the satanic element in the constitution of this bureaucracy that we cannot particularly condemn any one (? member of it). The termination of such tyrannies will be possible only with the end of the bureaucratic system of government. With the formation of the reformed Councils O'Dwyerism has been confirmed in the country and is brought into play even and anon. The bureaucracy has bidden adieu to all laws and is engaged in practising lawlessness. The question of the liberty of the Golden Temple was the cause of the fall of Mughal rule. Similarly the question of the reform of the Gurdwaras will lead to the destruction of the bureaucratic system of government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 19th May 1923. No. 20, p. 265).

Gurdwara, 23 November 1923

The *Gurdwara*, commenting upon the *communiqué* of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee about certain arrests at Muktsar, asks the Sikhs to see whether there is any difference between Nadir Shah's misrule and the present regime. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st December 1923*, No. 49, p. 628).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 22 May 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* says that a struggle for religious freedom similar to that which Guru Govind Singh had to carry on in the time of the Mughals is in progress in these days. The only difference is that this time the enemy of religion is equipped with more dangerous arms and possesses a large number of trained armies and enormous war ammunition. Perhaps this is why the homes of the "soldiers of liberty" called Akalis are being most heartlessly ruined, their properties confiscated and their bodies tortured in a butcherly way. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 31st May 1924*, No. 22, p. 197).

Akali, 27 June 1924

The *Akali* remarks that it appears from the present arrests of Sikhs, their treatment in jail and the attitude of Government's agents towards them that Government is about to embark on a policy which will not leave a single Sikh alive, so to say. Deep-laid conspiracies are being hatched to eclipse even the days of Mir Manu or Farrukh Sier. The Sikhs were created to protect other people's religion and destroy tyranny. But to-day their own religion is being insulted and their daughters and daughters-in-law are being disgraced. Their leaders are rotting in jails and their innocent children have been fired upon at Jaito. If they possess any courage and sense of shame and self-respect they should oppose this tyranny in a spirit of perseverance, bravery and courage,

cause confusion in the enemy's camp and crush him in the same way as they did in the battle of Ferozepore. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924*, No. 26, p. 227).

***Nirol Khalsa*, 14 July 1924**

The *Nirol Khalsa* observes that the shadows which are likely to remind one of the time of Mir Mannu and Farukh Seer are being cast now. No true Sikh will ever be afraid of the tyrant's atrocities. It is being talked of everywhere that the new Governor of the Punjab, Sir Malcolm Hailey, who is a tyrannical and resolute man, will make clouds of oppression hang over the Sikh community by subjecting it to diverse kinds of pains and severities, and (thus) leave no stone unturned in crushing it. But the community, which a great tyrant like Aurangzeb could not crush, will not to-day be crushed even by a hundred Haileys with all their might. The bureaucratic witch will not refrain, at the present juncture, from practising any kind of repression. On the contrary, this sinner will make storms of oppression blow. The paper then appeals to the Sikhs to oppose the impending oppression and onslaught in a calm, resolute and non-violent manner. They should offer opposition in such a manner that the onslaught by Hailey may be transformed into a festival and this tyrant may have to leave for England after getting his face blackened. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th July 1924*, No. 30, p. 251).

5 Responses from the Udasis

***Sant Samachar*, 9 January 1923**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 9th January reports that Professor Teja Singh stated at the Gaya Congress that the Sikhs would retain the Mahants in the Gurdwaras only if the latter took pahul. We want to know what decision the Udasis are going to make after this threat. If they want to live and have any sense of self-respect, they should become ready to lay down their lives. They should not cast a blot on their sect by dying a coward's death. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th January 1923. No. 2, p. 32).

***Sant Samachar*, 13 January 1923**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 13th January avers that the Akalis are actuated only by motives of greed. If this is not so why do they not "reform" the Gurdwaras to which no property is attached? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th January 1923. No. 4, p. 58).

***Bande Mataram*, 20 January 1923**

Pandit Hari Parkash, Assistant Secretary, Udasin Mabamandal, Amritsar, writes to the *Bande Mataram* of the 20th January that the Akalis are gradually trying to usurp even those Gurdwaras and shrines which are under the management of the Udasin. This act on their part is grossly tyrannical, illegal and immoral and is calculated to lead to breaches of the peace. It is now rumoured that the Akalis want to take possession of Dera Manak Sahib, which belongs to the Udasin. If, in their pride of power, they forcibly take possession of it, the result will be bad. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th January 1923. No. 4, p. 58).

***Sant Samachar*, 30 January 1923**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 30th January suggests that the Udasin should acquaint the world with the unbearable oppression which the Akalis are practising on them or every one of them should sacrifice himself for the sake of his religion. They have to deal with a force which makes even the Government tremble. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 10th February 1923. No. 6, p. 87).

***Panjabee*, 10 February 1923**

The *Panjabee* of the 10th February remarks that as the Government has not taken suitable action against the Akalis the oppressive doings of the latter are daily on the increase. The Akalis appear to attach no importance to the Government, and have now turned their attention to the *deras* of the Udasin. The latter cannot successfully resist them and the Government should, therefore, take steps to prevent them from raiding Udasin *deras*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 17th February 1923. No. 7, p. 99).

***Sant Samachar*, 13 February 1923**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 13th February urges that if the Udasin wish to remain alive they should muster up courage, leave off relying on others and step into the field. If they discover no way to ensure their safety, they should come forward to sacrifice their lives for their religion. They should post themselves round their religious places and should not die like cowards. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 17th February 1923. No. 7, p. 99).

***Updeshak*, 22 August 1923**

The *Updeshak* of the 22nd August reproduces an article from the *Sindh Samachar*, which states that the Akalis consist mostly of Shudras. They are bitterly hostile to the Sanatan religion and Vedic teachings. Wherever they took

possession (of Gurdwaras) by expelling the Udasis they broke the images of Hindu gods and goddesses and threw them away. Again, their greed for wealth is the basis of the movement carried on by them. It is a pity that our Congress leaders have made a political question of the Akali-Udasi dispute. The Akalis were also helped with the Congress funds and termed *Satyagrahis*. Mahatma Gandhi based his *Satyagraha* on the principle of protecting the weak against the strong. How can the Akalis be called *Satyagrahis*, seeing that they forcibly usurp the rights of others? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 453).

***Updeshak*, 10 January 1924**

The *Updeshak* states that the cowardice which Government has shown during the last two or three years entitles the Akalis to the Mahants, nay, to the whole Punjab, the warning that if they want to live they should surrender themselves to the Akali Government. In view of what the Akali has written, Government should feel deeply ashamed of itself. What are the Mahants to make of their decrees when Government cannot get them executed and what right has it to retain the Punjab in its possession? It has been rendered useless by the Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, pp. 18–19).

***Updeshak*, 4 April 1924**

The *Updeshak* publishes a letter in which it is stated that the Akalis, in bands of 50 men each, are touring in villages in the neighbourhood of Nankana Sahib and forcing tenants to execute leases in their favour. Landlords are not permitted to leave their villages: any one going out is severely beaten. Poor tenants have to obey the Akalis to save their lives. The latter are openly proclaiming that the English have been defeated and the Akalis now rule in the Punjab. It is also complained that the Akalis took away cattle by force from various villages. Commenting the *Updeshak* asks Government to instruct the responsible authorities to look into these grievances; otherwise hard pressed people will have to break loose and commit mischief. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924*, No. 14, p. 131).

6 Responses from the Namdharis

***Satjug*, 7 July 1920**

The *Satjug* of the 7th July says that the whole life of Guru Hari Singh passed under severe restrictions and surveillance. He had to obtain permission from the Deputy Commissioner to visit any place, while our Sub-Inspector of Police

and some constables were always by his side. After stating how only a few of the Sikhs going to Bheni were allowed to see him, the paper alleges that none of them could stay at the *gurdwara* there for more than twenty-four hours. Again, the police underlings were always outside the *gurdwara* with *hookah* water ready to hand to maltreat them and did not let any visitor go without being thus treated. The result was that fear of such disgrace prevented thousands of Sikhs from visiting the *gurdwara*. Satguru Hari Singh was succeeded by Maharaj Partap Singh, when the order regarding the Deputy Commissioner's permission for leaving Bheni was cancelled. It was ordered, however, that Partap Singh, Nihal Singh, Gurdial Singh, Mai Jiwan Kaur and Mai Fateh Kaur should report their movements at the police station. No other restriction was removed, and Namdhari *dharmsalas* still continue under diverse restrictions. A police constable daily visits the Namdhari *dharmsala* at Amritsar and notes down the names of all the persons there. Policemen visit the *dharmsala* at Lahore also at intervals to make certain enquiries. The same is the case at several other places also. The names of persons visiting Namdharis are still noted down and respectable Namdharis are being harassed. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 17th July 1920, No. 29, p. 285).

Akali, 12 July 1920

Commenting on the above, the *Akali* of the 12th July describes how most of the Kukas, who murdered some butchers through religious frenzy were blown from the cannon's mouth, how some more were cruelly hanged subsequently, and how their leader – Ram Singh – and several other Namdhari Sikhs were deported. Nor is this all. Government imposed such severe restrictions on the Kukas as to deal a heavy blow to their work of religious preaching. We are very sorry to see that these poor people are still being harassed in diverse ways. It is still more painful and shameful that these restrictions apply even to many a pious woman. We strongly invite the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor to this gross injustice and oppression and request His Honour promptly to remove the restrictions under which the Namdhari Sikhs are labouring. May we hope that some Sikh member of the Punjab Legislative Council will ask a question on the subject. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxIII, Lahore: The 17th July 1920, No. 29, pp. 285–286).

Panch, 25 August 1920

The *Panch* of the 25th August [received on the 8th September] says that the improper and harsh treatment accorded by Government to Baba Ram Singh, the Guru of the Namdharis, and the blowing away of his followers from the

cannon's mouth will remain an evil memory in the country's history and in the book recording the excessive rigours practiced under the British *raj*. Government ought to have felt sorry at the unlawful and most severe treatment accorded by it to the Baba and his followers. So far, however, from doing so, it imposed police surveillance on his worthy descendants; and the restriction still continues. Since the authorities say that a new era has dawned we ask whether Namdhari leaders will remain under this severe restriction even now. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 11th September 1920, No. 37, p. 372).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 19 October 1920**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 19th October writes: –

“Is it not strange that a section of the Sikh community which is essentially a body of honest bread winners, of unusually devotional habits and carrying peaceful avocations, is still suffering under disabilities and indignities which were place on it in an evil moment? We mean the Namdhari Sikhs. Is this section of the Sikh community worse than the criminal tribes not to deserve a favourable consideration of their case? We think by removing police surveillance restrictions on the Namdhari Sikhs the Government has to gain everything – the good will of the people – rather than to lose anything.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 23rd October 1920, No. 43, p. 432).

***Kesari*, 15 May 1921**

The *Kesari* of the 15th May publishes an “open letter” from Nidhan Singh, editor of the *Sat Jug*, addressed to the leaders of the Akali Jatha and the members of the Gurdwara Committee. The writer draws attention to the high-handedness of the Akalis in various places in fixing the Namdhari Sikhs to become Akalis on pain of being boycotted socially and religiously by the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 21st May 1921, No. 20, p. 221).

***Satjug*, 30 November 1921**

The *Satjug* of the 30th November remarks that, according to the Government, the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee does not represent all Sikh interests. No impartial Sikh can deny that the Committee is defective in this respect. The defect had better be removed in which case not only will all Sikhs be satisfied, but the Government also will find no opportunity of complaining against the Committee. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 17th December 1921, No. 50, p. 578).

Partap, 27 March 1922

The *Partap* of the 27th March reports that in the course of his speech at the Namdhari Sikhs' Hola festival at Rawalpindi it was remarked by Bhai Nadhan Singh that the present attitude of the Akalis towards other Sikh sects was intolerable, unpraiseworthy and deplorable. He had been told, for instance, that Namdhari Sikhs were being forced to wear black turbans. The evil was ascribable to the defective constitution of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which contained representatives of the Akalis alone. Maharaj Partap Singh read out the message of one of Guru Ram Singh's companions in which the promise had been made that Guru Ram Singh's *regime* was to commence very soon. A resolution congratulating Mahatma Gandhi on his arrest was also passed. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 1st April 1922. No. 13, p. 163).

Bharat Mata, 12 June 1922

The *Bharat Mata* of the 12th June publishes a communication from Sodhi Baba Hari Singh, M.B., residing at Amritsar. The writer remarks that the real object of the Kukas is not to join the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, but to destroy it. At first they were afraid of raising their voice against the Committee. But now they have got some encouragement and financial aid, with the result that they have started the *Alam* and the *Mastana* newspapers to carry on their propaganda against the Panth. It has transpired that the Maharaja of Nabha is helping the Kukas with money. It is rumoured that the *Alam* and the *Mastana* get financial help from Nabha and the *Satjug* used to receive similar encouragement. All the Sikh societies and Jathas should pass resolutions expressing abhorrence at the present attitude of the Maharaja of Nabha and urging him to sever his connection with the Kukas. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 24th June 1922. No. 25, p. 293).

Satjug, 26 July 1922

The *Satjug* of the 26th July publishes a dialogue between Mihan Singh and Baba Ram Singh, Kuka. The former says that the tyrannical bureaucracy practices great oppression and it will not refrain from doing so unless the Kukas intervene. To this the latter replies by saying that he will come to the Punjab when the tyrants cease practising oppression. Then foreign goods will be cast aside and foreigners will leave bag and baggage. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 5th August 1922. No. 31, p. 370).

Shamsher, 29 July 1922

The *Shamsher* of the 29th July infers from a telegram of the Singh Sabha, Rawalpindi, that the attitude of the Namdhari Sikh deputation which is now

touring in the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab is calculated to injure unity and the national movement. No doubt, certain differences exist between the Namdharis and other Sikhs. But these differences cannot be permitted to widen the gulf of estrangement. The *Shamsher* requests the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the leaders of the Namdhari Sikhs to take immediate steps to put an end to the dangerous movement started by a few selfish and self-styled leaders, as otherwise the consequences will be very serious and national unity will suffer, for which it will be impossible to make amends. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 5th August 1922. No. 31, pp. 366–367).

***Kuka*, 8 September 1922**

The *Kuka* of the 8th September states that there are two strong parties among the Sikhs, *viz.*, the Akalis and the non-Akali Sikhs. The Akalis want to take possession of all the Gurdwaras by force and crush the other party with their strength, while the other side is trying, by preaching against this improper and high-handed conduct of the Akalis, to make the Akalis recognise the rights of the other Sikhs. But the Akalis do not agree to the demands of the rest of their brethren and are ever-ready to suffer the severest hardships at the hands of the bureaucracy in the belief that by suffering beating and hammering at the hands of the Government they might win the sympathy of the public. Hindu and Muhammadan leaders justify this selfish action of the Akalis. They encourage them and are rather instructing them to sacrifice themselves. But how will the Congress leaders (who are now encouraging them) be able to control the situation if it were to result in bloodshed? We appeal to the Congress leaders and the Punjab press to take every step in this disputed matter after a careful consideration and realise their responsibility. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th September 1922. No. 37, pp. 449–450).

***Gargaj Akali*, 10 September 1922**

One Mehtab Singh, Jathedar, writing to the *Gargaj Akali* of the 10th September, complains that instead of extending a helping hand to the Sikhs, the Kukas, who have been calling themselves non-cooperators for the last fifty years, are now cooperating with the Government, which ordered about two hundred innocent brethren of theirs to be blown away from the cannon's mouth at Maler Kotla. He curses them for their cooperation with the Government and urges his Sikh brethren to follow in the footsteps of Guru Arjan Dev and become martyrs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 461).

Kuka, 18 October 1922

The *Kuka* of the 18th October remarks that its only quarrel with the Gurdwara reform movement is that the Parbandhak Committee wishes to place all the Gurdwaras in possession of the Akalis. The Government interferes in this matter on the pretext that the opposing parties may not quarrel with each other. Only so long as the other party contends that the Parbandhak Committee has no right to take possession of all the Gurdwaras can the Government make use of this pretext. The reason why the Guru-ka-Bagh affair has been prolonged and other Sikhs have not bestirred themselves in spite of so many Akalis having gone to jail is that while they consider it a sin and oppression forcibly to take possession of Gurdwaras, they also believe the arrests of simple-minded Akalis to be fruitless and sinful. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, pp. 517–518).

Kuka, 19 October 1922

The *Kuka* of the 19th October states that efforts are being made to bring about a settlement between the Government and the Akalis. We do not understand, however, what sort of a settlement can be made with the Government. Is it intended that the Government should not interfere with the Akalis, whatever unbridled proceedings the latter may take? The only way to settle the matter is that the committee which is to manage the Gurdwaras should represent all the Sikh sects. A settlement is to be arrived at with those whom the matter concerns. The Government has got nothing to do with the Gurdwaras. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 528).

Punjabee, 10 November 1922

Punjabee of the 10th November observes that although so much is being heard about the passive behaviour of the Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh, these Akalis are far from passive towards the Namdharis and the Kukas. The treatment meted out by them to the Namdharis at the Golden Temple, Amritsar, makes it abundantly clear that they are observing non-violence towards the Government because of the latter's strength. If Namdharis can be prevented from entering the Golden Temple on the ground of religious differences, the Akalis too have no right to enter the Gurdwaras of the Namdharis, Udasis and Nirmalas. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 569).

Jathedar, 10 November 1922

Jathedar of the 10th November publishes a communicated article, the writer of which is pleased to learn that the Nirmalas have joined the Sikhs. The decision of the Nirmalas is highly commendable and the Namdhari and Udasi brethren

should learn a lesson from it and also join the Sikhs. This is the time to foster unity, cast aside mutual mistrust and not to create dissensions and stand divided. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 569).

***Kuka*, 4 December 1922**

The *Kuka* of the 4th December remarks that like the Sardars of the old Misals, the Akali *Dal* is acquiring extraordinary power and like the former, the Akali Sikhs are arranging for luxurious living by plundering the weaker sects. They neither care for law or justice, nor do they listen to sense or reasoning. They have at their back the strong power of the zamindars, who are wearing black turbans and enlisting in the Akali *Dal* from motives of plunder. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 610).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 19 August 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 19th August say that the Akalis have maintained silence, but the Namdharis have been committing excesses. They want to quarrel with Akalis at the instigation of the bureaucracy and no understanding can now be effected between the two. It is time for the Shiromani Committee to announce that all social and matrimonial connections with the Namdharis should be cut off. We find no other way of bringing them to their senses. When Sikh villagers boycott the Namdharis, the latter will come to know that it is impossible for them to do anything without the co-operation of their own brethren, even if they are helped by the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, pp. 466–467).

***Updeshak*, 30 August 1923**

The *Updeshak* of the 30th August publishes a communication the writer of which, Bhai Nidhan Singh, *Alam*, refers to the above article and says that so long as the Namdharis live they will be never disposed, through fear, rigour, repression and oppression, to acknowledge the present Shiromani Gurdwara Committee as a representative body of the whole Sikh community. They will acknowledge its representative character only if it be so reconstituted as to secure proper representation of the Udasis, Nirmalas, Nihangs, Namdharis, Sahajdharis, Sanatanists, Nirankaris and others in accordance with their population figures. What right have the Akalis to change ancient usages and customs according to their sweet will and injure the feelings of non-Akali Sikhs? They should respect the rights of Sikhs of all shades of opinion and should not do what they like in the pride of their power. The Shiromani Committee has prohibited the holding of religious Diwans. This is like the bureaucracy's

Seditious Meetings Act. The Namdharis do not care in the least for such illegal announcements and should prepare to make all sorts of sacrifices in defying them. The Akalis are so proud of their power that they are threatening to boycott the Namdharis; but the day is not far when they themselves will be boycotted on account of their high-handed acts. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36, p. 467).

Updeshak, 18 October 1923

The *Updeshak* of the 18th October publishes a proclamation from the Secretary, Namdhari Dal, 519, Chamberlain Road, Lahore, who says: – “Government is committing a great mistake in acting upon the policy of repression. It says that the Maharaja of Nabha has abdicated voluntarily. As a matter of fact, he has been forcibly removed from the *gaddi*. The whole country viewed this even with feelings of abhorrence, but so far from repenting of its action, Government started a war of repression against the public and the Akalis to prevent the latter reciting the Granth at Jaito. This is manifestly an insult to religion. Restrictions were imposed on the recitation of the Granth. Arrests are still being made. The authorities have now hit upon a novel plan. Prominent men (among the arrested persons) are detained to jail, but others are brought down to Rajpura and other railway stations and entrained without any arrangement being made for their food or railway fare. This is clearly an inhuman and tyrannical proceeding which deserves sever condemnation and is bound to prove a failure. The best thing for Government to do is to reinstate the Maharaja, because the Sikhs can never be satisfied without the fulfilment of this demand on their part. The Namdhari Parcharak Dal holds that the Sikh community is composed of various sects and that all Gurdwaras belong to it as a whole. The possession of these sacred places of worship by any single sect, therefore, constitutes a violation of the joint rights of the Sikhs, which is intolerable. The composition of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which represents only the Akali sect, would be so altered as to admit of all Sikh sects being represented on it. The action taken by the Akali sect respecting the rights of other sects should be considered to be null and void. The matter was laid before the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee (by the Namdhari Parcharak Dal), but that body has given no decision as yet. If its Executive Committee is unable to come to a decision it should openly say what difficulties there are in the way. The Namdhari Parcharak Dal would request it to take some effective action without further delay, so that the matter may be decided once for all and regular work may be commenced.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, pp. 567–568).

***Bande Mataram*, 13 December 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* commends the action of the Namdhari Sikhs in notifying their intention to assist the Akalis in connection with the Nabha agitation in response to the Shiromani Committee's appeal and regardless of their religious differences with the Akalis. We are glad that the unseemly dispute between the Akalis and Namdharis has come to an end. This Sikh *sangathan* will undoubtedly prove stupefying to the bureaucracy. If a small *sangathan* can produce such a powerful effect, cannot a *sangathan* of Indians under the Congress banner uproot the English? It can certainly do so. The Akalis and the Namdharis have shown the way to Hindus and Mussalmans. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th December 1923*, No. 51, p. 645).

***Satjug*, 5 March 1924**

The *Satjug* observes that the white Government dubbed Guru Ram Singh a rebel and sent him into exile without any enquiry or trial. He preached the boycott of imported goods and Government service, schools and courts and urged non-cooperation with Government. All these things are now being done by the whole country. How can, then, Government keep our Guru in exile? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 109).

7 **Responses from Other Groups*****Vedic Magazine*, March 1921**

The following is from the March number of the *Vedic Magazine*: – “The Nankana tragedy was, not doubt, prompted by fear on the part of the pampered and voluptuous Mahant that his *gurdwara* would be forcibly taken possession of by Akali parties. That there are abuses in the administration of Sikh *gurdwaras*, which loudly cry out for reform, is beyond question. But the point is whether organised society can go on, if sections of the population were to right their wrongs, without processes of law and by show of force. If non-cooperation had not been decided upon, the Government was the only agency competent to redress the grievances of the Sikhs against the Mahants and to decide all disputes as to rights to ecclesiastical property. Now the only reasonable course is to wait till the attainment of *swarajya* or to secure this worthy object by bringing the pressure of organised public opinion upon the Mahants. If the Khalsa proletariat can be effectively organised, the Mahants can be brought to their knees in no time.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 2nd April 1921, No. 13, p. 140).

***Brahman Samachar*, 9 March 1921**

The *Brahman Samachar* of the 9th March complains that the *gurdwara* movement is intended, in the first place, to oust all Mahants who do not wear long hair and are Brahman or Khatri by caste, and to replace them by *keshdharis*. After remarking that the second object in view is to remove all images of Hindu gods from *gurdwaras*, the paper says that so far *gurdwaras* had been regarded as the common sacred places of the Hindus and Sikhs, but that now they are going to be imbued with the neo-Sikh spirit. The cruel and savage deed of the Nankana Mahant deserves condemnation by all, still is it not right that the passing of *gurdwaras* into the hands of neo-Sikhs would not be good for orthodox Hindus? Have they or their newspapers ever considered the consequences to which the unreasoning movement in question is likely to lead? (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 2nd April 1921, No. 13, p. 140).

***Shanti*, 27 April 1921**

The *Shanti* of the 27th April publishes a communicated article, urging Government not to incline in favour of a powerful community but to do absolute justice. In order to remove misunderstanding it is necessary to say that no Hindu is opposed to the demand of the Sikhs and irreligious Mahants should be removed from *gurdwaras*; but the Hindus desire that Hindu idols should not be removed and no preaching allowed against idolatry. The management and methods of worship should remain as in the past. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 7th May 1921, No. 18, p. 194).

***Partap*, 4 May 1921**

The *Partap* of the 4th May takes exception to the methods adopted by the Sikhs to make the movement a success and says that the movement has drifted into wrong channels. To go to a *gurdwara* in large numbers and persist in remaining there is tantamount to taking forcible possession. By deciding to forcibly evict *mahants* from *gurdwaras* the Sikhs have necessitated police interference. No Government, not even a national Government, can tolerate that any section of people merely by reason of its numerical strength or force should eject one or more persons from their property. Such conduct would result in utter chaos, such as would make all government impossible. The paper takes the Government to task for its indifference in the early stages of the movement, but adds that it become impossible for the Government to remain inactive after the Tarn Taran riot, while it would have lost all claims to be called a Government if it had remained silent after the Nankana tragedy. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 7th May 1921, No. 18, p. 194).

***Liberal*, 18 May 1921**

The *Liberal* of the 18th May writes: –

“We now find that the Akalis are becoming a source of terror not only to the Hindu Sikhs, but even to such among themselves who command the greatest respect of the entire community for their purity of character and their high ideals of service and sacrifice.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 21st May 1921, No. 20, p. 221).

***Sanatan Dharam Patrika*, 29 May 1921**

The *Sanatan Dharam Patrika* of the 29th May remarks that the first position it took up was that all those Gurdwaras which were in the possession of the Akalis should be boycotted and new temples of their own established by the Hindus, where episodes from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagwat [Bhagavad] Gita should be recited, Hindus treating Akalis like non-Hindus. Next by means of justifiable legal help the Hindus should obtain rights in those temples and property worth crores of rupees attached to them which were built with the hard-earned money, not of the Akalis, but of the Hindus and which were hitherto in possession of the Hindus. The Akali Sikhs are not only creating dissensions between Sikhs and Hindus but are also trying to create a breach of the peace in the country. They are guilty of transferring the attention of the people from *Swaraj* to other matters. Recently they consulted Mahatma Gandhi before giving the ultimatum of *Satyagraha* to the Hindus, but the Mahatma advised them not to do so. The Akalis, however, disregarded the advice of this “god” who is worshipped in all parts of the country and decided on the 11th May to take possession of the *dharamsalas* of the Hindus. They tried to create breaches of the peace and accused others of creating dissensions for which they alone are responsible. The orthodox Hindus have a grievance against the political leaders of the country. The latter noticed that the rights of the former had been trampled upon so far as their religious affairs are concerned and yet they dared not reprimand the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 25th June 1921, No. 25, p. 273).

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 26 October 1922**

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 26th (received on the 31st) October states that Swami Wishwanand in his speech at Multan that every Hindu should give one of his sons for enlistment among the Akalis. Some time back Bhai Parma Nand advised the Frontier Hindus to become Sikhs to shake off their fear of the Pathans. It is stated in reply to the demand of *Swaraj* that if the English leave India, the Amir of Kabul or the Frontier Pathans will instantly take possession

of it. Were, however, the number of Sikhs raised to one crore the Indians would be respected in the whole world and would obtain complete independence, let alone Swaraj. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 552).

***Panjabee*, 22 November 1922**

The *Panjabee* of the 22nd November publishes a communicated article from one Ram Sarup Bhatnagar, who says that the Akalis are trying to impress upon the Hindus that they do not wish to injure the latter in any way. It is high time for the Hindus, however, to wake up and make it clear to the Akalis that they cannot be imposed upon. The Hindus should bear in mind that if they do not enter a strong protest against the oppression of the Akalis they will have to suffer an irreparable loss from the religious point of view. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 597).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 29 November 1922**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 29th November writes that if the Akalis do not at once mend their ways, the Government will have to take notice of their revolutionary activities and the whole Akali movement might be held to be seditious. The action of the Akalis in reforming the Gurdwaras by force, in utter disregard of law and the religious rights of other sections, is neither proper nor lawful. They should see for themselves how they are treading the wrong path, which will lead them straight to destruction. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 610).

***Punjab Gazette*, 16 December 1922**

The *Punjab Gazette* of the 16th December remarks that the Akalis have forcibly taken possession of the sacred places of the Hindus and destroyed the idols of their gods and goddesses. The new-born Akali party is taking unlawful possession of Hindu places of worship. A settlement between Hindu Mahants and Akalis should be arrived at, but it is to be seen how Hindu Mahants can save and protect themselves from the high-handedness of the new-fangled Akalis. It is necessary for the Hindus to give expression to their feeling of resentment against the unlawful acts of the Akali Sikhs. For this purpose all Hindus should unite. If they fail to do so now, they will find that it will be too late to safeguard their rights. The high-handedness of Akali Singhs is likely to lead to evil consequences. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, p. 17).

***Muslim Outlook*, 8 May 1923**

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 8th May writes: –

“The Akalis as a body are non-violent and for the sake of a few who have been alleged to have been ‘guilty of violence and incitements to violence’ it must be madness not to conciliate the bulk. It is a dangerous policy to be hard on a race which was the backbone of the army. The right policy is to release more people than the Akalis. When will that be done? When it is done and autocracy and repression are laid at rest, there will be some chance of peace and contentment.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 12th May 1923. No. 19, p. 250).

***Bharat*, 13 June 1923**

The *Bharat* of the 13th June states that certain Muhammadan kings demolished Hindu temples from motives of religious bigotry. Under British rule, however, temples are being pulled down openly. The Government realizes the situation but can do nothing in view of the indifference of the Hindus in the matter. The Amritsar Hindus, the Hindu Sabha and the Hindu Bakshi Sabha should take up the question of temples at once. A largely attended meeting of the Hindus at Amritsar should be held and the Government told that the Akali Dal has deeply wounded Hindu susceptibilities (by pulling down a temple). Will not the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar do anything to heal the wounded hearts of the Hindus? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 23rd June 1923. No. 25, pp. 332–333).

***Bharat*, 20 June 1923**

Writing to the *Bharat* of the 20th June, Ralia Ram, editor of the *Sanatan Dharam Parcharak*, takes the Akalis to task for demolishing certain Hindu temples. It also states that Brahmans from various places stated at the Brahman Conference held at Lahore that the Akalis were harassing Brahmans and (other) Hindus in the villages, outraging Hindu girls and women and kidnapping them. At places where only a few Brahmans and Kshattris live the Akalis ask them to embrace Sikhism and utter most shameful words in respect of the Vedas and incarnations like Rama, Krishna, etc. In short, they have surpassed even (what was done in) in the times of Muhammadans and village after village is found complaining of their misdeeds. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 30th June 1923. No. 26, p. 342).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 7 July 1923**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 7th July complains that at some places Hindu temples have been demolished by the Akalis and asks how long Government will put up with such high-handedness on their part. It is a pity that no action is taken against the Akalis for injuring the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 373).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 10 September 1923**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th September says that the Akalis form a political party composed of people who want to tyrannize over others in the name of *Satyagraha* and religion. They are revolutionaries, enamoured of Bolshevik principles and desirous of keeping up unrest in some form or other. It behoves every one to discourage them. The Congress leaders and non-cooperators should particularly resist the Akalis, whose acts are totally opposed to the creed of non-violence. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 22nd September 1923. No. 38, p. 494).

***Punjab Samachar*, 24 October 1923**

“A true friend of the Sikhs”, writing to the *Punjab Samachar* of the 24th October, warns them against the efforts of the Mussalmans to estrange relations between the Government and the Sikhs. Some Muhammadans have excited the Sikhs who were busy reforming their gurdwaras to such an extent that the Sikhs have transgressed all bounds of propriety and the Gurdwara Committee was converted into a political body. Dr. Kitchlew has turned towards the Sikhs but does not propose to induce his co-religionists to practice civil disobedience. Indeed, why should he do so? Is he an enemy of the Mussalmans that he should prepare them for civil disobedience? While the Mussalmans should enjoy at home and secure increased representation, non-Muslims should go to jails and resign their seats on Municipal Committees. Henceforth Maulanas will hardly achieve success with the Hindus and the brave Sikhs too should not allow themselves to be deceived by the Mussalmans. The participation of Muslim leaders in the religious meetings of the Sikhs will convert their non-violent struggle into a violent conflict. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 582).

***Akali*, 23 November 1923**

The *Akali* has published many noteworthy articles. In its leader the paper remarks that Government suspects the religious movement of the Akalis as being seditious; but as a matter of fact under foreign rule, religion and sedition are one and the same thing. A number of writers advise all communities

in India to unite and offer strong opposition to the present anti-Sikh policy of the Government. Dr. Kitchlew declares that civil disobedience is the only way to attainment of India's freedom. Sharif Ahmand (late of the *Zamindar*) and Malik Lala Khan think that the Akalis will succeed in their agitation if they stick to their religious tenets. In appealing to his co-religionists to render every possible assistance to the Sikhs, M. Muhammad Ali expresses his conviction that this arrogant Government, after finishing with *gurdwaras*, will direct its attention to mosques and temples. Gauri Shankar depicts in a dramatic form the rigours practised by the English on the Sikhs and gives a description of the battle of Chilianwala, where the English received a bad defeat. A Muhammadan correspondent observes that the arrest of the Akali leaders and the proclamation of a purely religious institution as an unlawful assembly clearly show that India is advancing towards revolution, of which the attitude of the bureaucracy is the forerunner. Finally, there is an imaginary "complaint instituted before God by Guru Nanak against George V, King of England, Lord Reading and Sir Edward Maclagan." In this complaint the English are charged with breach of trust by having taken possession of the country of Maharaja Dalip Singh, who was taken to England as a slave and compelled to change his religion. Lord Lawrence is accused of having forced the Sikhs in 1857 to fight against their Indian brethren. His Majesty the King is also charged with insulting the Sikh religion by allowing the canopy offered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to the Hari Mandir to be pitched over his head when he last visited India. The complaint further refers to the destruction of Sikhs at Saragarhi and in other fierce battles, the hardships which the crew of the *Guru Nanak* steamer suffered, the tragedy perpetrated at the Jallianwala Bagh and the oppressions practised on the Sikhs for their activities in connection with the *gurdwara* reform. It also charges the accused with having spent the whole money of the country in the great war and thereby brought about the starvation of its people. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th November 1923*, No. 48, p. 622).

***Darpan*, 6 December 1923**

Principal Gidwani writes to the *Darpan* that the Government has now to confront the Akalis of firm determination. If it maintains its policy of repression, the number of 75,000 Akalis volunteers, who are regularly receiving military training, will be doubled. The Congress and the country will never let the Akalis be crushed, for their defeat will be a challenge to all movements carried on to gain freedom. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th December 1923*, No. 50, p. 636).

***Zamindar*, 13 January 1924**

The *Zamindar* says that if the officials of the Punjab government has possessed some sense they would not have interfered with the Akalis, which would have automatically slackened their movement. As it is, in trying to uphold its prestige Government is only making its own foundation hollow. We congratulate the brave and self-respecting Sikhs on the latest arrests, which have infused a new life into their movement and will enable them to continue their religious struggle with still greater enthusiasm. Indian Muslims heartily sympathise with their Akali brethren. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th January 1924*, No. 3, p. 27).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 24 January 1924**

Writing about the Akalis' assault on the Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, the *Ahluwalia Gazette* says that Government and its officials are wise in dealing with the Akalis according to the law. It is only to conceal their misdeeds that the Akalis do not allow the police to search their offices. It behoves Hindus to be on their guard against the Akalis and not forget the latter's acts of oppression and the demolition of Hindu temples. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd February 1924*, No. 5, p. 43).

***Sant Samachar*, 5 February 1924**

A correspondent of the *Sant Samachar* says that the Akali movement has now taken a political turn. Indeed, from the very inception of the movement its organisers seem to have aimed at consolidating their scattered forces under the cover of religion and then declaring Sikh rule in the Punjab. The Akalis are friends neither of Hindus nor of Muhammadans. They have insulted Hindu idols at several places and do not allow Mussalmans to say the *azan* in the villages where they are in a majority. They have also seduced several poor and weak Muhammadan women. It is the duty of all peaceful citizens to help Government in checking their lawless activities. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 66).

***Gulzar-i-Hind*, 3 March 1924**

The *Gulzar-i-Hind* asks Government to pay full attention to the sensational and seditious Akali movement. If it had tried to extinguish this fire with the help of law it would not have had to fire on their Jatha and the arrogance of the Sikhs would not have gained in strength. The well-wishers of the country and Government should try to end the matter. Otherwise it is feared that sedition will assume a more deplorable aspect in consequence of the release of India's

Lenin, Mahatma Gandhi. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, pp. 97–98).

***Punjab Gazette*, 24 June 1924**

The *Punjab Gazette* opines that the sole cause of the Akali movement gaining in strength is that it has been opposed only half-heartedly by Government. If Government had kept the situation well in hand the movement would not have made such progress. The Akalis carry on their propaganda among simple-minded and easily excitable people. They have also started “a missionary college,” which may be called the breeding ground for preachers of sedition. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924*, No. 26, p. 227).

***Paindu*, 29 August 1924**

Writing to the *Paindu*, “A Nationalist Hindu” asserts that the Akali movement is a revolutionary propaganda, the main object of which is to establish Sikh rule in the Punjab.

The dacoits who attacked Nankana Sahib and are now called martyrs not only beat poor villagers, but also caught hold of their daughters, whose corpses were subsequently found in the tank at Nankana Sahib. As to the doings of the Babar Akalis, they are known by everybody. In another place, the paper publishes a letter from “A Villager” to His Excellency the Governor, which complains that, because of the Akali propaganda, trade has been ruined, cultivation stopped and the economic education of villagers rendered critical. Besides, the Akalis are causing them untold sufferings and even the honour of their women is not safe at the hands of these people. Elsewhere the paper states that once more the Akalis seem ready to draw the *kirpan* and re-enact the Jaito tragedy at Nankana Sahib. The people of the villages are in a depressed state of mind in consequence, their earnings are being spent to meet the requirements of the Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 289).

***Loyal Gazette*, 14 December 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* considers it the duty of the Congress leaders to help the Sikhs. If the Akali movement weakens, the attainment of Swaraj also will be postponed to a distant date. Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent leaders and heads of political parties should take steps to make the cause of the Akalis victorious. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, p. 403).

8 Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh States

Sikh, 23 May 1920

The *Sikh* of the 23rd May writes: –

“The report that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has subscribed Rs. 20,000 to Sir Michael O’Dwyer Memorial Fund, will certainly cause much disappointment to the community, who are told by the Chief Khalsa Dewan that His Highness is their leader. Now this munificent donation will contribute to the institution and maintenance of a memorial to the regime in which hundreds of Sikhs were shot dead, imprisoned, transported for life and hanged, and towards whose fag end this proverbially loyal community was the greatest loser through the martial law atrocities perpetrated in Amritsar, Kasur, Gujranwala (Chuharkana, Mananwala, etc.) and Sheikhpura, under the definite approval and sanction of the self-same Sir Michael O’Dwyer! We remember how this ‘leader’ of the Sikh community exhorted them on the 4th of August 1916 at a grand gathering invited by His Highness at Patiala, to place all they could (men, money and mind) at the disposal of the Empire. Now how munificently has he subscribed to the memory of O’Dwyer-*shahi rule*, during which no pains have been spared to crush the Sikh community, proves how faithful he is to his august position of the ‘leader’ of a great community.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 29th May 1920, No. 22, p. 219).

Siyasat, 25 November 1920

The *Siyasat* of the 25th November writes that Patiala is one of the States which frequently come to public notice on account of their repressive doings. Only recently some innocent persons were arrested there, while during Sir Michael’s time several returned emigrants had to suffer various hardships in the State. A correspondent of a contemporary reports now that in pursuance of an order by the Maharaja it has been proclaimed in Patiala by beat of drum that anyone holding a meeting in the State until further orders will be liable to severe punishment. Nor is this all; a sort of Rowlat Act has also been promulgated by the Ijlas-i-Khas, namely, that more than four persons shall not meet in any church, mosque or temple without that body’s permission. This shows that the Patiala authorities have forgotten God, and regard rule, not as a means of serving the public, but of manifesting their arrogance. Several timid States have already prohibited the holding of public meetings in them in order to please the British Government. No meeting has as yet been held in Patiala, but the prohibition of public meetings there is not without significance. What right has the Maharaja, the paper asks, to rigorous and unjustifiable interference

with the religion of the people? The prohibition to parties of more than four persons to meet at any mosque or temple is clear interference with the religions of the Hindus and Muhammadans. The latter cannot but congregate in their mosques at times of prayers, especially evening prayers, and the prohibition is a base, improper and unjustifiable and probably the first incident of its kinds in regard to Islam in the modern history of India. It is time that the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders took up the question and tried to have the unjust order in question withdrawn. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 4th December 1920, No. 49, p. 491).

***Partap*, 10 December 1920**

The *Partap* of the 10th December states that the Maharaja of Patiala has issued an order to the effect that all societies, whether private or public, already in existence in his State or started in future should be formally registered and their aims and objects definitely specified. Commenting, the paper says that no condemnation can be strong enough for this arbitrary order in the present age of enlightenment and liberty. While Indians, it adds, are demanding complete self-government, the ruler of a Native State considers his subjects unfit to do any work without the guidance of his State. The order means that in future no political, social or even religious movement, which does not commend itself to the local authorities, can be started in Patiala. It has curtailed the liberty of the people there to no small extent. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 18th December 1920, No. 51, p. 517).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 29 March 1922**

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 29th March states that the Sikhs in the Kapurthala States cannot go from one village to another or migrate to British territory. The holding of Diwans has been stopped and Sikhs are tied to tree by their long hair and thrashed with sticks covered with the skin of rhinoceros. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 8th April 1922. No. 14, p. 176).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 1 April 1922**

In its issue of the 1st April the paper [the *Pardesi Khalsa*] states that arrests in the Doaba and severe repression in the Kapurthala state are going on. Most Sikh prisoners have given up taking their meals. In the State the black turban is a terror like a bomb shell. In some villages of the State people have been severely beaten and flogged. The long hair and beards of the Sikhs have been pulled. The Akalis, who are brought there from outside, are threatened, on pain of being flogged, to give up the Akali creed and remove their black turbans

Posts have been located on the borders stopping all ingress of Akalis into the State. The present attitude of this Sikh State is likely to lead to its destruction. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 8th April 1922. No. 14, p. 176).

Panth Sewak, 8 April 1922

The *Panth Sewak* of the 8th April refers to the repression practised upon the Sikhs in Kapurthala and regrets that they should be treated like this in a Sikh State. The Maharaja can have little regard for Sikh sentiments, seeing that he has, unlike his ancestors, renounced Sikh principles. And when such is His Highness's attitude, it is easy to surmise what havoc the subordinate officials in the State can work. The Shiromani Committee should stop this oppression, as otherwise it will become very difficult for the Sikhs to live in Kapurthala. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd April 1922. No. 16, p. 193).

Gargaj Akali, 12 and 13 May 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 12th and 13th May publishes a letter headed "Secret tricks of the Brahman Minister." The writer, a Secretary of an Akali jatha in the Patiala State, invites the attention of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee and the Sikh League to the oppression which is being practised in the Patiala State and says that the Brahman Minister and not the Maharaja is to blame for this. The Patiala State authorities ill-treat the inhabitants of the Nabha State visiting the Patiala State and the writer refers to the arrest of Amar Singh of Delhi made at the instance of the Minister. The Minister has sent Natha Singh to Lahore to instruct Amar Singh to state that the Maharaja of Nabha had given him, Master Mota Singh and his three companions a sum of three lakhs of rupees as a reward for throwing a bomb at the Prince of Wales when he visited Patiala and that two lakhs were paid in advance, while the remaining one lakh was to be paid afterwards. One might well ask what enmity the Maharaja of Nabha bore the Prince of Wales. Such machinations are being resorted to have the Sikhs crushed by their co-religionists. The Maharajas of both States should be on their guard. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 238).

Bharat, 9 June 1922

The *Bharat* of the 9th (received on the 14th) June says that the deputation sent by the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to the Patiala State to enquire into the alleged repression on Akali Sikhs in the State promised without any suggestion or inducement to publish a *communiqué* condemning the action of

several persons posing as Akalis who were raising a noise against the Maharaja of Patiala and taking possession of the gurdwaras and preaching politics at religious meetings against the wishes of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. But so far no such *communiqué* has been published. This silence on the part of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee shows that it will be dangerous for the Sikhs to rely on it. The Committee cannot be called a representative body of the Sikhs and it is the duty of the Sikhs to protest strongly against its undesirable attitude. In fact, the *Akali* and *Pardesi Khalsa* are ignoring the true facts, attacking the Patiala State and bringing about disunion among the Sikhs. In the end, the paper defends Sir Daya Kishan Kaul against newspaper attacks on him. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 24th June 1922. No. 25, p. 293).

Loyal Gazette, 11 June 1922

Writing to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 11th June, Gyani Sher Singh reports that a deputation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee waited on the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the persecution of the Akalis. The Patiala Government has, however, issued a *communiqué* in which the conversation of the deputation has been distorted with the object of giving it a bad name. A rejoinder to the *communiqué* will therefore be published. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 24th June 1922. No. 25, p. 293).

Kirpan Bahadur, 15 December 1922

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 15th December states that the Maharaja of Patiala visited Amritsar on the 15th of this month. Some members of the Parbandhak Committee welcomed him at the Clock Tower and escorted him to the Golden Temple. His Highness offered large sums of money at the Darbar Sahib, the Akal Takht, etc. Such is the power of money that at the Darbar Sahib, where a lion-like man like Maharaja Ranjit Singh was flogged (?) on the ground of his being a *tankhahiya*, no one even called the Maharaja of Patiala to account for his oppression on the Akalis in his State. But what hope can one entertain from others when even the independent-minded and learned men of the Khalsa College had not the courage to lay the matter before His Highness? The authorities of the College presented an address to him, but made no mention of the sufferings of the Sikh community. A Punjab poem indulging in barefaced flattery was also recited on the occasion. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd December 1922. No. 51, p. 638).

***Bande Mataram*, 15 March 1923**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th March states that on the occasion of his recent visit to Kapurthala Lord Reading praised the administration of that State. The Viceroy and other British authorities must express their gratitude for the pleasures they enjoy during their visits to Native States. All the same we cannot congratulate the Maharaja of Kapurthala on the Viceroy's remarks about the war services of his State and the help given by it in the maintenance of peace. The wise measures referred to by Lord Reading probably include the order prohibiting Lala Lajpat Rai, the pride of his nation, from entering the State. If the other measures were of the same nature, it is unnecessary to discuss them. As to the services which the Indian states render in quelling internal disorder, the States only cooperate with the brave armies of the King-Emperor in practising savage rigour and repression like that to which the Indians are subjected under martial law and on other similar occasions. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 24th March 1923. No. 12, p. 161).

***Punjab Darpan*, 3 August 1923**

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 3rd April states that the Maharaja of Patiala has issued orders that no religious place or ashram should be built in his State without his previous sanction. Every word of the order should show how much love His Highness has for religion. It seems that his officials apprehend lest the Akalis should establish a centre in Patiala for the propagation of their religion and revive the Akali movement, which is at present in a suppressed state owing to oppression by the Patiala police. The Maharaja may issue not one but hundreds of orders like this, but Gurdwaras will be erected and centres for the propagation of religion established in his State. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 11th August 1923. No. 32, p. 420).

***Akali*, 19 August, 1923**

The *Akali* of the 20th August complains that the Sikh students of the Sangrur High School are not allowed to wear black turbans and *kirpans*. Mr. Dhingra, Prime Minister of Jind, should not impose such restrictions on the Sikh religion to please any English officer. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 1st September 1923. No. 35, p. 456).

***Akali*, 6 February 1924**

The *Akali* publishes an open letter addressed to the Maharaja of Patiala by Raja Mohindar Partap, who says in the course of it: – “Although I am married to the real sister of the Maharaja of Jind, all the Phulkian States belong to the same family. I am, therefore, proud of being a relative of yours. You are being accused

of having brought about the deposition of your brother ruler of Nabha. A person who can put up with the trouble and humiliation of a brother ruler can care very little for a mere relation (like me). Nevertheless, relying on your high religious principles and family and personal courage I venture to address this letter to you. Personally I do not think much of relationship. Even if my real brother commites treachery he is in my eyes as much an enemy (of mankind) as any other ill-wisher of human beings can be. As, after Maharaja Ranjit Singh, your State holds the important position of being the head of the Sikh community and as I consider Sikhism to be a link connecting the Hindu and Muslim religions I have always held your State in esteem. This is why I suggested in 1912 in my newspaper *Prem* that in the event of a war in Europe the Punjab should be given to the Maharaja of Patiala. I further recommended that the Province of Agra and Oudh should be made over to Gwalior and a democratic Government should be established in Bengal. In making porposals for the administration of other provinces and in order to preserve the homogeneity of India, I had recommended that the Nizam of Hyderabad should be recognized as King-Emperor of India, though I made the suggestion that the army should be under a Mahratta Commander-in-Chief. I place monarchy and democracy on an equal footing. It is my principle that a Government, whether monarchical or democratic, should be in the hands of virtuous men and women. But whatever my principles may be the world is always advancing. During the past twelve years strange changes have occurred not only in India but throughout the world. There is a Labour Government in Russia, the rule of the Kaiser has come to an end in Germany and we have just heard of the enthronement of a Labour Government in England. Maharaj, the world is changing. Look in your own neighbourhood. What wonderful people have been born in the shape of Akali Sikhs. You should not regard them as in any way less than representing a marvellous change. They are in several respects superior to all (other Sikhs), because they possess a new zeal for revolution side by side with their old religious strength. I request you, therefore, not to offend them in any way. Your bravery lies in confessing your mistake, in apologizing to them and in serving them. Ignorant people unacquainted with the modern world will perhaps lead you astray, but I tell you on the basis of my experience of the whole world that if you entertain a high ambition or hope or if you do not wish your children to die from starvation you should serve the Akalis." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th February 1924*, No. 6, p. 53).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 3 March 1924**

An imaginary letter from "Phul to Bhupinder Singh" is published by the *Akali-te-Pardesi*, which says: – "O Bhupindar Singh, what has happened to thy

brain that thou hast stained the honour of my family. It is a pity that the Granth Sahib should come to my house and thou shouldst send troops to receive it with bullets! O ungrateful Bhupinder Singh, be sensible and submit to the Panth. Entreat it for pardon. Remember that the friends of whom thou dost feel proud have befriended no one." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 98).

Kirpan Bahadur, 8 March 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* states that while the poorest among the Panth are accorded suitable reception to the Shahidi Jatha, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh is preparing ground for his excommunication by his announcement about the Jatha. Every word of the document shows that he is straying from the Sikh fold. There is also some truth in the popular contention that the responsibility for the bloodshed at Jaito lies with the ruler of Patiala. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th March 1924*, No. 11, p. 107).

Gurdwara, 25 February 1924

It is stated in a Supplement to the *Gurdwara* that the whole Sikh community will hang down its head in shame at the manner in which the Sikh States of Patiala and Faridkot proved themselves the right hands of the bureaucracy in the shameful general massacre at Jaito. If the Sikhs were really pursued by the Patiala cavalry, we may well ask these Bedouins why they thus covered themselves with the curses of the world when the clever bureaucracy itself did not interfere with the progress of the Jatha in its own territory. The article concludes with the total denial of the allegation that the Jatha was armed. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 117).

Akali, 16 March 1924

The *Akali* states that the Maharaja of Patiala has issued a proclamation prohibiting his subjects from association with Akali activities. In other words, they are not to do anything religious or political likely to go against the British Government. If His Highness sympathises with religious movement he should know that their religion is being interfered with at Jaito. How can he then prevent them from protesting against this interference? Why is he siding with Government in destroying the Panth? He has not inherited his State under any perpetual lease. It is, like the Nabha State, a gift from the Gurus. It was expected of him as the premier Sikh ruler to help the Panth in its hour of sore need. Future generations will pronounce curses upon him. His forefathers sacrificed their lives in opposing the Government for the sake of the Satguru. If he cannot help the Panth, he should not throw obstacles in its way either.

Otherwise, the Panth will devote its attention to him on the termination of the present struggle. No Government will come to his aid and he will have to wring his hands in sorrow. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd March 1924*, No. 12, p. 117).

Loyal Gazette, 23 March 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* says that the Maharaja of Patiala's *communiqué* regarding the Shahidi Jatha will strain the relations between His Highness and the Panth. The *communiqué* was gratuitous and has caused intense dissatisfaction among the Akalis. His non-Sikh advisers are depriving the Maharaja of the inestimable sympathy of the Khalsa Panth. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th March 1924*, No. 13, p. 124).

Bharat, 3 May 1924

The *Bharat* states that according to rumour, the Prime Minister of Jind has, after consultation with Colonel Minchin, Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States, decided to send the Maharaja to England and that His Highness will not return to India. If the report is well-founded Jind also is going to be placed under British supervision, for a some time at least. Does the fault of its ruler consist in the State lagging behind the so-called Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha and Faridkot in practising oppression on the Akalis? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 175).

Loyal Gazette, 11 May 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* states that it is rumoured that His Highness the Maharaja of Jind, who is proceeding to England, will not return to India. Is Government bent upon extirpating the rulers of the Phulkian States? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 184).

Babar Sher, 11 May 1924

The *Babar Sher* states that some Sikh soldiers belonging to a Sangrur regiment went to a Gurdwara and took *pahul*. On their return to the barracks one of them named Ratan Singh was placed under custody and is now being asked to doff his *kirpan* on pain of three years' imprisonment. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 184).

Kesari, 14 May 1924

A correspondent of the *Kesari* alleges that a campaign of oppression has begun in the Jind State. Bhai Bir Singh, agent of the *Babar Sher*, was recently arrested on the charge of fomenting discontent by importing copies of paper, whose

entry in the State has been prohibited. He is still in the lock-up and no case has yet been filed against him. Sardar Ratan Chand, proprietor of the Guru Mat Agency, was arrested at the Sangrur railway station and confined in a small “cage” which he has also to use as latrine. The goods in his shop – including sacred books, pictures and *kirpans* – have been taken away by the police. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 184).

Kirpan Bahadur, 22 May 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* states that the servants of Bhupinder Singh of Patiala broke the locks of the Panch Khand Gurdwara on the 16th May and carried away all religious books and thousand of rupees in cash. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 31st May 1924*, No. 22, p. 199).

Akali-te-Pradesi, 30 May 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* alleges that a storm of repression is again raging in the Patiala State. Those who took part in making collections in aid of the Five Pice Fund are being threatened with confiscation of their property. Again, baseless serious charges of sedition and conspiracy are being levelled against people engaged in religious work. Certain astute persons are also devising schemes at the instigation of Sir Daya Kishan Kaul to revive the Babar Akali movement in Malwa with the object of involving the national workers in that *ilaqa* in murder cases. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 7th June 1924*, No. 23, p. 204).

9 Akalis and the Kashmir State

Rajput Gazette, 29 September 1923

The *Rajput Gazette* of the 29th September (received on the 9th October) states that the *Akali-te-Pardesi* affirms that if the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir wishes to fight against the Akalis at the instance of Government the Khalsa also are not women, seeing that they possess the sharp *kirpan* of non-violence. This is an open attack upon the Maharaja and his officials and police are quite justified in adopting such measures as are required for the maintenance of peace in the State. The Akalis should bear in mind that if they raise their heads in Jammu and Kashmir they will find the valiant Rajputs ready to crush them. We advise the *Akali-te-Pardesi* to abstain from publishing such writings, for otherwise the result will not be satisfactory for the Akalis themselves. (*Punjab Press Abstract. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 20th October 1923. No. 42, p. 554*).

10 **Sympathizers in the Army****Sansar, 23 May 1921**

The *Sansar* of the 23rd May understands that 13 Sikhs of Regiment No. 56-1, Kohat, were arrested for wearing black turbans and were kept in the lock-up for 28 days, eight of them were released and five were discharged after trial by court-martial. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 18th June 1921, No. 24, p. 262).

Sansar, 26 May 1921

The *Sansar* of the 26th May reports that Sardar Mohindar Singh, Naik of the 17th Cavalry, has been reduced on being tried by court-martial for wearing a black turban. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 18th June 1921, No. 24, p. 262).

Sansar, 30 May 1921

The *Sansar* of the 30th May publishes a communication from Tara Singh, who reports that Ujjagar Singh and Hazara Singh of the Amritsar District, Bhai Dyal Singh and Ishar Singh of Gurdaspur and Sohan Singh of Gujranwala were discharged from Regiment No. 56, Company No. 1, Kohat, on the charge of wearing black turbans. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 18th June 1921, No. 24, p. 262).

Akali, 27 November 1921

KISHAN SINGH publishes in the *Akali* of the 27th November "A request to troops", in which he states that district authorities are sending copies of a form to zaildars and lambardars, who have to secure the signatures of pensioned and discharged sepoy. The last-named are being asked to attend all functions in connection with the Prince's visit, those not affixing their signatures being threatened with the confiscation of their pensions, imprisonment, etc. They should not, however, be misled by improper threats on the part of the authorities. Pensions cannot be confiscated even if persons drawing them are sent to jail. The soldiers in question should not sign the form, it being shameful for an Indian to attend such functions. The Prince has been openly boycotted by the National Congress, the Muslim League and the Central Sikh League. It is, therefore, wholly sinful to attend functions connected with his reception. These are the white-coloured officers whose hands are red with the blood of your brothers. They riddled our innocent brethren of the *Komagata Maru* with bullets at Budge Budge. We have been commanded by the Guru not to

cooperate with the sinful tyrants. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 10th December 1921, No. 49, 528).

Qaum Parast, 22 October 1922

The *Qaum Parast* of the 22nd (received on the 31st) October remarks that the repression practised by the Government on the Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh has led to jatha of military pensioners going there to practice satyagraha. The Sikhs will know no rest unless their rights are conceded. They will peacefully sacrifice their lives for the sake of their religion. The Government will have to hand over the gurdwaras, dharamshalas and the property attached to them to the Shiromani Committee without further delay. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 554).

Partap, 25 October 1922

Writing about the military pensioners' *jatha*, the *Partap* of the 25th October remarks that the men know that they will be imprisoned and may also forfeit their pensions. They do not, however, care for this. The reason is that they consider their religion to be in danger and think that the Government is interfering with their religious rights. They are undoubtedly disobeying the laws of the Government, but they are doing so to obey higher laws. The Government has so far failed to understand the importance of the Akali movement. On the 22nd October the struggle took a new and striking turn. This is the first day on which the military Sikhs, who had served the Government for 25 or 30 years and been wounded in its service, offered themselves for sacrifice in this religious war. It is the duty of the Government carefully to examine this new phase of the movement. Failure is writ large on the struggle which it is carrying on. It should read the word and withdraw from the struggle. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, pp. 541–542).

Panth, 25 October 1922

The *Panth* of the 25th October says that unjustifiable interference by the government in religious matters has at last compelled the retired military Sikhs to break the law. It is to be wished that the Government would realize even now how disgusted the Indians are with its attitude and how their feelings have been hurt. The Sikhs will not retrace their steps unless they get back their Gurdwaras and secure the release of every Sikh imprisoned in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair or any political matter. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, p. 542).

***Zamindar*, 28 October 1922**

The *Zamindar* of the 28th October says that these high-minded members of the Sikh community (the military pensioners) have, for the sake of their religion, unhesitatingly smashed the extremely burdensome shackles of worldly considerations and thereby doubled the glory of the sacrifices made by the Sikhs. May the sight of their sacrifices infuse life into the rest of India! (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, p. 542).

***Akali*, 15 October 1923**

The *Akali* of the 15th October remarks that our military brethren get themselves sacrificed in the field of battle for the sake of a Government which is keeping India under it by means of force, oppression, deceit and fraud. How foolish is this! Their national character or some temptation forces people to enlist in the army. They are exposed to hundreds of dangers, when confronted with the aeroplanes, cannon and bombs of the enemy. They get pensions after much difficulty. Some receive *jagirs* and squares of land also. But Government has now announced through the Associated Press that if they swerve from the path of loyalty, all these will be confiscated. The Sikhs are faced with the question: Will they deny Guru Gobind Singh and *Wah Guru* by suffering the Granth Sahib, Gurdwaras and religious Diwans to be insulted or will they preserve their conscience? This faithlessness of the part of Government is most surprising. We hope that, like its other attacks, this assault by the bureaucratic Government will also fail to shake that faith of the Sikhs which they have gained through the blood of the worthy sons of Guru Gobind Singh and lakhs of martyrs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, pp. 564–565).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 22 October 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 22nd October avers that the object in view is to confiscate the pensions of Sikh pensioners. It is only the (retired) Sikh soldiers who are taking any appreciable part in the Gurdwara movement. Is such a rule in force in England also? The recipients of pensions or *jagirs* earned them by their past services and not in view of any future help. Our pensions are a debt which Government owes us and the bureaucracy has not right to stop them. We wish to inform it that its threats will have no effect on religious-minded heroes. Of what avail can they be with the heroes who were burnt alive in kilns, were crushed under railway trains and fell preys to bayonets? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th October 1923. No. 43, p. 565).

Akali, 29 December 1923

In yet another issue the paper [the *Akali*] reports that the Punjab Government has issued a circular letter empowering Deputy Commissioners to confiscate the pensions of military men taking part in the Akali movement. The major portion of the Punjab, which was devoted slave of Government on a few years ago, is already non-cooperating with it and hates it because of the rigours practised by it and its disregard of Sikhs rights. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924, No. 1, p. 6*).

Kesari, 17 April 1924

Kesari states that the repression intended to crush the Akali movement has at last commenced. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar has informed military pensioners in his district that if they take part in the Akali movement in future their pensions will be stopped. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924, No. 17, p. 152*).

Akali, 2 November 1924

Adverting to the Bombay Government's action in permitting pensioners to take part in politics, the *Akali* complains that the Punjab Government has place an embargo on the religious freedom of pensioners. The pension and jagirs or several persons have been forfeited for their having taken part in the Gurdwara reform movement. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th November 1924, No. 45, p. 355*).

Gurdwara Legislation

1 Charitable and Religious Trusts Bill of 1919

Panjab Darpan, 24 September 1919

Referring to the Charitable and Religious Trust Control Bill, the *Panjab Darpan*, of the 24th September 1919, says that under the proposed law the trustee and managers of temples and other religious places can be prosecuted and sent about their business. The measure is urgently wanted because of the existing mismanagement of religious places and institutions. It should also provide for the constitution of supervising committees consisting of men belonging to the communities concerned, so as to save *wakf* properties from the hands of *pujari* plunderers. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 4th October 1919, No. 40, p. 330).

Khalsa Advocate, 17 February 1920

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th February writes: –

“Look at the Punjab government. It has surprised the Punjabis by stating that the Bill was in advance of public opinion. The Hon’ble Sir William Vincent doubted if that was correct. And we also doubt if it is correct. Public opinion, so far as the educated community and the reform party is concerned, is explicit, decided and declared, and we cannot say how the Punjab Government has jumped to the conclusion that ‘the Bill is in advance of public opinion.’ The Punjab is eminently the home of the Sikhs. The last indigenous Government which she had was also a Sikh Government. Most of the charitable and religious trusts and endowments which exist in the Punjab do also belong to one or other section of the Sikh church. And the world knows how the Sikhs have ventilating their grievances about the mismanagement and misuse of these trusts. They have expressed their opinion in unequivocal terms. Next to Sikhs come the trusts which belong to orthodox Hindus. But being orthodox by their very nature the Hindus are too conservative to be expected to move. Still the enlightened among the orthodox Hindus have not failed to raise their voice against the scandalous state of affairs which exists now as regard the control and management of their trusts. Excepting the Mussalmans there is no other religious denomination of any importance who has either such trusts at stake or feels interested in trusts which belong to others. Sikhs have expressed their

opinion, Hindus have done so and Mussalmans have also done so. In the face of these facts we fail to understand how the Punjab Government has come forward to say that the measure is in advance of public opinion. If by the expression 'public opinion' is meant the opinion of the educated community and that of the reform party we think it is sufficiently clear and declared on the point. How then are we to account for the expression of opinion of the Punjab Government that the Bill is in advance of public opinion? How can such a wideawake ruler as Sir Edward Maclagan, with such an intimate knowledge of the views of the people, be a part to such an unwise and unfortunate counsel to the Imperial Government unless of course it be influenced by some big and influential Mahants and Majawars of whom there are plenty in the Punjab. If it be so we cannot help saying that to be influenced by orthodox opinion, which in the very nature of things cannot be expected to be otherwise than bitterly opposed to any measure of reform which affects their (*sic*) undisputed power and authority, if it is not the height of folly, it certainly betrays lack of that true statesmanship and political wisdom which is so essential a qualification of a progressive Government. And if this opinion be not the result of the beseeching and coaxing of the priestly class, whose lot becomes adversely affected by any such measure of reform, as we have hinted above, the other probably guess can be that it must have been the finding of the Government of Sir Edward Maclagan's predecessors." Proceeding, the paper refers to the Home Member's remark that if the Bill was considered to be in advance of public opinion in the Punjab, this Province "should be excluded from the area to be provided under the Act." Commenting, it says: – "We strongly protest against any idea of exclusion from the area to be provided under the Act. No province feels the need of such an act more than the Punjab. It is no fairplay and justice that the mistaken view of a Government should reflect on its people who have neither any effective voice nor any hand in giving it either a sharp or an expression. We trust the Select Committee will attach no importance either to the opinion of the Punjab Government in this matter or the idea of the Hon'ble Home Member for the exclusion of the Punjab from the area to be provided under the Act." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 28th February 1920, No. 9, pp. 92–93).

Sikh, 24 March 1921

Writing in the *Sikh* of the 24th March PRINCIPAL JODH SINGH says: –

"*Gurdwaras* as distinct from Sikh charitable trusts must be managed according to the principles promulgated by the Sikh religion, and if the reforms fail short of that, the trouble will surely increase. The Sikhs cannot and will not accept a compromise, because it is a question of religion and not of

politics; therefore, before taking legislation in hand it is clearly the duty of the Government to ascertain clearly what Sikh religion ordains in these matters. I, for one, do not admit that there are any sects in Sikh religion. But supposing there are, *gurdwaras* belong to the whole community and not to sects, and the just representation of each sect on the management will be according to the number of Sikhs that compose that sect. Certainly if tomorrow a man creates a new schism and gets a handful of men as his followers he could not claim equal rights. With those who have thousands and hundreds of thousands in their folds, Sikh *gurdwaras* are not trusts in the ordinary sense of the term. They belong to the whole community and if it ever comes to ascertaining the wishes of the community in the matter, numbers must tell. I would therefore, request the Government to ascertain carefully what sects, if any, there are in Sikhism and what is the number of the adherents of each?" (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 2nd April 1921, No. 13, pp. 141-142).

2 Gurdwara Bill of 1921

Punjab Darpan, 10 February 1921

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 10th February says that the Punjab Government has announced the appointment of a committee to propose a law about the management of *gurdwaras*. The paper is at a loss to understand, however, what this can mean. Government has never enacted any law relating to churches and mosques. Where is, then, the necessity for the law referred to? Is this not tantamount to interfering in the religious affairs of the Sikh community? (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 19th February 1921, No. 8, p. 79).

Khalsa Akhbar, 18 and 25 March 1921

In its combined issue dated the 18th and 25th March [received on the 5th April] the *Khalsa Akhbar* refers to the proposed *gurdwara* legislation, and says that so far Government has some hand in [the management only of] the Golden Temple, but that now it will take possession of all the *gurdwaras*. After remarking that the desire [*lit.* object] of the officials to prevent the Sikhs from obtaining possession [of these places] will thereby be realised, the paper asserts that this desire on the part of the officials was in no small degree responsible for prompting the Nankana Mahant to commit a general massacre. The Sikh leaders should hold a conference to devise means to save their community from ruin. We should practice complete non-cooperation with Government, and all Sikh councillors should tender their resignations. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 9th April 1921, No. 14, p. 146).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 25 March 1921**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th March writes: –

“While we recognise this honest attempt of those who wish to help the Sikhs in successfully carrying out the process of reformation of the doleful condition of their gurdwaras, we cannot help saying that no satisfactory provision has been made for giving the supreme and absolute authority to the Gurdwara Committee in adjudging disputes arising between the Pujaris themselves and between the Pujaris, Mahants, etc., and the Gurdwara Committee. We think the only tentative arrangement provided is that in case of such disputes arising they will be discussed and settled by a Board consisting of two members of the Gurdwara Committee, two members of the contending party and one Sikh Government official of not lower status than that of a senior Sub-Judge. In a way this arrangement leaves the final decision of such disputes in the hands of a Government official. We do not think the Sikh community would like, after all their heavy sacrifices, that Government should still retain its hand, somehow or other, in the control of their *gurdwaras*. We wish arrangements could be made to save the paternal Government, the necessity which could give it the complexion of interference in the religion of the Sikhs by the Government.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 2nd April 1921, No. 13, p. 143).

***Tribune*, 26 March 1921**

Writing about the proposed gurdwara legislation to the *Tribune* of the 26th March PROFESSOR TEJA SINGH says: –

“2. Intervention by Government or any non-Sikhs in the management or administration of gurdwaras will be considered as an encroachment on the religious liberty of the Sikhs and cannot be tolerated.

“It appears from recent pronouncements that the Government intends to appoint Commissioners, similar to the Charity Commissioners in England, to enquire into cases of dispute and, if necessary, to take charge of *gurdwaras*. This will be only a veiled extension of the present defective law, under which *gurdwaras* are being attached and which treats the whole Sikh Panth, the rightful owner, as a mere party against its servants, the mahants. The effect of such legislation will be that instead of one Sarbarah, whom the Sikhs have with great difficulty ousted, there will be many Sarbarahs; and instead of one Golden Temple, the Government will be controlling all Sikh temples. It will also be possible for non-Sikhs to be nominated, which is an outrage on Sikh faith and sentiment.

“3. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is the central representative body of the Panth for the control and management of the Gurdwaras.

This committee should exercise the rights of the Panth with regard to the Gurdwaras. It will, of course, work through Sub-Committees who may be allowed considerable latitude like the proposed Commissioners. Recognition of the position of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee is an essential condition to a satisfactory solution of the present problem.

“4. One thing that is apt to be forgotten by the Government is that the Sikhs are anxious to exercise generosity along with equity towards all concerned with Sikh Gurdwaras. It should not be supposed that all incumbents, worthy or unworthy, will be ejected without consideration of their past work and present conduct. ...

“6. In order to facilitate the success of the proposed legislation, it is necessary to begin with a clean slate. The new law should be ushered in which the release of all the Sikhs arrested in connection with the *gurdwara* reform movement.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 2nd April 1921, No. 13, p. 143).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 1 April 1921**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 1st April: –

“The world at large and particularly the Sikhs were given to believe that Government meant to withdraw their hand from the control and management of the centres of religion of the Sikhs. But who ever suspected that Government was to return armed with suffocating grip and squeezing arm of law. The Bill which the Punjab Government wishes to introduce and pass during the ensuing week fully inclines to confirm us in our misgivings. The Sikhs have been utterly disillusioned in their fond hopes and trust on Government. Government would under the new Act exercise complete control over our *gurdwaras*, ‘disputed’ ones of course. Is it the honest way of redeeming the Sovereign’s solemn pledge not to interfere in the religious affairs of his subject races? The Bill virtually sets at naught the absolute and supreme authority of the Guru Khalsa over their own centres of religion. It nullifies the title of the Gurdwara Committee to manage the *gurdwaras* and places all authority in the hands of the Government. The Bill, if passed, would mean the usurpation of power and authority. This is disgusting in the extreme. The Sikhs would regard the infliction of this abominable piece of legislation on them as a tyranny of most crucifying nature. We are sure the Sikhs would be no party to the passage of this anti-Sikh Bill, as it is, into act and not sign their own death warrant that would keep their hands and minds free to act in the best interests of the Panth.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 2nd April 1921, No. 13, pp. 143–144).

***Sikh*, 3 April 1921**

The *Sikh* of the 3rd April summarises the provision of the Gurdwara Bill, and writes: –

“(i) That the members of the Board will be appointed and nominated by the local Government deprives the feature of two-thirds being the Sikhs of all its beauty and usefulness. The Government authorities may follow the definition of ‘Sikh’ coined by Sirs Arur Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi for them and thus may not refrain from taking in a Ganda Singh of Sialkot and an Harnami Shah of Amritsar, thereby adding insult to injury. The members ought to be returned by the Panth.

“(ii) There is to be made absolutely no reference to any representative body of the Panth – the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the Chief Khalsa Dewan or the Sikh League – in the procedure prescribed.

“(iii) If the Act is to have a retrospective effect and applied to such shrines – the Golden Temple, Tarn Taran, Nankana Sahib, and others – as are already under the control of the Panth, the result can better be imagined than described. The legislation will then simply negative the object it is said to be meant for.

“Let us hope that the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council will not let these defects go unchallenged. At any rate, the proposed legislation means direct interference by Government in our religious affairs.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 9th April 1921, No. 14, p. 146).

***Akali*, 3 and 4 April 1921**

In its combined issue dated the 3rd and 4th April the *Akali* writes that in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the Sikhs never consented to State interference in religious affairs. Under British rule, however, a sycophant was always appointed manager of the Golden Temple. No Sikh can bear to hear the tale of the evil doings and practices carried on in the most sacred place of the Sikhs in consequence. It is difficult to see why this treatment is reserved for the Sikhs: other communities have always kept their religious places in their own hands. The Sikh community deserves to be pitied. It tried to secure the removal of one religious place from the control of Government, but is going to suffer all its *gurdwaras* to pass out of its hands. The Gurdwara Bill has been published and will have become law in a week's time. Government is forging fetters and shackles for the Sikh religion, and it now rests with the Sikhs to allow any interference with their *gurdwaras* by orders of any one except God. In drafting the bill prominence has been given [to the supposition] that Mahants, Pujaris and others constitute a party opposed to the Sikhs. As a matter of fact, however, they have always been servants of the latter, who can dismiss them at any time.

But Government allows evil-doing Mahants of every description to pay no heed to the Guru Panth by seeking the refuge of laws like the one under contemplation and to enjoy themselves in any way they like. That law alone can be accepted by the Khalsa which is framed by the whole community. If, however, Government wishes to enact a law regarding the religious places of the Sikhs it should be one approved by the community. Even a Sikh Government can have no right to pass such a law in accordance with its own wishes. Even under the Sikh rule such laws could be made only by the representatives of the community. The Sikhs are prepared to accept a board or managing committee which is not composed of their coreligionists elected by the Panth. Is it not tantamount to interfering in the religious affairs of the Sikhs that Hindus and Muhammadans should be appointed by Government to manage Sikh religious places? The Sikh sense of self-respect can never tolerate that these places should be made over to non-Sikhs in accordance with the wishes of a Christian Government. The Sikhs should, therefore, unite their forces and prepare themselves [? for action] by the 12th April inasmuch their religious places will now pass out of their hands, not for a temporary period, but for ever, under cover of inquiries to be made by a board. If they do not wish that there should appear hundreds of Arur Singhs to manage their *gurdwaras* and that their religious usages and practices should be moulded by Government, the whole community should declare with one voice that it will not obey a law like the one now on the anvil. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 9th April 1921, No. 14, pp. 146–147).

***Kesari*, 4 April 1921**

The *Kesari* of the 4th April regrets that the Punjab Government should have been unable to secure the services of some true Sikhs to draft the Bill. It entrusted the work to Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Mr. Joseph. The matter is purely religious, and however capable and learned the gentlemen named may be, both of them are not fully acquainted with the Sikh religion and traditions. It would have been better if, in view of their incapability in this respect, they had not undertaken the task. Continuing, the paper asks whether the proposed law will help in the realisation of all the wishes which led the Sikhs to commence a struggle to take their *gurdwaras* out of the hands of the present Mahants, etc. After remarking that the provisions of the Bill will prove wholly insufficient to meet these wishes, it says that the movement was started with two objects – firstly, to purge *gurdwaras* of the debauchery carried on there by Mahants, and secondly, to spend the income from these *wakf* properties on the community, *e.g.*, on educating its children and supporting Sikh orphans, widows and the like. If neither of these objects can be gained, how is it possible to satisfy

the Sikhs, who are prepared to sacrifice their all and suffer every hardship in order to better the condition of their *gurdwaras*? The Bill provides that the income from *gurdwaras* shall, first of all, be utilised for maintaining the present Mahants and those dependent on them. It is nowhere laid down, however, that only those Mahants who bear a good moral character and strictly follow their religion shall be maintained. The law proposed by Government cannot be called satisfactory in this respect and is incapable of improving the moral character of Mahants. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 9th April 1921, No. 14, p. 147).

***Liberal*, 4 April 1921**

The *Liberal* of the 4th April has the following: –

“SARDAR KHAZAN SINGH, bar-at-law, Lyallpur, writes to us as follows: – ‘I have read carefully the proposed Sikh Gurdwara and Shrine Bill which is coming before the Legislative Council within a few days and have come to the conclusion that its effect will be entirely against Sikh interests and detrimental to the Sikh cause. I, therefore, request all the Sikh gentlemen who may have to play some part directly or indirectly in the proposed drama to have nothing to do with the passing of the said Act; otherwise they shall be responsible to the Panth and Guruji.’” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 9th April 1921, No. 14, p. 147).

***Tribune*, 5 April 1921**

The *Tribune* of the 5th April writes: –

“If the Sikhs are either not in a mood to consider the Bill just because their men are in custody, or are opposed, as a matter of principle to Government interference in a matter which they consider is and ought to be exclusively within their communal jurisdiction, the Hindus are actually alarmed by the measure which they consider would be deeply prejudicial to their communal interests. ‘It proposes to legalize illegality;’ ‘it is a measure of spoliation pure and simple;’ ‘it seeks to please the Sikhs, who have shown that they can be inconvenient, at the expense of the more submissive Hindus;’ and lastly, ‘it is a concession to force and to threat of force,’ are some of the comments which leading Hindu gentlemen have been heard to make in regard to the measures. ... Both the Sikh and the Hindu objections, radically as they differ as regards the points of view from which they are urged, have this in common that in their extreme form they are equally opposed, not only to the present proposal, but to any proposal that the ingenuity of the official draftsmen might suggest. Both appear to hold that the matter is not one in which Government interference or control can be tolerated in any form or measure. ... In either case, a revision

of the Bill with a view to divesting it of some of its most objectionable features may serve a useful purpose. ... The first and most important objection to which the Bill is open lies on the surface. The Bill proposed to make emergent provision for 'the administration and management of certain Sikh *gurdwaras* and shrines,' but nowhere does it state what is or is not a Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine. This is a serious defect, not only because a proper definition of the expression is of the essence of the matter where the main object is to deal with disputes regarding these *gurdwaras* and shrines, but because the machinery which the Bill proposes to create is capable of exercising its responsibility properly and impartially only when it is definitely known that the *gurdwara* or shrine about which the dispute has arisen is a Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine. Two-thirds of that body are to consist of Sikhs, and obviously where the very communal character of a shrine is disputed, and the question to be decided is whether the shrine in question is a Sikh or a non-Sikh shrine or whether, as is so often the case in this province, it is a shrine of a mixed character, not only is such a body not competent to come to a finding, but even if it did, that finding would not be likely to carry weight with any one except the Sikhs themselves. ... Two things, therefore, are essential. In the first place the words 'Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine' should be defined, and, secondly a machinery entirely different from the proposed Board and constituted on a basis of rigid impartiality as between communities should be provided for dealing with the prior question, whether a particular *gurdwara* or shrine falls within that definition. This machinery can only be a court of law entrusted, it may be, with summary jurisdiction, but proceeding on the strict basis of evidence. When this has been done, the objection to the two-thirds majority of the Sikhs on the Board will disappear and it will not only be possible for the Legislature, but even its duty, to consider the Sikh claim that they should have even a larger majority on the Board and that this majority should consist of their own nominees. But even this clearly will not go far enough. There is unfortunately a division among the Sikhs themselves – otherwise there would be no question of disputes regarding the management or administration of Sikh *gurdwaras* and shrines – and it would be too much to expect that the Board's findings would always give satisfaction either to the reforming Sikhs themselves, unless all the two-thirds Sikhs on the Board will always be their nominees, or to the other section or sections. In the circumstances, it seems to us essential that the dissatisfied party should have the right to seek redress in the ordinary civil courts. As this will not interfere with the Board's activities and will not prevent the Board from attaching and taking possession of the shrine and providing for its administration or management, pending the result of the appeal to the ordinary courts, there is no valid reason why any one should object to it."

Elsewhere the paper says: – “Whatever may the fate of the Gurdwara Bill, one thing seems to us to be clear. The Government must definitely abandon the clause, relating to the advancement of the Sikh religion, from the scope of the Bill. That is clause which a Government committed to strict neutrality in religious matters is not entitled to incorporate in any legislative proposal, and we are not sure that the Sikhs themselves are at all likely to concede this right to the Government.”

The following is taken from a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 5th April by SANT SINGH, a Vakil at Lyallpur: – “Clause 4 lays down that the effect of declaration of a *gurdwara* to be a disputed one is to place the *gurdwara* under attachment, while in clause 5 provision is made for the appointment of a Board under whose management the *gurdwaras* are proposed to be placed. The idea of attaching a *gurdwara* is repugnant. The *gurdwaras* are sanctuaries and as such cannot be permitted to be managed by any temporal power ... Such interference will justly be resented as being uncalled-for interference in the religious freedom of the community. The Sikhs claim, and on this claim the whole of the present agitation is based, that the *gurdwaras* belong to the community and not to any individual member of it. If the Government really means to put down this agitation it shall have to recognise this principle. So long as this principle is not given effect to, no scheme of legislation is likely to succeed. ... Clause 13 lays down that the income of these *gurdwaras* and the properties attached therewith shall be applied to the necessary expenditure connected with the maintenance of the *gurdwara* – ‘religious worship and the performance and conduct of religious and charitable duties, ceremonies and observances of such *gurdwaras*,’ and all other purposes which the Board may consider necessary for the maintenance of the *gurdwara* and furtherance of the object and intention with which it was founded. ... In the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill it is clearly laid down that ‘in future these *gurdwaras* and shrines shall perform their proper functions, *viz.*, the maintenance and furtherance of the Sikh religion’ ... The present legislation does not allow the funds of the *gurdwaras* to be used for the educational and social advancement of the community. As a matter of fact, every *gurdwara* in pre-British times was the centre of educational activity. Even now the Sikh Educational Conference has been passing resolutions calling upon the people to use their *dharamsalas* for imparting education. To restrict the application of funds to such a degree makes one really doubt the good intention of the legislation. The chief objections to the present legislation can be summed up thus: –

“1. The legislation does not confer any power upon the Sikh community to enable it to control and reform the *gurdwaras*. It merely transfers the

management from the Mahant to Board in whose selection the community is given no voice and who is not made responsible to the Sikh community.

“2. Whereas in the case of the Mahants who are at present managing these institutions it is within range of possibility to bring them round and make them agree to the introduction of reforms as well as to the application of their income for the social and educational advancement of the community, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to transform the Board into such a thing for the simple reason that the Board shall have to be guided by rules and regulations which can only be changed by moving a very difficult machinery of legislation.

“3. This legislation places all the *gurdwaras* under the control of the executive Government which is never a desirable thing.”

SANTOKH SINGH of Amritsar writes to the *Tribune* of the 5th March [April]: – “The first question that naturally arises is, can the provincial Government enter into such a policy of interference in Sikh religious affairs, without serious violation of the long declared policy of non-interference? ... The legislation, as proposed, places all effective power in the hands of the local Government and its nominees and leaves the community to whom the shrines belong quite powerless. ... We were dealing with one *sarbrah* and had to spend more than fifteen years of regular protests for removing him, but in these reformed says, we are going to be confronted with so many of these *sarbrahs* to deal with everywhere. I ask why this botheration about the Board. Cannot the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee serve its purpose? Why not leave the Parbandhak Committee alone to manage its own affairs?” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 9th April 1921, No. 14, pp. 147–149).

Akali, 6 April 1921

One SUNDAR SINGH of Lyallpur writing to the *Akali* of the 6th April states that on leaving the Ludhiana jail, MANGAL SINGH, ex-editor of the paper, asked him to convey the following message from him to his beloved community: – ... The bureaucracy has now devised a new plan to interfere in our religious affairs. First it noised about the world by publishing *communiqués* that there were two parties among the Sikhs, – one consisting of the Sikhs and the other of Mahants and Pujaris. Now it has constituted itself an arbitrator to do justice between them and is about to forge a new law [for the purpose]. Leaving aside all other work, it has heated the furnace of law in order to poke its nose in the management of Sikh *gurdwaras*. ... Will you, O Khalsa, fall into this legal trap and allow the bureaucracy to have a hand in the management of *gurdwaras*? Did you take over their management from Pujaris in order only to have them placed under the bureaucracy? ... O Khalsa, if there is left anything of

self-respect, of [a spirit of] religion [and] faith and of life in you, you should keep the management of your *gurdwaras* in purely Sikh hands, save yourself from falling into the hands of the bureaucracy after escaping out of [those of] Mahants and Pujaris, and not allow others to interfere in your religion. May God save you from the laws of the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 16th April 1921, No. 15, p. 158).

***Tribune*, 7 April 1921**

In its issue dated the 7th April the paper [the *Tribune*] writes: –

“The Bill ... involves issues which are hotly contested, and it is much to be regretted that the public cannot in the present circumstances have the opportunity of expressing its considered opinion on these issues, and the select committee itself cannot profit by such expression of opinion ... We have been assured again and again that neither the Sikhs nor the Government want by this Bill to affect the rights and interests of the other communities. If so, it ought not to be difficult to make this clear in the Bill itself, in other words, to so word the provisions in the Bill and introduce such limitations and safeguards in it as to make it impossible for any one to work the measure to the prejudice of non-Sikh communities.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 9th April 1921, No. 14, p. 149).

***Khalsa Samachar*, 7 April 1921**

Writing about the gurdwara Bill, the *Khalsa Samachar* of the 7th April says that it would be more beneficial for the Sikh community to make a permanent law after a few months' careful consideration than to pass a temporary one at present. The proposed temporary legislation will prove useful for Government in ensuring peace, but will it secure to the Sikhs control over their temples? It does not appear from the provision of the Bill that the Board to be appointed under it will try to find out how *gurdwaras* can be brought under the control of the Sikhs. It should be clearly laid down that the constitution of the Board and the report made by it after inquiries are meant to serve this purpose and to promote the reform of *gurdwaras*. Again, all the Commissioners will be nominated by Government. It is good that two-thirds of them are to be Sikhs, but it is to be hoped that only desirable men will be nominated by Government. There is nothing in the Bill, however, to ensure this. As it is, Government may hold even Baba Gurbakhsh Singh to be a Sikh, although the community will never approve of this. It is desirable that all the members of the Board should be Sikhs. Why should Christians, Muhammadans and Hindus interfere in the affairs of *gurdwaras* when the Sikhs do not interfere in those of their religious places? Two-thirds of the members of the Board should be elected by

the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee jointly or by turns. The remaining one-third should be nominated by Government but these should be good and well-known Sikhs. Continuing, the *Khalsa Samachar* says that a *gurdwara* which is held by Government to be a disputed one shall be made over to the Board. This provision places a great power in the hands of Government, while there is no provision in the Bill by which the lands and other properties once attached to Sikh temples which were sold or mortgaged by the authorities of the *gurdwaras* subsequent to the advent of the British rule or which were made over by them to their relations or used by them in some other way for conversion into their personal properties can be restored to the temples after inquiries. There is also no provision by which the grants made to the *gurdwaras* by the British Government and appropriated by clever managers to themselves can be similarly restored. Again, it is laid down in section 19 that any person resisting or obstructing the Board, etc., shall be liable to a fine or rigorous imprisonment or both. The word "rigorous" should be omitted. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 16th April 1921, No. 15, pp. 158–159).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 8 April 1921**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 8th April says that when the British took possession of the Punjab, the last of Indian provinces, and thus succeeded in depriving Indians of their political freedom, they begun gradually to encroach upon the co-called religious liberty of the people. Although the inhabitants of this country had, owing to their mutual dissensions, become politically weak, still, from the religious standpoint, they retained some life and could not tolerate interference by a foreign race in their religious ideas. They afforded proof of their religious life in the form of the mutiny of 1857. When the British found that Indians were not prepared to tolerate open interference by the former in their religious matter, the late Queen Victoria announced outwardly in 1858 that there would be no interference in the religious affairs of Indians. Practically, however, this interference was continued by the bureaucracy and kine-killing was not stopped. The blowing away of Kukas from the canon's mouth, the Cawnpore mosque case, the imprisonment of Randhir Singh in connection with the Rikabganj *gurdwara* and several other incidents show that, in spite of the proclamation of 1858, repeated attacks have been made upon the religious freedom of Indians. The paper then goes on to say that the Sikhs took in hand the reform of their *gurdwaras* under the impression that, according to the proclamation referred to, the authorities had not right or power to interfere in religious sentiments and such interference on the part of the bureaucracy was unjustified. The authorities were surprised at the success achieved by the

Sikhs and there was no alternative for them but to arrest servants of the community for no reason on the charge of being dacoits and *badmashes*, to take possession of Sikh *gurdwaras* and the properties attached to them, and then to turn their attention to making a law. Efforts are now being made to secure the approval of the Sikh community to the proposed law. But no Government law regarding religious places, however useful it may be, can ever be accepted by the Sikhs. Next the paper refers to different sections of the Bill, and says that the local Government has reserved all power to itself. It hopes that the Sikh community will not allow itself to be deceived. It will have no power to select the members of the Board to be appointed under the proposed law. This being so, it will be a gross blunder on the part of the Sikhs to accept the law now on the anvil. Their acceptance of it will mean that they consent to official interference in their religious sentiments. The Bill is of absolutely no use to them, and they should totally reject it and abide by the rules framed by the Parbandhak Committee for the management of *gurdwaras*. We cannot, besides, accept a law framed by a Council boycotted by us. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 16th April 1921, No. 15, p. 159).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 8 and 15 April 1921**

The *Khalsa Advocate* writes its combined issue dated the 8th and 15th April: –

“The Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill, as it has emerged from the select committee, does not satisfy the Sikh community. Rather the cause of the *gurdwara* reform receives a greater set back than before. ... The fundamental principle that Guru Panth is the absolute and supreme master of all *gurdwaras* and shrines established to commemorate any incident connected with the lives of the ten Gurus or any Sikh martyrs or saints or founded with the aim and object of the propagation and furtherance of the Sikh religion, has not found any recognition in this Bill. It is not a sad commentary on the mentality of those who are responsible for drafting the Bill that while, on the one hand, they decidedly divest of authority a party whose sole lawful and natural right it is, on the other they invest with that same authority another who, by virtue of his sacred and repeated pledges given by his Sovereigns, cannot arrogate that authority to himself. Have not three great Sovereigns from Queen Victoria of the blessed memory down to our present Most Gracious King-Emperor George the v, pledged themselves to a policy of strict non-interference in the religious freedom of the people of India? Then what right have the Government to usurp a right which is decidedly not theirs? We admit the Government have every right to maintain law and order, but this does not entitle them to go back on the pledged word of the Sovereign and attach the most sacred seats of religion of the Sikhs by dispossessing them of the same. And this is exactly what the

Bill on the legislative anvil really aims at. ... In the first place, ... we want ... that the Government should recognise the birthright of the Sikhs ... to control and manage the gurdwaras, shrines and Sikh public places of worship other than the private trusts duly registered. ... If Government recognizes this fact in the preamble of the Bill, there will be removed to a great extent the fear and doubt which lurks in the minds of the Sikhs as to the motive of the Government. ... It would follow then that the Board of Commissioners which the Bill proposed to create would consist naturally of Sikhs and Sikhs alone, for a non-Sikh, however sound be his knowledge of the law, cannot realize the spirit of reverence in which the Sikhs regard their *gurdwaras* and shrines. Then comes the question of the principle on which the selection of Sikhs to the Board should be based. ... We ... are at a loss to understand why the Government hesitates to recognize the competency of the [Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak] Committee to select or appoint the Commissioner of the Board." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 23rd April 1921, No. 16, pp. 165–166).

***Tribune*, 10 April 1921**

The *Tribune* of the 10th April writes: –

“The Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill, as it has emerged from the Select Committee, is substantially the same measure that was introduced into the Punjab Legislative Council. ... There are only two important changes, and ... they are not of such a nature as to remove any of the principal objections to which the Bill was originally open, whether from one point of view or the other. These are, first, that the words ‘*gurdwaras*’ and ‘*shrines*’ are defined, and, secondly, that constitution of the Board is more clearly and definitely laid down. The first, even if the definition were universally accepted, would not remove the objection of those who have been asking that the machinery for determining what is or is not Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine should be different alike from the executive Government and the proposed Board, and should be such that its decisions may be based upon a proper and impartial examination of evidence and thus command general and implicit acceptance. The only concession made by the Select Committee in this belief is that it has added the words ‘on enquiry’ in clause 3, the effect of which is to require the Government, before it notifies a *gurdwara* or shrine to be a disputed Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine, to make an enquiry. As it is scarcely likely that the Government would in any case have taken action without enquiry of some sort, and as the nature of the enquiry is not specified, this does not seem to us to make any material difference. As regards the definition itself, it appears to have satisfied the Sikh members of the Select Committee. ... But the shield has another side. The other party starting from the failure of the Bill to give complete control to the

Sikhs, proceed to argue that the definition itself is not acceptable. ... The second charge, while it makes the provision as to the constitution of the Board more definite than it was in the original Bill, obviously does not remove uncertainty. ... Thus we find that while the Sikh members in their note of dissent express the more or less confident hope that 'the Sikh member to be nominated by the Government will not be one whose views may be antagonistic to the spirit of religious reform among the Sikhs,' Rajan Narendranath in his note seems to assume that this particular nominee of the Government will be the sole representative of the orthodox sections. This ambiguity is unfortunate in the extreme, because it is bound to be a fruitful source of misunderstanding. As the non-Sikh president is to have a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes the reforming Sikhs may well contend that if the nominated Sikh is not their man, they can under no circumstances be absolutely sure of a majority. On the other hand, if he is their man, the other party – for there is sure to be another party always – can contend with equal force that they can never be sure of having justice done to them, even in cases where the right is indisputably on their side. For the rest, the objectionable phrase for the advancement of Sikh religion is left unchanged both in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and in the Bill itself. ... And the most important question of the right of appeal against a decision of the Board is left in almost as unsatisfactory condition as it was in the original Bill. In the circumstances, we can scarcely hold out the hope that the revised Bill will command more general acceptance than the original Bill was likely to do." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 16th April 1921, No. 15, pp. 159–160).

***Tribune*, 13 April 1921**

The following is taken from a letter contributed by "NANAK PANTHI" to the *Tribune* of the 13th April: –

"There are, on the one hand, those Sikhs who want to reform in their own sense of the word. There are also conservative Sikhs who think that the alleged reform of the Tat-Khalsa is really spoiling their faith. ... So the difficulty in the way of constituting the Board is to have men on the Board who will not show partiality to one or the other side." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 16th April 1921, No. 15, p. 160).

***Bande Mataram*, 15 April 1921**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th April publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI. The writer says that the more he thinks over the gurdwara movement and notices the conditions which it has created the more convinced

he feels that non-cooperation alone is the true policy for Indians to follow in the existing circumstances. A foreign Government can never do full justice between different parties, no matter how anxious it may be to do so. It seeks help from this party or that at different times, and when a party, accustomed to receive help from it, gains in strength it turns against it. The treatment which Government has been according to the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs from time to time compels the writer to assert that unless they develop the strength to settle their mutual disputes they will, instead of being united, become disunited. The measures which the bureaucracy has so far adopted in connection with the *gurdwara* movement have convinced him that it is wholly incapable of doing justice in religious matters. It will be better for the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs not to refer their disputed to the bureaucracy. Next Lajpat Rai refers to the Sikh Gurdwara and Shrines Bill, which, he says, has pleased no party. There can be no better proof of the bureaucracy's want of ability than this piece of legislation. The Hindus and even non-Akalis complain that the proposed law pays no regard to their rights. But have the Hindus come to know only to-day that the bureaucracy cares nothing for their feelings and susceptibilities? The truth is that the Punjab bureaucrats have no wish to please the Hindus. The latter should, instead of approaching Government for justice, try to unite with their neighbours. The writer then appeals to them to abstain from helping Government and strengthening its hands against the Akalis in the present struggle between the last-named and the bureaucracy. It is his confident belief that the contrary policy will not do the least good to them. They should help the Akalis, who are making legitimate efforts to reform their gurdwaras. Should the latter ever employ unlawful means they should be remonstrated with in a brotherly spirit and their religious principles and moral courage should be appealed to. It can do no good to cry to Government or go into court. This would prejudicially affect the efforts which are being made to obtain *swaraj*. The Gurdwara Bill is so defective and is based on such wrong principles that it should be unanimously opposed by the Akalis, non-Akalis and Hindus. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 23rd April 1921, No. 16, p. 166).

Sikh, 17 April 1921

The following is extracted from the *Sikh* of the 17th April: –

“The Bill, even though it is passed just as it is recommended by the select committee, will be unanimously disapproved and protested against by the community as being directly against their wishes and religious interests, for the following chief reasons: –

“(i) Of the four members of the Board to be appointed by notification by the local Government, there will be a ‘non-Sikh’ to be appointed by Government, a Sikh to be appointed by Government, and two Sikhs to be selected by Government from a panel of eight to be proposed by a majority of the Sikhs members of the Legislative Council. As the president will have the privilege of a second or casting vote, it clearly means that if and wherever the president and the Sikh member appointed direct by the Government (who presumably, in view of the present policy of Government, will always be anything but a true representative of the Sikh nation, a person of the type of Sir Gurbakhsh Singh or a Sir Arur Singh) agreed, they could easily defeat the other two Sikh members, thus frustrating the very object of the legislation. ... In case of an antagonistic majority in the Board, it will become irremediable, inasmuch as it will be back by the law concerned, and in our endeavour to remove an unfit Mahant we might get imposed on ourselves a by far the stronger handicap which it will be impossible to rid ourselves of.

“(ii) That the proposed panel of eight is to be recommended by neither the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, nor the Chief Khalsa Dewan nor any other representative body of the Panth, is the feature to which we must most strongly object on principle as a self-respecting community. ... We ... strongly endorse the demand of the whole Panth that two-thirds of the Board should be returned by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, while the whole of that should consist of Sikhs.”

In (iii) the paper opposes Raja Narindra Nath’s amendment to the effect that the panel should be of twelve instead of eight and that out of these twelve four should be furnished by the following bodies: – (a) Guru Nanak Sikh Chakarvarti Dewan, (b) Panchayat Nirmala Akhara, Kankhal, (c) Udasi Akhara of Kankhal. It concludes as follows: –

“(iv) The community is strongly opposed to the members of the Board being paid their salaries from the *gurdwaras* funds, which ought to be wholly devoted to the furtherance of religious objects.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 23rd April 1921, No. 16, pp. 166–167).

Loyal Gazette, 17 April 1921

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 17th April says that, so far from conferring any benefit on the Sikhs, the Bill is, in its present form, likely to prove harmful to them. The Sikh demands are: –

1. That the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee should be recognised as the representative body of the Sikhs in the matter of the management of *gurdwaras*.

2. That it should be recognised as being solely responsible and fully competent to control the income and expenditure of all the gurdwaras which have so far come into its own hands or those of other representative societies of the Panth, the said temples not being transferred again to the control of any other body and the old law ceasing to operate against them.
3. That the committee referred to should have the fullest liberty in the matter of utilizing income from the *gurdwaras* in question, its decision being final in this respect, as also in regard to the management of the above religious places.
4. That any gurdwaras now occupied by Government should be made over to the committee.
5. That a board consisting of Sikhs should be appointed to consider the cases of the gurdwaras where mismanagement prevails, which have been converted into private properties and whose managers bear an immoral character, but which have not as yet come under the control of the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee.
6. That the committee should be regarded as plaintiff in every case and the costs should be borne by the Mahant against whom inquiries may be made (as is laid down in the law relating to *wakfs*).

The proposed law will, however, not only meet the above demands, but will also create a new party, which will be nominated by Government and will take possession of all *gurdwaras*. This commission is estimated to cost two and a half lakhs of rupees annually, and the amount will be deducted from the income of *gurdwaras*. This means that income from these places will not be spent for the purpose for which it is meant. Formerly this money was wasted by Mahants in pleasure, but now it will be spent on paying the commissioners which we can never tolerate. The second great defect in the Bill, which has not been removed even by the select committee, relates to the appointment of commissioners. The present attitude of Government leads the Sikhs to believe that the president and the Sikh member nominated by it will always agree with each other. And as there will be only Sikhs against these and the president will have a casting vote, the Bawas will have a majority in every case. The result will be that all *gurdwaras* will pass out of our hands and go back to the people from whom the Sikhs have got them after making great sacrifices. This would reduce the Parbandhak Committee to a nonentity, to which we are on no account prepared to consent. We will not accept anything likely to transfer the control of our *gurdwaras* to any but our own hands. We do not wish to overawe Government or anyone else: we only seek freedom for our *gurdwaras*, to accomplish which task we are prepared to make the greatest

sacrifices without injuring anybody. We do not care if the Hindus or Christians are opposed to us. It now rests with Government to favour or displease a community which has shed its blood for the former during the last three quarters of a century in all parts of the world and has never hesitated to make the greatest sacrifices in order to add to its [Government's] strength. Government can lay the Sikhs under an obligation in the matter of *gurdwaras* without having to make any sacrifice, but, thanks to some short-sighted and arrogant officers, it has missed the golden opportunity to please them. It is still time for it come to an understanding with the Parbandhak Committee and thus prevent the kindling of an unextinguishable fire of resentment among the Sikhs. In the other event, it may succeed in suppressing them for a time by filling jails with them, but will not be able to put out the fire burning in their hearts. Fire can be extinguished with water and not with oil. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 23rd April 1921, No. 16, pp. 167–168).

***Punjab Darpan*, 17 April 1921**

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 17th April says that apparently the Sikh community feels convinced that all that Government is doing in connection with the *gurdwara* movement is intended not so much to confer any religious benefit on the Sikhs as to serve its own interests. The mixing up of Government's political gain in the religious affairs of the Sikhs will prove beneficial to neither party. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 23rd April 1921, No. 16, p. 168).

***Vakil*, 17 April 1921**

The *Vakil* of the 17th April says that, in view of the feelings of resentment prevalent among the Sikhs, Government should exercise the greatest care in coming to a final decision in regard to the Bill. Next it refers to the objections of the Sikhs to the proposed law, and writes that the community is wholly right in demanding that no non-Sikh should interfere in its purely religious matters. If a similar question arises for the Hindus or Muhammadans, they also will make a like demand. None of the communities will tolerate the interference of others in the settlement of its religious affairs. And as Government is pledged to non-interference in these matters it had better leave their settlement to the parties concerned. The paper then goes on to say that probably the greatest defect in the constitution of the proposed commission is that its decisions will be final, although there appears to be no reason for its investment with such vast powers. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 23rd April 1921, No. 16, p. 168).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 30 April 1921**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 30th April states that after carefully reading the resolution no fair minded person can accuse government of desiring to interfere with the religious affairs of the Sikhs or the reforms of the *gurdwaras* and of placing obstacles in the way of their reform. Government is justified in preventing any attempt to break the law and it is its foremost duty to prevent maltreatment of its subjects or any section thereof. If any Government shows slackness in performing this duty, the administration will suffer. We fail to understand how if Government wants to stop Sikh high-handedness it can be accused of interfering in religious affairs. If the Sikhs wish to reform their *gurdwaras* they should accomplish their purpose peacefully. In that case, Government will not interfere. But it can never tolerate disturbances and breeches of law and peace. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 7th May 1921, No. 18, p. 194).

***Bande Mataram*, 6 May 1921**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th May has received a letter from a member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, saying that a member of the committee has sent round a confidential letter to his friends asking them to dispatch telegrams to the Viceroy, The Governor of the Punjab and to the committee to the effect that the Sikhs supported the Gurdwara Bill, that the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia should be appointed President of the Board and the remaining three Sikh members selected with the consultation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee. The correspondent asks what this letter signifies when the Shiromani Committee has thrice rejected the Bill and the Sikh community has no faith in the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 14th May 1921, No. 19, pp. 203–204).

***Sikh*, 8 May 1921**

The *Sikh* of the 8th May says: –

“If the Sikh personnel is agreed to according to our wishes and the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh is elected President of the Board, we shall be the first to approve of that. But when the very basic principle is not conceded to us, where is the guarantee that after some time the Hon'ble Sardar will not be replaced by a non-Sikh official? Moreover, whatever to be done as an amendment of the solemn vow of the 20th March must be done by the unanimous consent of the whole Panth constitutionally represented before Sri Guru Granth Sahib.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 14th May 1921, No. 19, p. 204).

Loyal Gazette, 29 May 1921

The Hon'ble Sardar Jogindar Singh, of Iqbalnagar, Montgomery District, writing to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 29th May, declares that in order to make the Gurdwara movement successful it is necessary for the Sikh community to accept the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill and to pass resolutions everywhere praying Government to pass the Bill. The Sikhs should eschew the *satyagarh* movements and abstains from giving a political tinge to their religious affairs. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 18th June 1921, No. 24, p. 257).

3 Abandonment of the Bill***Tribune, 4 May 1921***

The *Tribune* of the 4th May has the following: –

“The effect of the postponement of the consideration of the Bill till June or July is sure to cause considerable disappointment to those who expected that the Gurdwara Bill would allay one of the serious causes of discontent among the Sikh community. But from the beginning nobody was free from doubts as to how in a purely religious matters Government interference would be welcomed or official organization would work satisfactorily among religious sects whose differences seemed to be so fundamental.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 7th May 1921, No. 18, p. 193).

Khalsa Advocate, 6 May 1921

Referring to the postponement of the Gurdwara Bill, the *Khalsa Advocate* of 6th May writes: –

“The Government’s solicitude for the Sikhs forms the running note throughout this *communiqué*. Perhaps all this oppression on the Sikhs is a specimen of this solicitude!” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 14th May 1921, No. 19, p. 204).

Loyal Gazette, 5 June 1921

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 5th June remarks that the agitation recently set up by the Hindus against the Gurdwara bill, was artificial and meant to deceive Government. Attempts were made to inflame the Hindus against the Sikhs by sending telegrams to the authorities and newspapers about the imaginary meetings convened by the Punjab Hindu Sabha to protest against the Gurdwara Bill. Government has made serious mistake in attaching weight to the resolutions of the Hindu and Sanatan Dharam Sabhas and it is a pity that

being overawed by Hindu agitation Government has dropped the Bill. In fact, there is no Hindu Sabha in the true sense of the term. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 25th June 1921, No. 25, p. 268).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 10 June 1921**

With reference to the Government Press *communiqué* announcing the abandonment of the Gurdwara Bill, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th June says: –

“We trust Sikh societies will strongly protest against it and demand from the Government immediate passage of the Bill.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 11th June 1921, No. 23, p. 244).

***Loyal Gazette*, 12 June 1921**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 12th June thinks that the Government has made serious mistake in dropping the Sikh Gurdwara Bill. If Government had acted a little more generously the state of affairs would have been improved and a large number of Sikhs would have been satisfied. Difficulties will not multiply in the absence of a new law and litigation will increase. Government cannot be congratulated on its decision. It has tried to save itself by taking advantage of the advice of the advocates of non-cooperation. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 25th June 1921, No. 25, p. 268).

***Parkash*, 12 June 1921**

The *Parkash* of the 12th June says that by dropping the Gurdwara Bill Government has made it known to the Sikhs that the Gurdwaras belong to them and they will be managed in conformity with their wishes. Government has made great efforts to please the Sikhs. Let us see whether the latter are pleased or not. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 25th June 1921, No. 25, p. 268).

***Sanatan Dharam Parcharak*, 16 June 1921**

The *Sanatan Dharam Parcharak* of the 16th June takes exception to the above remarks and says that the Punjab Government should not suffer itself to be deceived by the writings of the *Loyal Gazette*. Government should bear in mind that more than ninety per cent. Sikhs and cent. [sic] per cent. Hindus think that Akalis or neo-Sikhs, who pose as the representatives of the whole Sikh community, have not right to Sikh Gurdwaras. The writings of the *Loyal Gazette* are likely to sow the seed of enmity between the Hindus and the Sikhs. Government and the Hindu community should note that the *Loyal Gazette* does not represent Sikhs as a whole. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 25th June 1921, No. 25, p. 268).

***Sikh*, 16 June 1921**

The *Sikh* of the 16th June says: –

“So the expert drill master of the Punjab Government has ordered “as you were” after making the drillers of the Punjab Legislative Council perform all the exercises connected with the so-called Gurdwara Bill. ... When the state of things is to be the same as it was before the arrests were made and the bill was introduced, why have not all the Sikhs arrested in connection with the Gurdwara movement been set free at once and why are other Kirpan-wearing and black-turbaned Sikhs being arrested and persecuted?” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 18th June 1921, No. 24, p. 257).

***Tribune*, 29 June 1921**

Bhai Tara Singh, B.A., Secretary, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, writes to the *Tribune* of the 29th June: –

“The Government *communiqué* dated June 6th has made it necessary to explain certain matters relating to Gurdwara reform. The Gurdwara Bill, as it issued from the Select Committee, was not acceptable to the Sikhs, because among other defects the proposed Board of Commissioners was not to be comprised wholly of Sikhs, its president was to be a non-Sikh, and tended to give the control of the Sikh Gurdwaras into the hands of Government officials. ... The anti-reform party found still further support from the fact that Government *communiqués* were having some effect in producing misunderstandings among our Hindu and Muhammadan brethren. As to persuasion and pressure of public opinion it is an unexceptionable method; but the chances of its success have been greatly minimised by the policy of repression adopted towards the Sikhs. As to the use of the existing law, it is no new thing and did not require so much explanation. The Sikhs are too familiar with its dilatory and expensive working and the Government too has admitted its defectiveness. It seems to have been forgotten that the present Gurdwara movement is the outcome of the failure of this law, and the fear is that with the present policy of the Government, it may work more effectively against the Sikhs who want to reform the Gurdwaras.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 2nd July 1921, No. 26, p. 282).

4 The Amended Bill***Loyal Gazette*, 9 October 1921**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 9th October approves of the action of Government in releasing the accused in the Gurdwara case. It now wants Government to

frame a law in conformity with their wishes, transferring the management of the *Gurdwaras* to representative Sikh bodies. If the Gurdwara Bill had been amended and passed as the Sikhs wanted, and the accused in the *Gurdwara* cases released, Government would have relieved itself of all responsibilities so far as the *Gurdwara* movement was concerned. The Gurdwara Bill should be passed as soon as possible. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 22nd October 1921, No. 42, p. 443).

***Tribune*, 20 October 1921**

The *Tribune* of the 29th October fails to understand what useful purpose can be served by the reintroduction of the Gurdwara Bill in the Legislative Council and thus raking up the whole controversy. Government made an attempt to legislate on the subject but failed and made matters worse. It should now leave the matter to the Sikh members of the Council to bring forward a fresh Bill or not as they thin best in the interests of their constituents. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 5th November 1921, No. 44, p. 464).

***Loyal Gazette*, 6 November 1921**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 6th November things that there would have been no apprehension of disputes over *Gurdwaras* had the Punjab Government passed the Gurdwara Bill. The new policy of attaching *Gurdwaras* is very provoking and deplorable. All the *Mahants* will have *Gurdwaras* attached and this will inflame the minds of the Sikhs. We advise the Government to stick to the policy of leniency and pass the Gurdwara Bill forthwith. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 12th November 1921, No. 45, p. 471).

***Loyal Gazette*, 29 January 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 29th January wants the Government to solve the *gurdwara* question at an early date. It should pass a law on the lines of the orders issued by the Kapurthala State, *viz.*, that historical *gurdwaras* should be handed over to the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee or District Committees and *panchayti gurdwaras* to the *panchayats* concerned. It is rumoured that Mian Fazl-i-Husain is an obstacle in the way. If this is so, Sir Edvard Maclagan should himself order the introduction of such a law in the Council. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th February 1922. No. 5, pp. 58–59).

***Desh*, 6 February 1922**

The *Desh* of the 6th February says that it has been suggested by Sardar Jogendar Singh that Mahatma Gandhi should be appointed arbitrator to decide the question regarding *gurdwaras*. The proposal is weighty and very reasonable,

but will the Mahatma consent to act as arbitrator? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th February 1922. No. 6, p. 69).

***Khalsa*, 8 February 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 8th February thinks that the Gurdwara Reform Bill should be re-introduced with some alterations. It is of opinion that the Government should invite the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to a Round Table Conference to settle the matter. The settlement of the *kirpan* question also does not appear to be difficult. The objections raised by Government officials to the Sikhs wearing *kirpans* are not weighty. The size of the *kirpan* cannot be limited. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th February 1922. No. 7, pp. 77–78).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 16 February 1922**

Commenting on the *communiqué* regarding the Gurdwara legislation, the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 16th February asserts that the Sikh community will agree only to a Bill framed by the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th February 1922. No. 8, p. 84).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 17 February 1922**

Writing under the heading “Our Gurdwaras,” the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th February says: –

“However divergent the view-points of the Panth and the officials of Government may have been before, may we take it that the Government is now disposed to look at our religious interests from our own standpoint? The setting of the Gurdwara sewaks at liberty is but the first step. It must now complete the task. The Panth is rightly of the view that mere remission of sentences will not meet the case. The convictions themselves must be wiped out. The Panth sewaks who stood out for the cause of Gurdwara reform were not guilty of moral turpitude and no moral obloquy can attach to them. They must, therefore, be freed from all pains and penalties attaching to a conviction, and no disabilities should be permitted to exist in their case. This is the clear and unequivocal verdict of the Panth, and Government should lose no time in giving effect to it. No legal or technical difficulties should be permitted to stand in the way of this hare act of commonsense and justice. ... Reason and commonsense alike dictate that the religious places of the Panth should be in the hands of the Panth itself; that the representatives of the Panth should have the control and determining voice in their management and administration; that disputes relating to them the Panth must have the undoubted right to settle in such a manner as it thinks best. The Panth has made it clear, beyond the

shadow of a doubt, that it cannot tolerate either the abuse of sacred shrines or the maladministration of their property, and will no longer blink at practices which go against the established traditions or jar on the Sikh feelings and susceptibilities. It is announced that the Minister for *wakfs* is calling a meeting of the Sikh members of the Legislative Council to confer with them regarding the Gurdwara legislation. It is well so far as it goes, although we think the need was obviously for a larger body, representing all shades and interests, to enable some sort of finality to attach to its conclusions. A Bill, whenever it comes on the legislative anvil, will have to be threshed out in the light of the general opinion of the Panth, and the Minister might well have invited a few representative gentlemen from outside the charmed circle of the Councillors. However, the time is not for a dilatory procedure, and Government should promptly proceed to ascertain Sikh feeling and give effect to it. ... What we require is a permanent measure on the statute book, which will give effect to broad principles of Gurdwara administration, which form an integral part of our religion and traditions and which must be given legal recognition. The hereditary succession to the office of Mahant is an excrescence which has no sanction in our religion or sacred tradition. There is no reason why the office should be made the appendage or preserve of any man who may or may not be qualified for the discharge of the important duties or services attaching to it or fail to inspire respect or reverence for his intellectual gifts or religious piety. It is not a question of 'vested rights' but of requisites qualifications and fitness for holding a sacred office, and the plea of 'inheriting' such an office must be knocked on the head once for all, as having no religious or moral sanction. It is equally essential that the Gurdwaras and their property and income, accruing from whatever source, should be recognized as a separate and sacred trust to be administered by a committee of the Panth duly appointed for the purpose." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th March 1922. No. 9, pp. 105-106).

Khalsa, 5 April 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 5th April refers to the Shiromani Committee's resolution breaking off negotiations with the Government and says that the majority of the members took this step with great regret and under the press of events. Could not the Government begin its policy of repression after the Gurdwara Bill had been disposed of? The recent arrests will complicate matters still further. There is still time for the Government to meet the legitimate demands of religious workers instead of subjecting them to oppression. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th April 1922. No. 15, p. 178).

Khalsa Advocate, 5 May 1922

Commenting on the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Tribunal Bill the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 5th May writes: –

“The Government thus recognizes that the enactment of a Gurdwara Bill constitutes the crux of the Sikh situation. It must also be aware that it is the halting and vacillating attitude of the Government itself and its failure hitherto to adopt an equitable and courageous policy in respect of Gurdwara legislation which must be held responsible for ushering in the present unsatisfactory situation of acute tension between the Sikh community and the Government. Whether the Gurdwara Bill as now drafted will meet the wishes of the community, or cause further dissatisfaction and still further accentuates the trouble, it is not possible to say until the text of the Bill is available. But for the recent strenuous action of Government and its officials in the matter of a number of Sikh leaders and the Akali movement generally, the provisions of the draft Bill would have run the gauntlet of friendly criticism at the hands of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Sikhs generally. As it is, the proposed Bill has been deprived of that advantage and will be threshed out in the public press and outside the Council. We can only regret the circumstances which made it impossible for the community or its representatives to take part. But the circumstances cannot be known to Government, and it was certainly in its hands to postpone its action in the name of law and order until a satisfactory Bill had been first placed on the statute book to the satisfaction of the community.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 13th May 1922. No. 19, p. 218).

Pardesi Khalsa, 5 May 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 5th May had suspected several times that it was impossible to reform the *gurdwaras* under this bureaucratic Government. Its suspicions have now been confirmed. The result of the passing of the Gurdwara Bill will be that the control of the Government over the *gurdwaras* will become still stronger and disputes will also arise. Neither the Sikhs nor the Mahants approve of the proposed law. Again, the Bill provides that one member of the proposed Tribunal shall be selected by the Gurdwara Committee, another by the Sikh members of the Legislative Council and the third by the Government. This is a nice distribution! There would have been some sense in allowing the Mahants to select the third member, but what does it mean that the selection will be made by the Government? The Sikhs will have no concern with the Tribunal, while its decisions against the Gurdwara Committee will not be accepted by that body. Thousands of Sikhs will be imprisoned in connection

with the reform of the *gurdwaras*. We shall undergo sufferings, but will in no way allow the Government or the immoral Mahants a hand in the management of the *gurdwaras*. The time has arrived when every Sikh will be asked to give up his wealth, property and hearth and home in the cause of the Panth. "Begin your preparations at once. Set right your organization and await the orders of the Gurdwara Committee. The coming war will be far harder and difficult than that fought over the keys. The Government will leave nothing undone. The Sikhs should come forward, determined to offer their lives while remaining non violent." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 13th May 1922. No. 19, p. 218).

Akali, 7 May 1922

The *Akali* of the 7th May observes that our Government is foreign and cannot understand our religious sentiments. It is natural, therefore, that it should suspect every movement started in the country of being political in character. It seems to have been fully convinced that the *gurdwara* reform and *Akali* movements are of a revolutionary nature. It is a pity that the Sikhs members of the Legislative Council should have participated in the discussion on the Gurdwara Bill without taking the present situation into consideration. This proceeding on their part will be disliked by the Panth, which is going to accept no Bill just yet, and it is not known what tragic events may occur. The storm which burst over the Rowlett Bill is still before our eyes. We once more appeal to our Sikh brothers in the Council to give thought to the present critical situation. The Gurdwara Bill will prove another Rowlatt Bill, and they should not bring themselves into infamy by passing it into law. They should not separate themselves from the Panth for ever by acting against the decisions of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee. They call themselves the Sikhs of the Kalghidhar (the tenth Guru) and not one of them should attend the Council on the day on which the Bill is laid before it. The Government considers that its repressive policy has proved successful and the Shiromani Committee and the *Akali Dal* have become effete. But the result of repression will soon manifest itself and confound the bureaucracy more than the consequences of martial law did. Many innocent people were oppressed by the enforcement of that law, but now every police officer is martial law personified. We remind the beloved of the Gurus of the danger ahead, which we have to oppose with organization, patience, sacrifice and non-violence. Remember God, therefore, and be ready to face the danger like the Sikhs of the Gurus. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 13th May 1922. No. 19, p. 219).

***Kesari*, 8 May 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 8th May says that the Punjab Government should not consider the amended Gurdwara Bill to be a remedy for the present difficulty unless it is approved by the nationalist Sikh leaders and their community. The opinions of the Sikh members of the Legislative Council, whom the Sikhs do not recognise as their leaders and who have no influence with the Sikhs, can prove of no use to the Government. If the Government is really desirous of making peace with the Sikhs by removing their legitimate grievances, it should come to terms with those Sikh leaders whom it has foolishly thrown into jail. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 230).

***Panjab Darpan*, 11 May 1922**

The *Panjab Darpan* of the 11th (received on the 25th) May thinks that the Government wishes to make the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council its tools in connection with the proposed Gurdwara Bill. But when the Sikh community does not recognise the Sikh members as its representatives how can it accept the Bill? If it is passed into an Act the Sikhs will prepare to offer greater sacrifices than before and the blame for having their brethren sent to jail will for ever lie on the shoulders of the Sikh Councillors. The paper advises the Government to act with prudence and abandon the policy of repression. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 27th May 1922. No. 21, p. 243).

***Akali*, 12 May 1922**

The *Akali* of the 12th May states that the Government has repeated several times with a show of obligation that it has made over the Khalsa College to the Sikh community and drafted the Gurdwara Bill; but the fact is that all these matters are still half done, in spite of the unwearied labour and countless sacrifices of the Panth. Nothing has been satisfactorily settled and the major portion of the energy of the Panth is being spent upon the solution of these questions. As regards the Khalsa College it may be asked what right the Government had to take over an institution established with the money of the Panth to produce "loyal" boys and impart to them slavish education in order to kill the free spirit of the Sikh community. With respect to the Gurdwara Bill, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has absolutely stopped negotiations and if this Bill is passed by the Council, it will bring a terrible time for the whole Panth. And still the Government says that its attitude towards the Sikhs as regards the Gurdwara Bill is sympathetic. Then what a dreadful mistake did the Government commit by taking over the keys of the Durbar Sahib? Finally, there is the affair of the *kirpan*. A Sikh brings a *kirpan* for his companion or purchases another for himself. He is instantly arrested. A boy

takes his *kirpan* in hand, supporting it by the other side, and he is imprisoned. The *kirpan* manufacturers are sent to jails. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 231).

Khalsa, 13 May 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 13th May admits that the Government has done all it says at a time when agitation and discontent among the Sikhs had become really acute. But the indifference exhibited by the Government towards the loyal services of the Sikhs and the ingratitude subsequently shown by it in respect of their demand for religious and political rights are to a great extent responsible for their daily increasing discontent. To say, therefore, that everything that has been done by the Government by way of its solicitude for the well-being of the Sikhs may be right from the point of view of its policy but is far from being true. As regards legislation about the gurdwaras, the proposed Bill can command the approval of the Sikhs community only when the causes which actuated the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to adopt non-cooperation with the Government are removed and the policy of repression is given up by the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, pp. 231–232).

Pardesi Khalsa, 18 May 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 18th May observes that while, on the one hand, the Government wishes to crush the Akalis, on the other, it wants to placate the Sikhs by a so-called Gurdwara Bill. The Sikh Councillors should exhibit courage and refuse to express approval of the Bill, as otherwise their names will be entered in the list of the traitors to the community. The paper adds: – “O Government! Remember you have committed many mistakes and have now entered the field to pass the Gurdwara Bill in utter disregard of the wishes of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, but the community will trample this Bill under its feet and no one will attach the least value to it. There is yet time to apply the balm to the wounds of the Akalis and pass the Bill in accordance with the wishes of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 27th May 1922. No. 21, p. 243).

Khalsa Advocate, 19 May 1922

The *Khalsa Advocate*, dated the 19th May, writes: –

“The Punjab Government stated in a recent *communiqué* that the Gurdwara Bill had secured the approval of the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council and steps were being taken in accordance with the usual procedure to place the draft measure before the Council. ... It (the Shiromani Committee)

declares that it did not instruct the Sikhs members of the Punjab Council to agree to the provisions of the Bill and that in acting as they have done the aforesaid members have gone against the wishes of the Shiromani Committee and the best interests of the Panth. The circumstances under which the Bill is being undertaken, in the opinion of the Committee, are such that no self-respecting community can be a party to it. We think judgement regarding the Bill itself might well be suspended until the text of it is made available to the public, when its provisions will be threshed out to make it conform to the views and wishes of the Panth at large." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 3rd June 1922. No. 22, p. 253).

***Akali*, 31 May 1922**

Writing to the *Akali* of the 31st May Vir Singh, Jahangitra, asks whether the civilization of the bureaucracy consists in issuing, on the one hand, *communiqués* of non-interference in religious matters and, on the other, arresting the religious workers. The real fact is that the bureaucracy wants to control the Gurdwaras. Would it like to give us the control of the churches if we ask for it? Never. This being so, it has not right to interfere in the religious places of the Sikhs. The Gurdwara question being a purely religious one the Government has no connection whatsoever with it. Then henchmen of the bureaucracy should now advise the Government to shelve the Gurdwara Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 10th June 1922. No. 23, p. 264).

***Punjab Darpan*, 8 June 1922**

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 8th June warns the Government that it should not rest assured that the Sikh Councillors are with it in the matter of the Gurdwara Bill. A few individuals can have no position as against the whole community. In our opinion, the Government is creating difficulties for the loyal Sikhs because on the one hand they and the Sikh Councilors support the views of the Government in order to please it but on the other hand, they must be feeling in their heart of hearts that in opposing the whole community they will be committing a great blunder. The Government should therefore act with prudence and statesmanship. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 17th June 1922. No. 24, p. 274).

***Punjab Darpan*, 15 June 1922**

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 15th June says that the Government is framing the Gurdwara Bill in accordance with its own wishes. The Punjab Government and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council are on one side, while the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee with the whole Sikh community is on the

other. The whole community is prepared to suffer all sorts of sacrifices but will not submit to the Bill being passed against its wishes. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 24th June 1922. No. 25, p. 287).

Khalsa Advocate, 23 June 1922

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 23rd June writes: –

“The (Gurdwara) Bill starts with an initial disadvantage – It will not come before the Council with the approval or support of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee or the Sikh public at large. ... Shorn of such active and effective support, a measure of some sort may no doubt be pushed through the Council and placed on the statute book, but with what result? It will either be still-born or become a dead letter, or in the alternative, fall short of the requirements of the Sikh community and thus not serve to stem the tide of the growing discontent and cry halt to the increasing agitation for a really effective measure to protect and safeguard the gurdwaras and to prevent their incomes being appropriated for purposes other than the service of the gurdwaras and the benefit of the Panth. What the Panth does want is not the mere creation of a tribunal to settle disputes regarding the possession of the gurdwaras or to arrange for their management in cases of dispute. ... We want a law that will make it clear beyond the shadow of doubt when and under what circumstances such intervention shall be available to us. It is not enough that the tribunal brought into existence shall consist of Sikhs, person (s) only versed in their religious injunctions and traditions. It is not also enough that the y may interpret the provision of the existing law with insight and comprehension of our view-point. What is needed is a comprehensive and substantive measure that shall put an end for all time to come to the possibility of dispute and render tragedies like that of Nankana Sahib in truth a thing of the past, and make the Panth supreme beyond cavil or dispute, in all matters of worship and administration of the gurdwaras.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 1st July 1922. No. 26, p. 299).

Akali, 30 June 1922

Writing to the *Akali* of the 30th June, Sardar Khazan Singh Suri, Barrister-at-Law, Lahore, says that he has come to know that the Government is again trying to pass a Gurdwara Bill like the one introduced in the Council last year. The responsible Minister of the Government and some members of the Gurdwara Committee met together and settled certain points in regard to the Bill. But a few members of the committee which is the representative body of the whole Panth have no right to help (the Government) in redrafting the Bill, which has not been accepted by the Sikh community. The writer is not prepared to accept

such a law, while the members of the committee are disposed to accept it on certain conditions. Such a law is an insult to the Sikhs religion. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 8th July 1922. No. 27, p. 312).

Akali, 3 July 1922

The *Akali* of the 3rd July asserts that when the Government is going to pass the Gurdwara Bill in the teeth of opposition by the whole Panth and irrespective of the view of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, it clearly means that the Bill is meant for the benefit of the Government and not for the benefit of the Sikh community. The Sikhs are not at all prepared to accept such a Bill. The Government should note that as long as a single true Sikh of the Tenth Guru lives, he will sacrifice his body, mind and wealth in order to protect the honour and dignity of the community. Before passing the Bill, the Government should give proof of its *bona fides*. The *kirpan* question should be settled once for all in India and Burma. Interference with the religious affairs of the Sikhs should stop and the president and members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, members of the Akali Dal, other Sikhs and Akalis who have been sent to jails should be released unconditionally, while the police and other officers who have committed excesses indiscriminately should be brought to book after an enquiry by a non-official committee. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 325).

Pardesi Khalsa, 5 July 1922

In commenting upon the draft of the Gurdwara Bill the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 5th July writes that in view of the decision of the High Court in the case of Mahant Narain, no reliance can be placed on the Court which is to be the controlling authority under the proposed enactment. The Sikh members of the Legislative Council have no right to nominate a member of the tribunal. Whom does the Government represent that it will appoint a member? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 326).

Khalsa, 6 July 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 6th July is prepared to concede that the Gurdwara Bill is a genuine attempt by the Government to remove some of the obstacles in the way of the Gurdwara reform movement. But considering all the merits of the Bill, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that this attempt is not enough to satisfy the demands of the Sikhs. Those who drafted the Bill have, by inserting words "whenever the Local Government may deem it fit" in section 3, clause (1), dealing with the appointment of a special tribunal, impaired to a great extent the force of the Bill. It means that the appointment of the special tribunal is to

depend on the will of the Local Government. Again the powers reserved by the Government in section 5 under the wording "or if he is not fit in the opinion of the Local Government to become a member" are very vast. These words should not remain in the Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 326).

Pardesi Khalsa, 6 July 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 6th July takes exception to the phrase 'that the Act will not affect the Act of Limitation.' Does it mean that the Mahants' possession of the properties of the *gurdwaras*, which might have been in their possession for more than 12 years, will thereby become permanent? If it is so, then this Bill has been framed to ruin the *gurdwaras* and make the Mahants their permanent masters. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 326).

Khalsa, 7 July 1922

Continuing in its issue of the 7th July, the *Khalsa* thinks that it will be better if the right conferred on the Sikh members of the Legislative Council of the Punjab under section (2), clause (4), for electing one member for special courts is extended to the Sikh members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The period fixed under section (8), clause (2), for the election of the president is very short. A period of at least two weeks should be fixed. Again section (10) is so comprehensive that non-Sikhs will also acquire the right to lodge suits in the special court against the *gurdwaras*. The word "person" in this section should certainly be replaced by the word "Sikh." As regards the accounts referred to in section (19), they should be published for circulation among the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 326).

Pardesi Khalsa, 7 July 1922

Continuing the remarks in its issue of the 7th July, the paper [the *Pardeshi Khalsa*] says that another defect in the Bill is that the suits lodged before the 1st of April 1922 will not come under its purview. This clearly shows that the suits about the Nankana Sahib and other chief *gurdwaras*, which are now pending, will be dealt with under the old law. Again it is provided in the Bill that no addition to the schedule of *gurdwaras* appended to the Bill will be made except by making a previous statement before the Council about it. We fail to understand what the Hindu and Muhammadan members of the Council can know about the *gurdwaras* and what right they have to settle a religious question of the Sikhs. Such a point should be for the Sikh community to decide. Another main

defect in the Bill is that no change has been made in the old law except by the appointment of a tribunal, with the powers of a District Judge, whose orders will be appealable to the High Court. Under the old law, an illiterate Mahant or one without any knowledge of the Sikh scriptures or an inefficient Mahant could not be removed. In these circumstances, the Bill is nothing but a huge mockery. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, pp. 326–327).

***Gargaj Akali*, 7 July 1922**

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 7th July asks what purpose the law will serve when it is neither acceptable to the Sikhs nor the Mahants. The law is being framed with a view to tighten the hold of the Government on the *gurdwaras* by creating disputes between both the parties. The paper then examines some of the provisions. The clause “whenever the Local Government may deem proper, it will appoint a court of three persons for the disposal of all those civil suits” clearly shows that this court will be constituted or dissolved at the sweet will of the Government. Again the court will have powers to decide only civil suits, and there is no safeguard against the debaucheries of the Mahants. The question hence arises why this court should not be invested with criminal powers. The Government should not pass any bill that may injure the dignity of the Sikh community; otherwise the Sikh community should be prepared to sacrifice its body, mind and money in reforming the *gurdwaras*. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 327).

***Khalsa*, 8 July 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 8th July is afraid that the Bill will not calm the Sikh agitation unless a remedy is suggested to redress all the grievances of the Sikhs and it is indicated that the object of the Bill is to remove these grievances. Briefly the grievances of the Sikhs are: –

The Mahants do not bear good character. They are not Sikhs. They introduce such rites in the *gurdwaras* as are not practised by the Sikhs. They think that the property, jagirs, etc., of the *gurdwaras* are solely meant for them, and therefore they are squandering their incomes. The management of the *gurdwaras* should be given in the hands of the elected representatives of the whole Panth, as the Mahants have so far failed to manage them properly.

The paper then adds that the Bill should clearly indicate that a Mahant who does not possess certain qualifications or who possess certain disqualifications will be liable to removal from the *gurdwara*. All the immovable property of the *gurdwaras* so far entered in the names of the Mahants should be entered in those of the *gurdwaras*.

Again a Mahant should be a Sikh. He should follow the teachings of the ten Gurus and observe the principles of Sikhism as embodied in the *Granth*. He should publish a properly audited account and yearly budget of the *gurdwaras* under his management. He should not allow any rites other than those observed by the Sikhs to creep in his *gurdwara*. He should manage his *gurdwara* under the instructions of the managing committee over him. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, pp. 327–328).

Akali, 8 July 1922

The *Akali* of the 8th July says that the principle for which agitation was started, sacrifices were offered and jails filled has not been accepted in the Bill – the principle that all the *gurdwaras* and the properties attached thereto should be the property of the Panth and not of any individual. Again the tribunal will contain only one representative of the Sikhs, the one nominated by the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee. If the Government honestly wants to settle the question of the *gurdwaras*, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee should have powers to nominate all the three members of the tribunal, or if the Government deems it necessary one of them may be returned by the Mahants, but in no case by the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 326).

Pardesi Khalsa, 9 July 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 9th July refers to the Gurdwara Bill and the conviction of Gyani Sher Singh and asks if there is any one who will not believe that the bureaucracy is bent upon suppressing the Sikhs. The Bill in its present form is liable to be consigned to the waste paper basket. We are convinced that the bureaucracy is standing in the way of the Gurdwara reform. It is now cowardice to away any longer. The Sikhs should put pressure on the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee to step into the field fully prepared. Time for deliberations has gone. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 327).

Loyal Gazette, 9 July 1922

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 9th July publishes the text of the draft Gurdwara Bill (obtained privately) and affirms that the procedure adopted by the Government in treating the Bill as a confidential measure, is altogether suspicious. Had the Bill been published, it would have elicited valuable suggestions. In fact, the Government has tried to thrust the Bill on the Sikh community, which is highly deplorable. It should have tried to arrive at a settlement with the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee before introducing the measure into the

Legislative Council. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd July 1922. No. 29, p. 338).

***Ajit*, 9 July 1922**

The *Ajit* of the 9th July says that the Bill is unacceptable to the Sikhs, as all the gurdwaras that have already come under the management of the community will pass into the hand of an officially appointed commission. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd July 1922. No. 29, p. 338).

***Akali*, 10 July 1922**

The *Akali* of the 10th July takes exception to the section that 'the Act will not affect the Limitation Act, that the suits lodged before the 1st of April 1922 will not come under the purview of this Act and that the orders of the tribunal, being invested with the powers of a District Judge, will be appealable to the High Court' whose reputation is marred by the decision in the Nankana Sahib case. The Bill is worthless and the people should prepare themselves to oppose it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 326).

***Akali*, 12 July 1922**

The *Akali* of the 12th July once more appeal to the Sikh Councillors to abstain from participating in the passage of the proposed Bill. It asks why they have become the tools of the bureaucracy for crushing the sacred Akali movement and carrying through a Bill which will place all the *gurdwaras* under Government control. They should leave the Council and join the war of liberty by enlisting in the Akali army. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd July 1922. No. 29, p. 339).

***Panth Sewak*, 12 July 1922**

The *Panth Sewak* of the 12th July says that the Bill has been framed for the settlement of disputes regarding certain *gurdwaras* embodied in the schedule to be attached later on. We are afraid important *gurdwaras* for which thousands of Sikhs have gone to jails might be omitted from the list. Again there are certain shrines outside the Punjab. All of them should come within its purview. The paper also takes exception to section 3 (1) and says that the appointment of a tribunal should not be left to the Local Government, but it should be the duty of the Government to appoint a tribunal whenever there is a dispute. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd July 1922. No. 29, p. 339).

***Kesari*, 14 July 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 14th July states that although it is well known to the Government that the Sikhs do not like it to interfere in their religious affairs or

in the management of their shrines, yet it has unnecessarily thrust itself in the management of the *gurdwaras* and has got reserved for itself certain powers in the Bill, which no self-respecting Sikh would even like it to possess. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd July 1922. No. 29, p. 339).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 15 July 1922**

Writing to the *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 15th July, Gurcharn Singh, Vakil, Raya (Sialkot), says that Sikh *gurdwaras* are situated not only in the Punjab but are scattered all over India, e.g., the *gurdwaras* of Patna Sahib, Nanak Mata, &c., and the Bill should have been therefore taken up by the Indian Legislative Assembly rather than the Punjab Legislative Council. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd July 1922. No. 29, p. 339).

***Shamsher*, 18 July 1922**

With reference to the deputation of the Mahants that waited recently on Sir John Maynard, the *Shamsher* of the 18th July remarks that the Mahants ought to have known that the Sikh community has not put itself in possession of the *gurdwaras* from any greedy motives, but in order to banish vice and sinfulness from their sacred precincts. To attain this laudable object they have sent thousands of men to jail and got hundreds of them martyred. The Mahants should rest assured that no power on earth can prevent the Sikhs from rendering the above service to the *gurdwaras*. It is now impossible for any one to hold dances and drinking bouts in the *gurdwaras* or to squander their revenues by treating the *gurdwaras* as personal property. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 351).

***Khalsa*, 19 July 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 19th July hopes that the Government will not be taken in by the deputation but will pass the Gurdwara Bill in accordance with the wishes of the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 351).

***Panth Sewak*, 19 July 1922**

The *Panth Sewak* of the 19th July suggests that in section 10 for the words "any one" should be substituted "any Sikh", as the former words leave room for even a non-Sikh to bring a suit about any *gurdwara*. The accounts referred to in section 19 should be published in the Sikh *Sangats* (congregations). It should be clearly provided for in the Bill that a Mahant who may not possess the prescribed qualifications or who may be of bad character will be liable to dismissal. All the immoveable properties attached to the *gurdwaras* which have anywhere been vested in the Mahants should be re-vested in the name of the

gurdwara concerned by legislation. If a Mahant claims any property as his own, the burden of proof should lie upon him. The definition of a 'Sikh' should also be given in the Bill, since according to the official definition any non-Sikh who may not even wear long hair can call himself a Sikh. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 350).

***Kesari*, 20 July 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 20th July publishes an open letter from Sardar Khazan Singh, Barrister-at-Law, Lahore, to the Sikh members of the Legislative Council, urging them to keep in view the unanimous resolution of the community and not to vote for the Bill if the Government commits the blunder of introducing it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 350).

***Kesari*, 21 July 1922**

The *Kesari* of the 21st July says that the proposed Gurdwara Bill is neither liked by the Sikh Akalis nor by the Mahants. It is at a loss to understand why the Government is interfering in a matter which entirely concerns the Sikh community. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 350).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 21 July 1922**

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 21st July observes that by claiming the proprietorship of the gurdwaras the President of the Mahants has given out his intention. This is the reason why the Panth wants to change the system of Mahants, because the latter consider themselves as being the proprietors of the gurdwaras and do not care for the Panth. They lead lives of profligacy and should not be allowed to stay inside the gurdwaras. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 351).

***Shamsher*, 21 July 1922**

The *Shamsher* of the 21st July says that an alien or Christian Government can have no conception of the religious susceptibilities of the Sikhs. Even Maharaja Ranjit Singh could not have the courage to interfere in the religious matters or in the management of the Sikh temples. But the present day officials are thinking of imposing restrictions on the management of the Sikh sanctuaries. The community should protest against the Gurdwara Bill to show its resentment. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 350).

***Shamsher*, 23 July 1922**

The *Shamsher* of the 23rd July says that the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has decided to continue the work of the reformation of gurdwaras by ignoring the Gurdwara Bill. It behoves the Government to fulfil the demands

of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and drop the Bill. It is impossible for the Sikhs to flinch from any sacrifice or heed any repression, when they have to maintain the freedom of their gurdwaras. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 29th July 1922. No. 30, p. 351).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 July 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 30th July affirms that no Gurdwara Bill, however good, should be passed unless it is approved by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Thousands of resolutions published in the press show that the Sikh community is not prepared to accept any Bill that is forced on them and is not passed after consultation with the Committee. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 5th August 1922. No. 31, p. 362).

***Khalsa*, 31 July 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 31st July says that according to the *Civil and Military Gazette* the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council have preferred the old Gurdwara Bill drafted by the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Hussain to the new one. It fails to understand how the members came to this decision. If the Government wants to put an end to the Sikh agitation, it should devise proper and effective means for the reformation of the gurdwaras at an early date. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 5th August 1922. No. 31, p. 362).

***Bharat*, 14 and 17 September 1922**

The *Bharat* of the 14th and 17th September does not approve of the action of the Government in enacting, in haste and under Akali pressure, a law that might hand over to the Akalis the Gurdwaras belonging to the Udasis or other sections of the Sikhs. It is not good for the Government itself to encourage the strong and disregard the rights of the weak. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 471).

***Panth Sewak*, 20 September 1922**

The *Panth Sewak* of the 20th September suggests that the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee should draft a Gurdwara Bill and lay it before the Council for approval through the Sikh members; or the Viceroy should, by a special ordinance, appoint a committee to frame a Bill, which should consist of three Sikh members, *viz.*, Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh for the Shiromani Committee, Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia for the Government and another Sikh for the Sikh Councillors to be nominated by the former two. The Bill should be approved by the Shiromani Committee and then laid before the Council for sanction, but no Muhammadan, Englishman or any other non-Sikh should have authority to interfere in the legislation about the Sikh

gurdwaras, as these institutions belong to the Sikhs and they alone should have authority to frame a law about them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 471).

***Khalsa*, 20 September 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 20th September refers to the proposed appointment of a committee of three Sikhs to take all disputed Gurdwaras under its control for the time being and suggests that these three persons should afterwards consult the whole Panth and propose a permanent law for the management of the Gurdwaras. The proposal is highly commendable and should receive careful consideration from the Gurdwara Committee and the Akali Dal, nay, from the whole Panth. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, p. 471).

***Panth*, 22 September 1922**

The *Panth* of the 22nd September does not think any good will come out of the Bill. Previous efforts have failed and a similar fate is reserved for the present one. Then the Sikhs demanded that all those who were arrested in connection with the Gurdwara reform should be released, but the Government did not do so and the Sikhs refused to cooperate with it in passing the Bill. Are the Sikh Councillors or the Gurdwara Committee prepared to send their representatives now? Certainly not. So long as the workers of the Shiromani Committee and its President are rotting in jail, how is it possible for a Sikh to cooperate with the Government? We fail to understand the logic of the Government. It tells the Sikhs that it will help them, but it slaps them on the face so as to turn them away from it. If the Government wants to solve the Gurdwara problem it should adopt practical measures. Mere talk will not do. The Sikh community is not so shameless as to make a settlement with the Government when its revered leaders are turning mills in jails. Nor should the Government entertain the absurd notion that the Sikhs will be repressed by rigour. The blood of Bhai Tara Singh, Bhai Mani Singh and Bhai Mota Singh is running in their veins. The release of the Sikhs who have been arrested for participating in the Gurdwara movement will alone satisfy their community, who will then be prepared to consider the Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 30th September 1922. No. 39, pp. 471–472).

***Ajit*, 23 September 1922**

Writing about the Gurdwara Bill in its combined issue of the 20th and 23rd September, the *Ajit* remarks that the proposed law will make the opponents of the Sikh community raise disputes even about the Gurdwaras which

are in possession of the Shiromani Committee, with the result that the Government will take possession of them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 487).

***Nihang*, 24 September 1922**

The *Nihang* of the 24th September declared that so long as the Sikhs who have been imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara reform movement are not released, the Sikh community is not prepared to arrive at any understanding with the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 487).

***Panch*, 25 September 1922**

The *Panch* of the 25th September remarks that until all the Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement are set free no Gurdwara Bill can satisfy the Sikhs, nor can there be any hope of peace. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 487).

***Punjab Darpan*, 28 September 1922**

Punjab Darpan of the 28th September says that a Bill which is not agreed to by the Parbandhak Committee will prove of no use. The present Bill is almost on all fours with its predecessor, which was opposed by the whole Sikh community. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 487).

***Akal Sewak*, 29 September 1922**

The *Akal Sewak* of the 29th September says that the present Bill surpasses its predecessors in destroying the religious rights of the Sikh community. It only shows that the Government wishes to restrict the religious susceptibilities of the Sikhs by tightening its hold on the Gurdwaras in accordance with its old policy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 487).

***Qaum Parast*, 1 October 1922**

The *Qaum Parast* of the 1st October says that the Gurdwara Bill is calculated to throw obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of the demands of the Sikhs. Two out of the three members of the Board to be appointed by the Government will be sycophants, who will never disagree with the Government. We hope that the whole community will enter a strong protest against the Bill and that the Sikh members of the Legislative Council will oppose it vehemently and will be supported by their Hindu and Muhammadan colleagues. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, p. 500).

Khalsa, 4 October 1922

Sardar Sant Singh, Vakil, Lyallpur, writing to the *Khalsa* of the 4th October, says that the Parbandhak Committee has not been consulted in connection with the Bill. In other words, the views of the only *jatha* which is concerned with the Bill have not been taken into account. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 487).

Punjab Darpan, 5 October 1922

The *Punjab Darpan* of the 5th October 1922 says that the Parbandhak Committee can accept a Gurdwara Bill only if the Government agrees that the Gurdwaras belong to the Sikhs and that their management should be in the hands of the Panth, *i.e.*, the Committee, which consists of the elected representatives of the Panth. Of course, any settlement must be preceded by the release of all Sikh prisoners. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, p. 500).

Khalsa, 6 October 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 6th October cannot support the new Gurdwara Bill. The main object of the Bill is the appointment of an enquiry committee, but the paper endeavours to show that these inquiries can lead to nothing useful. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, p. 500).

Khalsa Advocate, 6 October 1922

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 6th October writes: –

“The Sikhs assert, and rightly so, that all the Gurdwaras belong to the community and the community as such has an indisputable right to administer them. A Mahant is a mere agent of the community. Just as an agent is removable by the principal if he abuses the authority vested in him so a Mahant should be removable from his office if he is proved to be leading a bad life. They only matter that a legislature is called upon to provide is *firstly* that it should be clearly proved that the community as a whole wants his removal and *secondly* that such opinion is expressed through a recognized channel. *Thirdly* if I and II are proved then the removal is made in a peaceful manner. The present Bill does not provide any of these things. It leaves the matters where they are. ... What is wanted is a constitution of a Board with power to hear the dispute and decide the desirability of the removal of a Mahant and to vest the management of such places in a popular body like the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which is admittedly a most representative body of the Panth at present. This is what is meant by the term freedom of the Gurdwaras, for which the community has made immense sacrifices and seems

quite prepared to make more till the object is achieved." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, p. 500).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 6 October 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 6th October writes: –

“Sikhs’ main grievances may be divided into four heads –

- (1) Their first grievance is that the Mahants of some prominent Gurdwaras have become so very degenerated that not only their immediate removal is absolutely necessary but to call them even a Sikh is a sacrilege.
- (2) Their second grievance is that the revenues from the Gurdwara Jagirs and lands attached thereto and the public offerings are not spent on purposes for which they are meant, and that the Mahants are converting the *Vakf* properties of the Gurdwaras into their private properties and squandering their revenues on luxuries and on immoral purposes and self-aggrandisement.
- (3) Their third grievance is that the Mahants do not regard the Gurdwaras as the Sikhs’ religious places of worship and have introduced practices and rituals which are in direct conflict with the Sikh tenets and fundamental principles of Sikhism as laid down in the Sri Guru Granth Sahib.
- (4) Their fourth grievance is that the Mahants in whose hands the Panth had continued to place the control and management of some of their principal Gurdwaras have not only failed to discharge those sacred trusts faithfully but have criminally abused them, for which reason the Panth no longer wishes them to continue unrestrained by the Panth.

Now does the new Gurdwara Bill make any provision to secure to the Panth the redress of these four main grievances? If it does it is acceptable; otherwise not, unless of course it is so amended as secures their redress. So far as we have studied the provisions of the new Gurdwara Bill we find there is nothing in them which should hold such a promise. The only remedy lies in giving the Sikhs a Gurdwara legislation which fully redresses their present grievances and secures their Gurdwaras permanently against any future encroachments. This done the Sikh grievances are redressed." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, pp. 500–501).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 16 October 1922**

Writing to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 16th October, one Gurdit Singh of Murree, who calls himself a moderate Sikh, says that the Sikhs sharing his views do not wish that the estrangement between the Government and his co-religionists should increase. At the same time, however, they cannot accept any Bill which may wrest all their sacred places from the Sikhs and place them in the hands of

others. The Government is playing tricks with them and it needs to be clearly told that the time for such diversion has gone by. If the Government wishes to pour water on this blazing fire, it should place historic Gurdwaras throughout India under the control of a Sikh committee by means of a royal proclamation. If any section of the Panth objects to the rules framed by the committee, the objections will be settled by the Sikhs themselves. It is meaningless that outwardly the Government should profess sympathy with the Gurdwara reform movement, but that secret efforts should be made to sap the foundations of the Sikhs community. Even the policy of Farrukh Seer, who proclaimed his intention of exterminating the Sikhs, was preferable to that now pursued (by the Government). It cannot be said whether or not the Sikhs will be able to put up with further repression and no assurance can, therefore, be given about their continuing non-violent. It is certain, however, that they will observe non-violence as long as the honour of their women is not assailed. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, p. 517).

***Tribune*, 19 October 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 19th October writes: –

“The passing of the present Bill or any Bill will not end the struggle. It would only be the commencement of a new struggle, and judging from the signs, if this or any other Bill is passed without regard to the views of those sections of the community whose interests may be adversely affected by it, then much that has recently been gained and which is much more valuable both to the Sikhs themselves and to the country generally than any legislative measure can possibly be, will be lost.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 524).

***Tribune*, 25 October 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 25th October writes: –

“It is undeniable that the Government would have been in no hurry to bring forward this or any other Bill if it had not been for the Akali movement. That means in plain English that it is to please the Akalis that the Bill is brought forward. Well, then, if the Akalis and their spokesmen say as they have said definitely, that they will have nothing to do with the Bill, what reason is left for the authorities to preserve with it? It is, therefore, with no small surprise that we learn from a little bird who occasionally whispers in our ears that the Government fully intends introducing the Bill and carrying it through. Does the Government, then, look upon the Bill as an ideal measure of justice to all concerned which could not be abandoned without betraying a sacred duty? ... The preamble to the Bill tells us that ‘it is expedient, in connection with

certain Sikh Gurdwaras and shrines, to provide, in cases of dispute, for their administration and management and to make an enquiry into matters connected therewith.' Now the first question that is asked is, dispute between whom? It is unfortunately the case that the dispute is not always between Sikhs and Sikhs, far less between Sikhs of one particular school, the large and influence school of which the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee is at present the chief representative organ. Were this last the case, we for our part would agree entirely with those Sikhs who say that the Government has no business to interfere in this matter except only to see that there is no breach of the peace and that it should be left solely to the Sikh community and its organs, subject of course to the ordinary jurisdiction of ordinary courts of law. ... Those who have examined the schedule attached to the Bill tell us that there are shrines included in it some of which have never been under the exclusive control of the Sikhs as represented by the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, while there are not a few which have never been under Sikh management and control at all, and in which there is full provision for the worship of gods and goddesses according to orthodox Hindu ideas. And yet when a dispute arises regarding these shrines, the Bill proposes not only to entrust the enquiry into it to an exclusively Sikh body, of which full two-thirds are Sikhs of substantially one school, but actually makes that body the final and supreme authority in the matter of their administration and management. ... It is perfectly obvious that one of two things must be done if the principle of the Bill is to remain unchallenged on the score of justice and equity. Either the schedule must be so framed as to include no shrine which is not at present under the *ultimate* control of that large section of the Sikhs community of which the Shiromani Committee and the Sikh member are the spokesmen, or the constitution of the Board must be so broadened as to make it truly and adequately representative of all the interests involved. ... Then again it is not merely the shrines that are involved in the Bill, but also the property attached to them or supposed to be attached to them. And we can think of nothing more sweeping than the provision in the Bill relating to this matter. ... No man, be he a Hindu, a Mussalman, a Sikh or a Christian, can consider his property safe so long as that property is situated in the neighbourhood of a Gurdwara or shrine included in the list appended to the Bill. The objection here is not to the personnel of the Board, of which no one knows anything at this stage; nor is any reflection intended to be conveyed against any one. What is objected to is the infringement of the salutary principle that no man should be judge in his own affairs, and the Board, when all is said and done, will be an exclusive communal body. We do not for a moment forget the claim of the Akalis that no other community has anything to do with the matter. But this is just the point in dispute between

them and the other interests, whether Sikh or Hindu, and so long as this point is not settled, we can think of no Bill that can prove acceptable to both parties to the dispute. ... The present Bill, with the schedule attached to it, is, we are constrained to say, neither just nor equitable. Nor, so far as we can see, can any Bill meet these elementary requirements unless it is preceded by a sort of conference between the Shiromani Committee and the representatives of the other interests involved and only gives effect to the understanding arrived at that conference." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 4th November 1922. No. 44, pp. 536–537).

***Bande Mataram*, 30 October 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 30th October remarks that when the Government discovered that it had been worsted in spite of having practised every repression on the peaceful Akalis, it had recourse to cunning to impart a colour of victory to its defeat. It drafted a Gurdwara Bill and included in the list attached to it temples which are clearly places of worship of the Hindus and other non-Akalis. It resorted to this piece of mischief probably to induce the Akalis to accept the Bill and thus to beat the drum of its victory in the four quarters of the globe. The Akalis should not convert Hindus and other non-Akalis into their enemies by suffering themselves to be caught in this net of deception. We heartily sympathise with them in their struggle to reform the gurdwaras and dismiss immoral Mahants, but feel constrained to refuse them our sympathy in their eagerness to ignore the rights of others and take possession of non-Sikh places of worship. A conference should be held consisting of Akalis, Hindus, Udasis, Sahajdharis, Kukas, Namdharis and Mahants. They should devise means, by mutual discussion, to neutralise the effect of the new step of the Government. It has always been the practice of the Government to rule by creating divisions. How can it then be expected to please the Akalis, Hindus and other non-Akalis at the same time? The weakness of the non-Akalis makes it disregard their displeasure in its efforts to please the Akalis. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th November 1922. No. 45, p. 549).

***Tribune*, 8 November 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 8th November writes: –

“We do hope better counsels will yet prevail and that the consideration of the Bill will be postponed pending a settlement arrived at between the Shiromani Committee and the representatives of the other interests involved. And lest there should be a misunderstanding of our position regarding the general question of Gurdwara Reform, let us hasten to add that we consider it essential that the principle should be clearly borne in mind and duly recognized

that not only the Gurdwaras but all places of worship belong to the communities and that the Mahants, priests and Mullahs are merely servants or, at best, trustees. As such, they have no personal proprietary right in the properties attached to the shrines or the offerings made by the devotees, and that all they are entitled to is provision for a decent living for themselves and their immediate dependents." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 563).

***Muslim Outlook*, 9 November 1922**

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 9th November writes: –

"We think that the Sikh community should not put obstacles in the path of the Bill. Surely it could be amended by the select committee, as also more and more beneficent and stronger provisions could be added to it later on in the light of the experience gained from the working of the law. While expressing our heart-felt sympathy with our Akali brethren, we must submit that constitutional and lawful means would be far better to bring about the desired results than otherwise." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 563).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 10 November 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th November writes: –

"One novel feature of introduction was that the first stage of asking leave to introduce the Bill was quietly skipped over. This shows the hot haste in which the Government appears to be to thrust on the community a measure which it is not only unwilling to accept but is also determined to oppose. ... It is a matter of common knowledge now that the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which has specially taken upon itself the reform of the gurdwaras, is opposed to the Bill. No other Sikh body of any repute seems to be in its favour. All the five Sikh members of the Select Committee on the Gurdwara Bill did not take part in the proceedings of that Committee. We therefore fail to understand what the Government will gain in persisting with this Bill and getting it passed with the support of its own votes. Let us still hope that the Government will not make the mistake of passing the Bill so long as it does not fully satisfy the demands of the community. We would also like to remind the elected Hindu and Muhammadan members of the Council of their duty in the matter. They should remember that at the Lucknow compact it was mutually agreed that no legislation which concerns a particular religion will be supported by the members of the other religions unless it has the approval of the members of that particular religion to which the measure concerns." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 564).

***Khalsa*, 10 November 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 10th November fails to understand what advantage the Government can derive by forcing the Gurdwara Bill upon the Sikhs on the strength of the votes of its disposal. The Shiromani Committee, other Sikh jathas and the Sikh members of the Council are all opposed to the measure. The elected Hindu and Muhammadan members of the Council should remember that it was specially decided at the time of the Lucknow compact that the councillors professing one religion shall not press for the passage of a Bill unless the members belonging to the faith with which the Bill is concerned accept it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 563).

***Tribune*, 12 November 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 12th November writes: –

“From what we know of the temper of the Sikh community over the treatment of the Akalis in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh, we shall not be surprised if the Sikh members will oppose the Bill in a body. We respect what we have said more than once that the only hope of some kind of a Gurdwara Bill being accepted by the reforming Sikhs lies in an amicable understanding being first arrived at with the leaders of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and the only hope of its being accepted by the other communities whose interests are involved in this matter lies in an understanding being previously arrived at between them and the reforming Sikhs.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 564).

***Panth*, 12 November 1922**

The *Panth* of the 12th November remarks that it is difficult to see why the Government should force the Gurdwara Bill on us, in spite of the fact that strong protests are being made against it and the Sikh members of the Council are also opposed to the measure. Does the Government wish to create in the popular mind the impression that it can trample on the feelings of the people and that protests from them can produce no effect on it? It has aeroplanes and machine guns, with which it can kill lakhs of persons. It has also the police, who can bludgeon innocent persons. Why does it need this “silent” weapon while it has all these weapons? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 18th November 1922. No. 46, p. 564).

***Loyal Gazette*, 12 November 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 12th November remarks that if the Gurdwara Bill is passed, there is every likelihood of a serious situation arising in the Punjab.

Satyagraha will be resorted to at several places and fifteen or twenty thousand men will in a body offer themselves for arrest. The Government will then have to repent. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 575).

Panth, 13 November 1922

The *Panth* of the 13th November states if the Council passes the Gurdwara Bill without caring for the unanimous opposition of the Sikh members and the Sikh democracy, one might ask whether Sikh unrest will abate. The answer to the question is an emphatic negative. People will not be satisfied if the Government does not punish its servants. Moreover, all those persons who have been arrested and punished in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair should be released. And it is only after this has been done that some kind of understanding can be arrived at. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 577).

Panth Sewak, 15 November 1922

The *Panth Sewak* of the 15th November states that the Sikhs are being beaten, imprisoned and crushed under railway trains. They are also flogged and their bears are pulled. Why then has the Gurdwara Bill, which is unacceptable even to the moderate Sikhs, been introduced without the consent of the community? What will be the result of this high-handed action? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 576).

Kuka, 17 November 1922

The *Kuka* of the 17th November asks why in placating the Akalis the Government should ignore the other Sikh sects. Does it not know that the Parbandhak Committee represents only one Sikh sect? It should either allow equal representation to all the Sikh sects on the Board to be constituted under the Gurdwara Bill or withdraw the Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 576).

Khalsa Advocate, 17 November 1922

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th November writes: –

“In the teeth of the opposition of all Hindu and Sikh members and an Executive Councillor and a Minister, the Government with the support of the Mussalman members carried the motion of the Hon'ble Mian Fazal Husain to take the proposed Gurdwara Bill into consideration. What will be the gain of it? The Government alone knows. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is opposed to this Bill. The Sikh members of the Council are also

opposing it. Two out of the three members of the Board have to be returned by them. From the opposition they are leading, it is evident that they would not return the two Commissioners allotted to them in the Bill. And the consequences will be that all the three members of the Board will be nominated by the Government itself. We fail to understand what would stand in the way of those Sikhs to defy this official Board of Commissioners as well who are already disobeying the measures taken by the Government. To us it rather so appears that another difficulty will confront the Government. ... If in the teeth of a united opposition from both of them the Government would choose to inflict any measure on the Sikhs, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee would get a cause to assert with a greater show of justification that they have been left no other alternative than 'civil disobedience' to resist a measure which neither Hindus nor even the moderate Sikhs are prepared to accept. Under these circumstances, civil disobedience from the Shiromani Committee will have the appearance of a last resource and the prestige of the Government will further suffer in the public estimation."

In another place the paper writes: – "Both Sir John Maynard and Mian Fazal Husain in their denunciation of the opposition of the Hindu and Sikh members to the proposed Gurdwara Bill were pleased to call the concerted action on their part 'an unnatural alliance.' But we say with all the emphasis at our command that it is not the alliance which is unnatural, but the estrangement between those two sister communities is unnatural. Hindus and Sikhs are flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood. We even go further. A concerted action on the part of the Hindus and Muhammadans, nay, on the part of all communities that inhabit this vast continent, is in the nature of things the most natural thing and please God one day the foreign bureaucracy will learn to its dismay that, in spite of their tactics, the union has been achieved. But there was really one 'unnatural alliance' that was witnessed in the Punjab Legislative Council on the 16th November. It was between the foreign bureaucracy and some of our Muhammadan countrymen misled by a Muhammadan Minister. Such an alliance is unnatural and will not last long and our Muhammadan countrymen will learn to their cost one day that it was not to their advantage to ride rough-shod over the tenderest feelings of a sister community in order to bask for the while in the dubious sunshine of official favour." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 576).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 17 November 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 17th November asserts that the object of the Government in introducing the Bill is that by removing the Mahants it may itself take possession of the Gurdwaras. We have been trying to place the management of

our places of worship under the control of the Panth, but a Christian Government wants to take it into its own hands through obsequious Commissioners. Would it not have been better if instead of enacting this lengthy farce, the Government had passed a Bill of a single section authorizing it to take possession of any shrine it wishes and managing it in its own way? Even if all the Sikh prisoners are released and a number of other concessions are granted to the Sikhs, we will never accept the present Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 576).

Khalsa, 18 November 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 18th November opines that Government will cause agitation among the Sikhs by passing the Bill, which is unacceptable to all – the Mahants, reformers and Sikhs members of the Council. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 577).

Partap, 18 November 1922

The *Partap* of the 18th November thinks that if the Government passes the Gurdwara Bill and neither any representative of the Parbandhak Committee nor any Sikh member of the Punjab Legislative Council consents to act as a Commissioner, it will be impossible to enforce the proposed law. The feelings against the Government was never so strong among the Sikhs as is it at present. Does the Government think that they can accept the Bill? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 577).

Tribune 19 November 1922

The *Tribune* of the 19th November writes: –

“It was a very unfortunate speech which Sir John Maynard made at Thursday’s meeting of the Punjab Council in connection with the Gurdwara Bill. We do not say that the Hon’ble Member had no reason for the anger he exhibited. Nor are we in any way concerned to defend the Sikh members from the charge of inconsistency and fickleness that he brought against them. That is their affair, not that of the general public. What does concern us is to point out that the spirit displayed by the Hon’ble Member was not in the least conducive to that peaceful settlement of the trouble which we have no doubt he, like all of us, has sincerely at heart. ... He wanted the Bill to go through in the teeth of the united protests of Hindu and Sikh members, on the merest chance of its being able to solve the present trouble. His idea of solution seemed to be as simple as that of the Education Minister himself. ... But the most tactless thing in this tactless speech was the Hon’ble Member’s description of the alliance between Hindu and Sikh members as unnatural. Why is it unnatural, pray? ... All we can

say in reply is that this alliance which, by the way, is the most natural thing in the world, was the only good thing in this wholly miserable affair.”

In another place the paper writes: – “If the Government congratulates itself upon the passage of the Bill in such circumstances, it is welcome to that feeling, but most people will consider that its technical success in this case is indistinguishable from a substantial failure.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 577).

5 Passing of the Bill

Loyal Gazette, 19 November 1922

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 19th November writes that the government has passed the Bill in the teeth of united opposition from the Sikhs and Hindus. Future events will show what an egregious mistake it has committed. Like the Rowlatt Act, the Bill will remain a dead letter and the Government will have to pass another law. The manliness which the Sikh Councillors and the Sikh members of the Executive Council have displayed in opposing the Bill has proved that in religious matters the Sikhs, whoever they may be, are not likely to submit to power or avarice. All Sikhs are extremists in the matter of religion and can make no compromise in religious affairs. The Government has ostensibly gained a victory, but moral victory rests with the Sikh members of the Council. Adverting to the provision about the appointment of graduates to the Board to be constituted under the new law, the paper says that in these days graduates earn Rs. 60 or Rs. 90 a month. If the Government decides to pay Rs. 400 or Rs. 500 to the members of the Board the fate of the Gurdwaras and properties worth crores of rupees will be settled by newly-fledged B.A.'s ignorant of law and having no experience of courts. The Government has also reserved for itself the power of declaring any Gurdwara to be a disputed one. The list of Gurdwaras originally appended to the Bill was removed lest other Mahants should come to a settlement with the Parbandhak Committee. In short, the Bill is worthless and will increase rather than decrease the difficulties of the Government. It will also pour oil on the fire of resentment which burns in the minds of the Sikhs. The Government testes us in the affair of the keys of the Golden Temple. We have been tested in connection with Guru-ka-Bagh also. Does the Government still think that it can curb the Sikhs with the aid of bludgeons? If the fates have further trial in store for them, the Sikhs are ready cheerfully to undergo it also. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 587).

***Vakil*, 20 November 1922**

The *Vakil* of the 20th November remarks that the passing of the Gurdwara Bill is likely to evoke vigorous agitation, in which both the Sikhs and Hindus will participate, as is evident from their attitude in the Council. The Government has committed a mistake in passing the Gurdwara Bill in a hurry. The Sikhs and the Hindus whom the Bill concerns are both displeased with it. The Government should have displayed a little more patience. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 587).

***Tribune*, 21 November 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 21st November writes: –

“We are not aware of any other case since the creation of the present Council when a measure of the importance of the Gurdwara Bill was carried through in the teeth of opposition so overwhelming and so significant. Here is a Bill, which admittedly touches religious issues, and yet the bureaucracy has carried it through the Council, in spite of its being opposed by the whole body of those members of the Council who in one way or another are affected by it. For, let it not be forgotten that even the two official members representing the two principal communities who had anything to do with the Bill were neutral in this case, which, in the circumstances, was as good as their opposing the Bill. The victory of the Government in this case is even worse than pyrrhic victory; it is a real and substantial defeat. Let it be added that in a properly constituted Council, a Council consisting wholly of elected members and bound by its rules of justice and equity, such a measure would not have had the ghost of a chance of becoming law, not only because it was opposed by the majority of the elected members present, but also because the representative of two of the three principal communities constituting the Province voted *en bloc* against the measure.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 577).

***Bande Mataram*, 22 November 1922**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd November asks why if the Bill is intended for redressing the grievances of the Sikhs, no heed was paid to the opposition of the Sikhs members of the Legislative Council. The Government cannot plead that the Bill was introduced with the advice of the Ministers, seeing that both Lala Harkishen Lal and Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia remained neutral. The Bill was carried only with the votes of the official and Muhammadan Councillors. Such proceedings show that the reformed Councils are only a farce. His Excellency the Governor should exercise his power of veto in this case. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 588).

Ajit, 22 November 1922

The *Ajit* of the 22nd November avers that if the Gurdwara Bill, which his opposed to the religious demands and interests of the Sikhs, is enforced, it will, like the Rowlatt Act, result in bitterness. How will the Sikh heroes, 5,500 of whom have suffered imprisonment for the sake of Guru-ka-Bagh, make over Sri Akal Takht and Sri Nankana Sahib to the Board of Commissioners to be constituted under the Bill? The Government is committing mistake after mistake and is following a crooked path, which will accentuate rather than abate unrest. Innumerable Sikhs will have to step into the arena of sacrifice. The whole Sikh community believes that, because of this Bill, their religion is in danger, How can it then feel at peace? The Sikhs should regard the Bill as a challenge thrown down to them by the Government. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 588).

Jathedar, 22 November 1922

The *Jathedar* of the 22nd November wonders what advantage Government will derive by placing on the statute book a law which is unacceptable to the Shiromani Committee, the Hindu community, the Sadhus and all classes of Sikhs and which is not supported even by important members of the Government – Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia and Lala Harkishen Lal. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 588).

Khalsa, 22 November 1922

The *Khalsa* of the 22nd November says that the victory gained by the Sikhs is not of a permanent character. It is, therefore, idle to hope that the agitation prevailing among the Sikhs will be allayed. The Government should give up the false idea of maintaining its prestige and should ask the Sikhs to draft a new Gurdwara Bill, telling them at the same time that all the Akali prisoners will be released on its passage. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 592).

Jathedar, 23 November 1922

Jathedar of the 23rd November says that the proceedings in the Council and the manner in which the Bill has been passed show that the machinery of the Government will henceforth move more swiftly than before. We would, however, warn those responsible for working the machinery to be careful, seeing that the path before them is a dangerous one. The passage of the Bill and the stoppage of arrests at Guru-ka-Bagh have only increased agitation among the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 588).

***Zamindar*, 23 November 1922**

The *Zamindar* of the 23rd November asks whether the Punjab Government thinks that the passing of the Gurdwara Bill will end its difficulties in connection with the Gurdwaras. The unanimous opposition of the Sikh and Hindu members of the Council to the measure constitutes ample testimony to the contrary. Indeed, the Bill has helped to create further difficulties for the Government. Again, its passage has clearly shown how far the religious rights and sentiments of different communities are respected in the Legislative Councils set up by the bureaucracy. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, p. 588).

***Daler Akali*, 26 November 1922**

In the course of a leading article, the *Daler Akali* of the 26th November says that the Bill will lead to further results of a dangerous character culminating in great trouble. Government officials think that they will be able to maintain peace by suppression the religious susceptibilities of the Sikhs. We wish clearly to tell the Government that it is now difficult for it to satisfy the Sikhs with the aid of machinations. The only way to maintain peace is that all the Gurdwaras should be handed over to the Sikhs, who are making preparations for offering all kinds of sacrifices on a still larger scale. If Lord Reading makes the mistake of giving his assent to the Bill many dangerous results are likely to ensue. The responsibility for all this will rest with unwise Government officials like Mian Fazal-i-Hussain and reconciliation between the Government and the Sikhs will become impossible. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, p. 602).

***Khalsa*, 29 November 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 29th November publishes a communication from a correspondent who enquires whether a measure which has been enacted against the wishes of a community should be used in deciding religious questions affecting that community. And can a law calculated to strike at the roots of a religious body be accepted and acted upon by that body? Besides, can a law which has been enacted by gagging not only Sikhs, but also Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and hundreds and thousands of other people bring about peace and promote affectionate cooperation between the rulers and the ruled? Moreover, is such interference by the Government in religious matters lawful? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th December 1922. No. 49, pp. 602–603).

Muslim Outlook, 8 December 1922

The *Muslim Outlook* of the 8th December publishes a letter from Arbel Singh of Lahore who writes: –

“The Act places at the disposal of my community advantages and facilities by utilizing which to the fullest possible extent thorough and radical reformation of the Gurdwaras can be secured. Our best interests require that the policy of unreasoned hostility should be abandoned; that the Act should be worked honestly and in good faith; that efforts should be made to secure the removal of any defects that might be brought to light in the course of working; and that endeavours should be made to secure the cooperation of all sects and classes among the Sikhs in successfully working the Act. In conclusion, I may add that it is absolutely necessary that the present excitement should subside and a calm and dispassionate atmosphere for the successful working of the Act should be ensured; and this will be possible only if the strife and contumacy which have so far hindered the progress of reform are replaced by peace, good-will and honest faith.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th December 1922. No. 50, p. 615).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 29 December 1922

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 29th December remarks that the bureaucracy passed the Rowlatt Bill by force, but it would not enforce it. People now say that the mother of the Gurdwara Act, that is, the Government, will soon have to dig a grave with its own hands this baby also. It would have been better if the Government has acted sensibly from the beginning. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, pp. 4–5).

Kirpan Bahadur, 30 December 1922

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 30th December finds nothing surprising in the officers of the Government repeating the mistake of passing the Rowlatt Bill by carrying through the Gurdwara Bill in almost similar circumstances. The Government has committed two mistakes, that of rushing through this Bill and then giving assent to it; but before committing the third mistake of bringing it into operation the Government should think over the terrible consequences that might result if the measure is enforced. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, p. 5).

6 Gurdwara Act of 1923

Loyal Gazette, 14 January 1923

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 14th January states that the Gurdwara Act has been enforced from the 1st January 1923. It is certain, however, that the Shiromani Committee will not nominate a representative to the board to be appointed under the Act. The Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council also cannot be expected to follow a different course. All the three representatives will, therefore, be nominated by the Government. It is difficult to think that no Sikh will consent to work on the board. It is to be hoped that the board will not prove instrumental in adding to the difficulties of the Government and will let no dispute arise over the Gurdwaras already controlled by the Shiromani Committee. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 20th January 1923. No. 3, p. 38).

Ajit, 17 January 1923

The *Ajit* of the 17th January states that it is incumbent on very true Sikh to shout "Sat Sri Akal" after his prayers. What right can Government officers have to prevent the Akalis from raising this religious shout? Again, political prisoners are subjected to severe hardships in these days. Reports of the rigours practised on the Akalis for some time past have lacerated the heart of every Sikh. The Government will have to repent in the end for practising this repression. The Parbandhak Committee has passed a resolution calling on the Sikhs to boycott the Gurdwara Act. It is to be hoped that there is no Sikh who dare disregard the voice of his community. The Sikhs should leave the Act alone, seeing that it was passed against the wishes of the Panth. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 27th January 1923. No. 4, p. 58).

Gurdwara, 17 January 1923

The *Gurdwara* of the 17th (received on the 26th) January asks whether the Government thinks that the Akalis will tolerate that the Gurdwara Act, which was passed against their wishes, should be enforced while their brethren are being subjected to hardships in jails. They will not recognise any law as long as even a single Akali remains in jail. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd February 1923. No. 5, p. 64).

Khalsa Advocate, 19 January 1923

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 19th January writes: –

“Although the [Gurdwara] Act has received the consent of the Viceroy and has been notified to be in force with effect from 1st January, yet it seems it has become difficult to set it aworking. Now we learn from a very reliable source that the Punjab Government has requested Raja Narindra Nath and Sardar Raghbir Singh Sandhanwalia, in writing, to send in their promised Bill. We think it is a unique opportunity for all Reform parties interested in the Gurdwaras which they should not let slip. Let them join heads, settle their differences and arrive at a permanent settlement and so remove all worry and anxiety for the future, both from the path of the Government and the Sikh community.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd February 1923. No. 5, p. 65).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 26 January 1923

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 26th January writes that the bureaucracy wishes to raise a party in opposition to the Shiromani Committee. The Government is not right in saying that it wishes to arrive at a settlement, but that the Shiromani Committee does not listen to reason. The Committee is always ready for an honourable settlement, but can submit to nothing under bureaucratic pressure. Negotiations can commence only when no undue pressure is brought to bear on it and all Sikh religious prisoners have been released. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd February 1923. No. 5, p. 65).

Gurdwara, 14 February 1923

The *Gurdwara* of the 14th February asserts that the Gurdwara Act will only cause unrest. The Sikhs will sacrifice their all to maintain their honour and dignity and not allow the Act to be enforced. The Government should withdraw the Act even now and thus save itself further disgrace. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 24th February 1923. No. 8, p. 104).

Khalsa Advocate, 16 February 1923

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 16th February writes: –

“We are at a loss to find what wisdom the Government has seen in thrusting on the Sikhs with the help of Muhammadans such a Gurdwara Act? ... The Government has very often declared that it would remain neutral in matters religious. Why should it not translate this profession into practice and leave the matter to the leaders of the community concerned to settle among themselves? ... Does the Government really hope to suppress the Gurdwara agitation by throwing the Sikhs in jail? If the Government be labouring under this false notion we would boldly tell it that this belief is not well founded. Is the

experience gained in the Guru-ka-Bagh not enough to belie this? Our solemn conviction is that if the Government once again came to a trial of strength the Sikhs would undoubtedly offer themselves in still larger numbers to undergo sufferings. ... Let the Government release the Sikh prisoners and tell the Sikhs to frame and introduce their own Bill." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 24th February 1923. No. 8, p. 104).

***Vakil*, 30 March 1924**

Writing to the *Vakil*, Ghulam Yasin, Barrister-at-Law and Municipal Commissioner, Amritsar, takes the strongest objection to the system of jathabandi adopted by the Akalis. He is, however, of opinion that the present is the most opportune time for the introduction of an amended Gurdwara Bill in the Punjab Legislative Council and appeals to politicians and patriots to have it passed as early as possible. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th April 1924*, No. 14, p. 131).

***Loyal Gazette*, 1 April 1923**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 1st April remarks that as the Gurdwaras can on no account be allowed to remain out of the control of the Panth, why should not the Government make them over to it by enacting a suitable law, which should be framed by the Sikhs themselves and not by the Mussalmans or Englishmen. It behoves the Government to release all Akali prisoners and have a new Gurdwara Act passed with the help of the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee. It is impossible to suppress the Gurdwara agitation with the aid of repression. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 14th April 1923. No. 15, p. 199).

***Akali*, 25 April 1924**

The Akali publishes an article from "A Sikh politician" who says that a Gurdwara Committee presided over by an official is not acceptable to the Sikhs. It should have some non-official approved by the Sikhs as its president. Government may nominate one-half of the members, but the other half should be nominees of the Shiromani Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 161).

***Updeshak*, 5 May 1924**

The *Updeshak* complains that the Gurdwara Act passed by Government trampled upon the rights of Hindus. All Gurdwaras in the Punjab were erected by them and Hindus of all denominations go there to perform religious ceremonies. Is it not grossly unjust to prevent them from performing their religious duties and hand over all Gurdwaras to the Akalis merely because the latter can

wield *lathis*? It is not difficult to understand that Government now proposes to grant the Akalis further concessions out of fear. The Akalis will not, however, permit it to rule in the Punjab then. After the Gurdwaras they will take possession of Nabha and the turn of Punjab will come next. No fresh legislation is required, but if Government thinks otherwise it should make a provision to safeguard the rights of all those sects also which have hitherto been connected with Gurdwaras. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 173).

7 Reactions from the Udasis

Sant Samachar, 6 December 1921

MAHANT GOPAL BAKHSH of Akbarpur, Rajauli, writing to the *Sant Samachar* of the 6th December, says that the Sadhus had been asleep for a long time. The result was that the irreligious Akalis, who are most hostile to the Udasi Sadhus, have been trying to suppress the latter. They began to beat Sadhus and Mahants and took forcible possession of *gurdwaras* like Nankana Sahib, etc., which have properties worth crores of rupees attached to them. They also desecrated those *gurdwaras* by placing them under sweepers, chamars, bhangis and other untouchables. Further, they treated the cenotaphs of ancient Mahatmas and pictures of gods with the grossest disrespect, wiping them out of existence. The Akali Dal is now increasing its strength and taking possession of the places of the Sadhus. If the latter organise to protect themselves their troubles will soon come to an end. They should attend the Behar Udasi Mandal to be held at Gaya [Gaya] on the 15th, 16th and 17th December and adopt measures to promote their welfare. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 24th December 1921, No. 51, pp. 592–593).

Bharat, 10 December 1921

The *Bharat* of the 10th December says the policy adopted by [the Sikh] nationalist newspapers to rouse the Akalis involves gross injustice to the sects which have superior claims to the *gurdwaras*. Such journals as support the illegitimate demands of the Akalis simply because these people are at war with Government or are engaged in embarrassing it are a source of disgrace to the country. The nationalists [among the Sikhs], whose number is small, should recover their sense and pay consideration to the rights of the Udasi, Nirmala and Sanatanist Sikhs also. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 17th December 1921, No. 50, p. 576).

***Sant Samachar*, 30 May 1922**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 30th May is opposed to the official Gurdwara Bill, whereby the Government wishes to destroy the liberty of the Udasis by placing all the power in the hands of the Sikhs. It urges the Udasis to hold meetings on a large scale and send to the Government telegrams of protest against the Bill. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 10th June 1922. No. 23, p. 264).

***Sant Samachar*, 11 July 1922**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 11th July writes that if the Government cannot help passing the Gurdwara Bill it should before taking this step forcibly turn out the Udasis from their religious places, so that the Akalis may not harass them in civil and criminal courts by levelling false accusations against them. When the customs, rites, etc., practised by the Udasis according to the Hindu faith are not agreeable to the Akalis, how can the former remain in their religious places which will be put under the control of the latter? (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd July 1922. No. 29, p. 339).

***Gyani*, 2 August 1922**

The *Gyani* of the 2nd August publishes a communicated article from Bhai Jiwan Singh, ex-editor of the *Khalsa Sewak*, who asks whether the deputation of the Udasi Mahants that waited upon Sir John Maynard had done so to ventilate their own grievances or to incite the Government against the Akalis by describing them as seditious Bolsheviks. They slandered the Akalis to their hearts' content, because they were confident that Government officers were ever ready to listen to back-biters. The *communiqués* against the Akali movement which are issued every day and the excesses which Government officers commit on the Akalis have afforded the opponents of the Sikhs a golden opportunity to retaliate. The Udasi Mahants described themselves as the rightful owners of the gurdwaras. While holding this position they indulge in luxuries in the sacred precincts of the gurdwaras, commit crimes and sins and do not even hesitate to massacre innocent pilgrims. Let them understand that their claims may be recognized by Sir John Maynard, the Governor of the Punjab, the Viceroy, the Parliament and even the whole world; but the Sikhs are not at all prepared to recognise them. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 12th August 1922. No. 32, p. 375).

***Updeshak*, 10 May 1924**

The *Updeshak* affirms that most of the Gurdwaras occupied by the Akalis belong to the Udasi Sadhus. No one, however, consult the latter in connection

with the Gurdwara legislation. They suffer because they are peace-loving and rely on Government's sense of justice. But Government is prepared to hand over their places of worship to head-strong Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 182).

***Updeshak*, 18 May 1924**

In a subsequent issue, the paper [the *Updeshak*] publishes a communication from Mohan Singh Das, B.A., General Secretary of the Udasi Mahamandal, Amritsar, who affirms that the new (Gurdwara) Bill will sweep the Udasis off the face of the earth. Government has not done its duty to them and has permitted oppression and rigour to be practised on them at several places. It has let the Akalis wrest from the Udasis nearly all their big shrines. And no, in order to conciliate those who transgressed the law, it is going to pass a new Gurdwara Act. The proposed law can be acceptable to the Udasis only if they are represented on the Birdwood Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th May 1924*, No. 21, p. 190).

***Kesari*, 22 May 1924**

The *Kesari* contends that Udasi Mahants are not Sikhs in the strict sense of the term. To place their claim on a footing of equality with those of the Akalis will only aggravate the situation and perhaps make the solution of the problem impossible. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th May 1924*, No. 21, p. 190).

8 Negotiation and Compromise

***Khalsa Advocate*, 23 June 1922**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 23rd June writes: –

“An effort should be made to bring about a solution of the present tangle, by a frank and full exchange of views between the Government and the leaders of the Sikh community. ... We, therefore, resume our role of urging the Government to take up matters betimes and not permit a policy of drift to continue. ... Administrators have too often in the past pinned their faith on measures of coercion and repression and have, more often than not, depended on the execution of legal processes and the enforcement of penalties to produce salutary results. But whatever might be the value or utility of such measures as temporary expedients, statesmanship has come to recognise that coercive action does not count as more than a mere makeshift to gain time. ... It must also not be ignored that measures of rigour and repression, while they may

bear on them the appearance of immediate success can never be considered pure and unadulterated good, for it is undeniable that whatever the measure of success that may be attributed to their application, they leave behind an amount of bitterness and discontent out of all proportion to their real or fancied advantage, and thus in the long run defeat their own purpose. ... Let it [Government] remove the causes which have led to the present anxious and complex situation; by removing the causes it will cut away the sources which feed and nourish dissatisfaction and discontent and create and foster excitement and bitterness. Had Government taken prompt and effective action in the matter of any single source of tension and estrangement between the Sikhs and the Government the situation would have been easily managed and the trouble would not have been accentuated. As it is, the situation, however difficult and anxious, is not beyond recall. We urge again: 'Let prison gates be thrown open, then let there be a conference.'" (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 1st July 1922. No. 26, pp. 300-301).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 30 June 1922**

In referring to Sardar Mahtab Singh's presidential address at the Gujranwala Sikh Political Conference, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 30th June writes: –

"We only trust Government will take this statement of the situation and the various developments it has undergone, each time unhappily for the worse, from a Sikh leader of position and authority among his brethren, chosen by them to speak in their name and inspiring their unstinted confidence. It is not necessary that Government should see eye to eye with him in every detail, but the fact remains that the Sikh community which has always stood out and shed its life-blood for the British Government is at present at loggerheads with it and the situation at the moment shows no sign of improvement. The importance of Sardar Mahtab Singh's pronouncement lies in the fact that it gives the position of the Sikhs in clear and unequivocal terms, and Government owe it to themselves to take it into their most earnest and careful consideration. We have again and again stated that the situation, however difficult and anxious, is not beyond recall. That is the impression which Sardar Mahtab Singh's address also undoubtedly conveys. The Sikhs have undergone sufferings untold and make sacrifice almost unparalleled for a community of its numbers, and from instincts and motives of the best and noblest. They have certainly no lack of desire on their part to come to a reasonable understanding and effect an honourable and enduring peace. But Government must be prepared for it with a reasonable and adequate response to the legitimate demands of this self-respecting and public-spirited community. We urge once more with all the earnestness and strength of conviction we can command: 'Let prison gates be

thrown open; then let there be a conference.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 8th July 1922. No. 27, pp. 312–313).

***Gyani*, 20 September 1922**

The *Gyani* of the 20th September states that if the Government had afforded proof of its sympathy with the Gurdwara movement, no one would have been ungrateful enough to forget this. The British are said to be great statesmen, but is it advantageous for them to break away with the Khalsa community for the sake of a handful of flattering Mahants? How many regiments did these eaters of *bhang* supply to the British in the European war? The Shiromani Committee and the Government should meet together and settle this dispute amicably. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 493).

***Shamsher-i-Khalsa*, 24 September 1922**

The *Shamsher-i-Khalsa* of the 24th September remarks that the Government should promptly decide the question of the Gurdwaras in accordance with the views of the Parbandhak Committee. If the Gurdwaras are not promptly reformed, we are afraid lest the Sikhs, whose feelings have been wounded, should do anything serious. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 7th October 1922. No. 40, p. 493).

***Tribune*, 11 March 1923**

The *Tribune* of the 11th March writes: –

“The (Punjab Legislative) Council has asked for the immediate release of all Gurdwara prisoners, and the Government must release all of them immediately and in one single batch, if its action is either to have a mollifying effect on the situation or to have the appearance of a concession to public opinion.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd March 1923. No. 9, p. 144).

***Khalsa*, 14 March 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 14th March writes that statesmanship and wisdom now demand that all Akali prisoners should be released and a (new Gurdwara) Bill passed in accordance with the wishes of the Sikhs. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd March 1923. No. 9, p. 144).

***Loyal Gazette*, 27 January 1924**

Writing about the arrest of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, the *Loyal Gazette* says that in order to achieve its end Government may still more violently attack the Akali *jathabandi* and also take the extreme step of firing bullets. If the authorities consider that they can live in India after destroying a

whole community with swords and guns they are at liberty to use this last weapon of repression. They should, however, banish from their minds the foolish idea that they can confound the Sikhs by filling jails or resorting to any other method of repression. Government should, like a good Government, feel no shame in yielding to the legitimate religious demands of the Sikh community. There is yet time for it to reach a decision regarding the Nabha question and the Gurdwara reform after exchanging views with the leaders like Sardar Kharak Singh and Mahtab Singh. Whilst it is apprehended that extreme measures may harm the Sikhs, it is also possible, nay, probably that Government may be applying the axe to its own feet as well. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd February 1924*, No. 5, p. 43).

Akali, 21 February 1924

The *Akali* writes that Government claims that it does not interfere with the religious work of the Gurdwara Committee. But everything connected with gurdwaras is being cited as evidence against the Sikh leaders on trial. Unless a Gurdwara law which satisfies the wishes of the Sikhs is enacted, the restrictions imposed on the wearing of the *kirpan* are removed, the *akhand path* is restarted at the Gangsar Gurdwara, pilgrimage is allowed, the living Sikh martyrs imprisoned for their religion are released and it is made clear that the Maharaja of Nabha has not been punished for his sympathy with the Akali movement or the injustice done to him is undone, "the community will feel that it is being attacked with a bloody dagger." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st March 1924*, No. 9, p. 74).

Khalsa Samachar, 28 February 1924

The *Khalsa Samachar* advises Government to pass Gurdwara legislation in accordance with the wishes of the Sikhs, appoint a Sikh Council of Administration for Nabha, concede special rights to the Sikhs in the services and Councils and remove all restrictions in regard to the wearing of the *kirpan*. The Sikh problem will then be easily solved. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 97).

Partap, 29 February 1924

The *Partap* says that the relations between Government and the Sikhs were already being more and more strained from day to day. The Jaito tragedy has added fuel to the fire. It is futile to expect that the brave and perfectly organized Sikh community can be suppressed by repression. Government should discuss matter with the Akali leaders to bring about reconciliation. The Akalis in their turn should consult the recognized leaders of India to secure the sympathy

of the whole country and ensure the realization of their object. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924*, No. 10, p. 97).

Loyal Gazette, 11 May 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* affirms that a reconciliation between government and Akalis is an impossibility, unless the series of hardships which are being entailed on them come to an end and their demands for the protection of their just and religious rights are met. The Shiromani Committee must be entrusted with the management of all Gurdwaras and such a law framed for the settlement of dispute connected with them as to leave no loophole for outside interference in their management. The paper repeats other Sikh demands and urges that the Jaito massacre should be inquired into, the officers at fault adequately punished and the Maharaja of Nabha reinstated, without which no reconciliation is possible. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 180).

Akali, 10 May 1924

The *Akali* says that if Government is really anxious for a compromise with the Sikhs the efforts to sweep the Akali movement out of existence must come to an end. Again, the ban upon the Shiromani Committee and the Akali Dal should be removed to enable the former to hold a meeting and choose representatives. The decision of a representative not chosen by the Committee can have no validity. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 180).

Islah, 16 May 1924

Captain Prem Singh asserts in the *Islah* that all Sikhs, whether soldiers or civilians, literate or illiterate, urbans or rustics, sincerely desire the reform of Gurdwaras and are ready to make the great sacrifices in the cause. A good Gurdwara Bill alone can, therefore, eradicate the unrest prevailing among them. Government has extended its hand for a mutual understanding and the Sikh Panth should grasp the proffered hand. Thousands of Sikhs are angry with Government over the Gurdwara question, but they are not hostile to it. Government will, therefore, be acting wisely if it extends its hand of conciliation a little further. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 182).

Loyal Gazette, 18 May 1924

A correspondent of the *Loyal Gazette* remarks that only fools can believe that the bureaucracy wants a genuine settlement with the Sikhs. If it really desires

peace, it should restrain its myrmidons from practising the greatest rigours and oppression on the Sikhs and accept all the conditions put forward by their leaders. The impression prevails in certain circles that Government only wants to mark time to divert the attention of the Sikhs from their religious movements in order to suppress the community. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th May 1924*, No. 21, p. 190).

Agni, 22 May 1924

The *Agni* avers that the Sikh questions can be settled only if Government admits its mistake, releases Akali prisoners and enacts a Gurdwara law according to the wishes of the Sikhs. Mian Fazl-i-Husain says that if the Akalis could come to a settlement with the other Sikhs and Hindus. Government would accept this settlement. But are the Akalis and other Sikhs at loggerheads with each other? Have not both recognized the Shiromani Committee as their representative? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 31st May 1924*, No. 22, pp. 197–198).

Tribune, 6 June 1924

The *Tribune* affirms that if it is true that the negotiations between Government and the Sikhs have fallen through over the question of the release of Sikh prisoners, public opinion will hold Government responsible for the failure even of the present attempt at a reconciliation. It is the height of unreasoning absurdity to imagine that any self-respecting community could think of securing a lasting peace for itself without making sure of the release of those who are suffering for their anxiety to secure that peace in the past. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 7th June 1924*, No. 23, pp. 203–204).

Akali, 13 June 1924

The *Akali* publishes a *communiqué* issued by the Secretary of the Akali Sahaik Bureau, who affirms that the Shiromani Committee's attitude regarding the Nabha and Jaito affairs and the question of the release of Sikh prisoners was most reasonable. The Committee was anxious for an honourable understanding. Government, however, materially changed its policy in the course of the negotiations, which clearly means that it has not so much as seriously considered the question of peace and friendship. It is thought that the question of the releases of prisoners led to the breaking off of the negotiations. How can the Sikhs accept any understanding while hundreds of the darlings of the Panth are rotting in jails for their anxiety for a peaceful settlement? In its blind obstinacy, Government refused to consider this important condition. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924*, No. 25, p. 220).

Islah, 14 June 1924

The *Islah* remarks that there was nothing improper about the request regarding the release of Sikh prisoners. The Sikh leaders who are undergoing trial or imprisonment were arrested or imprisoned in connection only with the Gurdwara movement. The Sikh community would have been lacking in the sense of honour if it had settled down quietly after making peace with Government and allowed its leaders to rot in jails. Their release will in no way impair the prestige of Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924, No. 25, p. 220*).

Zamindar, 16 June 1924

The *Zamindar* avers that unless Government and the Sikhs display a spirit of toleration and compromise there is no possibility of their coming to an understanding. Does Government take a compromise to mean that while it should concede nothing, the Sikhs should go on yielding to it? If, in its intoxication with arrogance, Government has refused to continue negotiations with the Sikhs what harm can this do to them? Wisdom and statesmanship have disappeared and the idea of prestige alone remains. If Sir Malcolm Hailey wishes peace to prevail in his province he should try patience and statesmanship instead of repression. In the other event, he will have to face troubles similar to those which disturbed his predecessor's peace of mind. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924, No. 25, p. 220*).

Updeshak, 18 June 1924

The *Updeshak* remarks that the Akalis have now two courses open to them. They should either abandon their entrenchment at Jaito and keep quiet or become ready to lay down their lives. It will prove most fatal to their cause to give up their struggle through fear of its being prolonged for an unusually long time. But it is also impossible for them to gain their end even if every man, woman and child among them is willing to die. Their organization is strong and they also possess the power of endurance, still they cannot overpower Government, which has unlimited resources at its command. It knows that the Sikhs constitute a brave community and have done much to make British rule stable in India. When it comes to realise, however, that they are unwilling to maintain friendly relations with it in any case it will certainly use all its power in the final struggle with them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924, No. 25, pp. 220–221*).

Anis, 19 June 1924

The *Anis* complains that Government has display improper obstinacy and based its attitude on its love of prestige. Will the brave Sikhs, however, bow before the idol of bureaucratic authority and will the tyrannical course of action adopted by Government discourage them? No, never. Government had better act with wisdom and effect a compromise with them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924, No. 26, p. 228*).

Kesari, 23 June 1924

The *Kesari* remarks that Government undoubtedly wishes to solve the intricate and important Sikh question in a conciliatory and peaceful manner. The authorities forget every consideration of expediency, however, when the idea of prestige and honour renders them mad. If this is not so why, after having reaped the consequences of a mistaken policy and tried the Sikhs' spirit of determination and perseverance, Government should continue to commit the same mistakes over and over again. The enemies of the Punjab Government are not inclined to give up their mischievous activities. The policy of repression which these people want Government to launch will prove harmful and fatal to it and its officials. The rigours to which the Sikhs have been subjected during the last four or five years are in no way less severe than those practised by Nadir Shah in Delhi. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924, No. 26, p. 227*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 23 June 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that the Shiromani Committee has issued a *communiqué* declaring that it put forth no unreasonable demand. Cannot, then, Government be charged with having deliberately avoided a compromise from some dishonest motives? And does not its attitude show that the havoc which is being brought in the country is due to selfishness and obstinacy on its part? Can the Sikhs accept a compromise leaving its respectable leaders to rot in jails an at the mercy of the bureaucracy? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924, No. 26, p. 228*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 25 June 1924

In another issue, the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] asserts that the bureaucracy first agreed to release all prisoners, but subsequently went back upon its word. We now learn that there are other secrets also, which will prove instrumental in exposing the frauds practised by the higher officers of the bureaucracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924, No. 26, p. 228*).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 June 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* has learnt from a reliable source that Government proposed twice to release religious prisoners but went back on its word on the Shiromani Committee accepting the proposal. The only reason for this is that Government thinks that the Akali movement has become weak. It does not like to do justice and yields only to pressure. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th July 1924*, No. 27, p. 232).

***Kesari*, 7 July 1924**

A correspondent of the *Kesari* writes that as the question of a compromise between Government and the Sikhs has fallen through, it is now certain that Government will utilize its entire strength to crush the Sikh organization. Elsewhere the paper says that for some time past it is being persistently reported that Government is about to take some drastic steps to put an end to the present agitation of the Sikhs. Government has acquired sufficient experience by practising rigour on the Sikhs. If it commits the same mistake over again it will have to face the evil consequences of its action. The best policy is to listen to the Sikhs and redress their legitimate grievances. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, p. 239).

***Akali*, 12 July 1924**

The *Akali* wishes the Sikhs to understand that no compromise is possible between them and Government so long as the present system of administration exist. The only course open to them is to remove obstacles from the way of Gurdwara reform and it is their religious duty to employ all peaceful and legitimate means to change the present (system of) Government. If the Sikh community decided to make Swaraj its ideal, Government will not be able to crush it by separating it from other communities. Elsewhere the paper complains that the Akalis convicted at Bhai Pheru are sent to the Multan Jail where they are accorded most brutal treatment. If the present state of affairs continues there will rise people who will say that some other method should be adopted to gain their end. The present generation of Sikhs is being impressed with the idea that Government is the enemy of the Sikh religion and wishes to wipe the Sikh community out of existence. If the Sikhs wish to live they should lead honourable lives; otherwise death is a thousand times preferable. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924*, No. 29, pp. 244–245).

***Akali*, 26 July 1924**

The *Akali* is confident that the bureaucracy has girt up its loins to efface the Sikhs. No compromise is thus possible. We were even and are even now

prepared to arrive at an honourable settlement, but there is no longer any hope for it. Now there are two ways open for us. We should die and be effaced, or we should change the present system of Government. Now that Government is determined to efface us, we should be determined to change its system and obtain Swaraj. Under the present system of Government the reform of gurdwaras is wholly impossible. Even if they are reformed, they cannot be maintained. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924, No. 31, p. 258*).

Akali, 28 July 1924

In the next issue the paper [the *Akali*] remarks that there were now only two ways open for the Sikhs. Either they should consider all the sacrifices made during the last four years abortive and seek the protection of the Government or they should make common cause with the neighbouring communities in order to defeat their common enemy. The Government desires to separate the Sikhs from other communities and to set Hindus and Muhammadans against them. If the Sikhs decided that *gurdwaras* can be reformed only by changing the (present system of) Government, all the forces of India will join the Akalis. Either the Government will arrive at an understanding with the Sikhs or its own existence will be in danger. But its folly and uncompromising severities Government is forcing the Sikhs to enter the political arena. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924, No. 31, p. 258*).

Shakti, 2 August 1924

The *Shakti* learns that some highly placed persons are exchanging view with the Government to bring about an honourable compromise between the Shiromani Committee and the Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th August 1924, No. 32, p. 266*).

Akali, 3 August 1924

The *Akali* puts in a strong plea for the resuscitation of the Sikh League in the Punjab. It writes: – The Sikhs should try to make the annual session of the Sikh Leagues a success and revive the Sikh League in every district. They should look after and help families of those true patriots who, unable to bear the slavery of Mother India, sacrificed their properties worth lakhs of rupees in Canada, America and other countries and who on returning to their home took part in the struggle for the attainment of liberty for the nation and suffered transportation to the Andamans or execution on the gallows. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th August 1924, No. 32, p. 267*).

Milap, 10 September 1924

Writing to the *Milap* "A Sikh" says that the Hindus and Sikhs should jointly have such a Gurdwara Bill framed by Government as is likely to satisfy the Akalis. As far as Hindu interests are concerned, sufficient maintenance allowance should be granted to Mahants. A Gurdwara Bill is the only possible remedy to remove the present tension between the Sikhs and Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th September 1924*, No. 37, p. 298).

Babar Sher, 21 September 1924

A correspondent of the *Babar Sher* complains that the bureaucratic Government is again making the utmost efforts to place outsiders in possession of Gurdwaras and is bent upon ruining the dignity and honour of the Sikhs. Can the Sikhs tolerate that their Gurdwaras should again pass into unclean hands, that evil deeds should again be committed in them and that *khillats* should be given there to tyrants like Dyer? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 27th September 1924*, No. 39, p. 312).

Babar Sher, 19 October 1924

The *Babar Sher* asks how any Gurdwara Bill can be accepted by the Sikh community as long as 20,000 of its members are rotting in jails. The noise about a contemplated Bill is being made by the henchmen of the bureaucracy only to divert the attention of the Sikhs from their work. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924*, No. 43, p. 336).

Babar Sher, 26 October 1924

The *Babar Sher* observes that there may or may not be a reconciliation between Government and the Sikhs the former may have to leave the country bad and baggage or the latter may die like moths over the lamp of religion. The Sikh community is not, however, prepared to consider or accept any Gurdwara Bill or effect any compromise with Government as long as the twenty thousand Sikhs who are rotting in jails do not come out of them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 348).

Akali, 11 November 1924

In its Narankari number, the *Akali* publishes a letter from Nihal Singh, B.A., LL.B., Lahore, who urges the Sikhs to support the Gurdwara Bill which is to be introduced shortly into the Punjab Council and bring pressure to bear on Government in every lawful way to place the measure on the statute-book. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 15th November 1924*, No. 48, p. 363).

***Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate*, 20 November 1924**

The *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* asks the Sikhs to realize their duty now when even Mahatma Gandhi has suspended his non-cooperation programme. If we own allegiance to any Government, we should obtain the redress of our grievances by constitutional means. The Government should also placate the Sikhs because of the innumerable sacrifices they have made for it. The old relations of friendship too demand that some satisfactory understanding should be soon arrived at between the two. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 22nd November 1924*, No. 47, p. 370).

***Milap*, 22 November 1924**

Writing to the *Milap*, "Nath of Jalalpur" opines that instead of waiting for a Gurdwara Bill to be drafted by others, Sir Malcolm Hailey should appoint a commission to make enquiries about the historical gurdwaras in dispute. His Excellency wishes to derive an undue advantage from the mistakes of others or does not want to the complicated (Sikh) questions to be solved. Government wishes only to crush the spirit of the Sikhs and avoids guiding their reform movement. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th November 1924*, No. 48, p. 377).

***Sardar*, 29 November 1924**

The *Sardar* states that the bureaucracy deeply wounded the hearts of the Sikhs by forcing the ex-Maharaja of Nabha to abdicate his *gaddi*. It also stopped the performance of the *akhand path* at the Gangsar Gurdwara. Now it again seems inclined to arrive at a settlement with the brave Akalis. We also welcome this desire provided it is actuated by good motives. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924*, No. 49, p. 385).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 November 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* refers to the recent Government *communiqué* regarding Gurdwara legislation and remarks that if Government really desires to solve the Gurdwara problem it is of the utmost importance that the *akhand path* should be allowed at Jaito and repression upon the Sikhs should stop. If, however, government sticks to its present attitude and insult to the *bani* (utterance) of the Guru continues, the Sikhs will ignore any Bill brought forward. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924*, No. 49, p. 384).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 4 December 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* remarks that if the bureaucracy really desires reconciliation with the Sikhs, it would apply the balm and not salt to their suffering hearts.

If the Khalsa are disgusted by daily repression into alienating themselves from the bureaucracy the latter will undoubtedly fall headlong. Government is laying the axe to its own roots by subjecting religious heroes to tortures, and so long as these devotees are rotting in the Nabha Bir no settlement can be arrived at between it and the Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924*, No. 49, p. 385).

***Sikh Sudhar*, 6 December 1924**

The *Sikh Sudhar* condemns the Akali attitude towards Gurdwara legislation and expressed the hope that the new Bill will prove equally useful for Akalis and non-Akalis. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th December 1924*, No. 50, p. 394).

9 The Birdwood Committee of 1924

***Akali*, 16 April 1924**

The *Akali* states that the Punjab Government has appointed a committee to consider the question of Gurdwara legislation. If Government wishes to cause disunion among the Sikhs by appointing such committees, its efforts are bound to meet with failure. Besides, the demands of the Sikhs in regard to their *gurdwaras* are known to all and no committee is required to ascertain these. What is needed is that Government should consult the real representatives of the Sikhs now rotting in jail and arrive at a decision. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 144).

***Siyasat*, 16 April 1924**

The *Siyasat* asks the Sikhs to afford every facility to the committee in its work and suggest that there should be a preponderance of Sikh representatives on it. If Government is really desirous of coming to a settlement with the Sikhs it should afford practical proof of this by unconditionally setting free all Sikh leaders and the Akalis arrested at Bhai Pheru and Jaito, by permitting the resumption of the *Akhand Path* at the latter place, by passing a Gurdwara law after consulting the real representatives of the Sikhs and, indeed, by effecting a settlement regarding the Nabha affair also. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th April 1924*, No. 16, p. 144).

***Babar Sher*, 16 April 1924**

The Sikh papers do not view with favour the action of Government in appointing a Committee to consider the question of Gurdwara legislation. The *Babar*

Sher says that the bureaucracy is now begging for peace and has issued a *communiqué* announcing its intention to enact a Gurdwara law in accordance with the wishes of the Sikhs. But they do not now ask for only a Gurdwara Bill. There are also other important questions involved, such as those of Nabha, the share of the Sikhs in the administration of the country, the appointment of an independent Committee to inquiry into the Jaito tragedy and the release of thousands of their co-religionists imprisoned in connection with the reform of *gurdwaras* and the wearing of *kirpans*. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 152).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 16 April 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* asks Government to decide the matter after consulting the real representatives of the Sikhs who are at present confined in jails. No Sikh with a sense of honour can cooperate with "bloody hands" so long as the Shiromani Committee and Akali Dal are regarded as untouchables and criminals, the respectable leaders of the Panth are in jail, indiscriminate repression, arrests, searches and attachments of property obtain in villages, the *akhand path* is not allowed to be completed in the Gangsar Gurdwara and suitable punishment is not inflicted on those who were guilty of firing at Jaito. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 152).

***Kesari*, 17 April 1924**

The *Kesari* writes that the Gurdwara movement is at present the only living movement in the Punjab. It is perhaps for this reason that the Punjab Government has been obliged to appoint a Committee to frame another Gurdwara law. This is a splendid triumph for the Gurdwara movement and the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee. We want to say at once, however, that two-thirds of the members of the proposed Committee should belong to the Shiromani Committee or should be elected by it and should be whole-hearted supporters of the Gurdwara reform movement. If sycophants are appointed instead Government's third effort to frame a Gurdwara law will also prove abortive. The Shiromani Committee, which represents the Sikhs in the true sense of the term, has expressed no desire for the enactment of a new Gurdwara law. If Government wants to enact a law which will not satisfy the wishes of the Shiromani Committee, such law cannot prosper. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 153).

***Akali*, 17 and 18 April 1924**

The *Akali* endeavours to prove that the Sikhs were justified in rejecting Government's previous attempts to come to an understanding and that it was the

Government which was responsible for the failure of negotiations on each occasion. The paper goes on to affirm that there was no need to appoint a Committee. Government could promptly redress Sikh grievances if it so desired. It would only deceive the Sikhs and shortly reveal itself again in its true colours. Meanwhile, the Sikhs should not depart from the line of conduct adopted by them and carry on their work with still greater vigour. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, pp. 152–153).

***Tribune*, 18 April 1924**

The *Tribune* considers the appointment of the Committee a step in the right direction. But if this step is to succeed it must be accompanied by the abandonment of the policy of the past, by the release of Gurdwara prisoners generally and the under-trial leaders in particular and the cancellation of the notification declaring the S.G.P. Committee and the Akali Dal to be unlawful bodies. Unless and until this has been done, any effort that may be made for peace would be so much labour lost, so much time and energy thrown away. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 153).

***Updeshak*, 20 April 1924**

The *Updeshak* states that the Sikhs are divided into several sects. If Government records the evidence only of the Akalis, it will be ignoring the rights of others. It is against justice to satisfy only the clamorous portion. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 153).

***Onward*, 24 April 1924**

S. Mangal Singh writes to the *Onward*: –

“If the Government persists in its bureaucratic method of proceeding on with the Committee in one hand and a lash in the other, then no prophet is required to foretell that all the labours and expenses of the new enquiry committee will be unnecessary wastage of time, energy and public funds.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 153).

***Partap*, 25 April 1924**

The *Partap* says that Government dare not arrest 32 lakh Sikhs, every one of whom seems intoxicated with the spirit of martyrdom, and the situation will be beyond its control after a lakh of them are in jails. It is not possible for the Sikhs to cooperate with the Birdwood Committee when their leaders are in jail or under arrest and when the Gurdwara Committee remains an unlawful assembly. If Government is really anxious to come to an understanding with the Sikhs, it must remove the ban on the Gurdwara Committee and Akali Dal. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th April 1924*, No. 17, p. 153).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 25 April 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* asks what Sikhs will supply the Birdwood Committee with a good and considered opinion as long as the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee and the Akali Dal are under a ban and arrests continue to be made at Jaito and Bhai Pheru. There is no better proof of the bureaucracy being actuated by dishonest motives than the fact that tyrannies are being inflicted on the Akalis everywhere since the appointment of the Birdwood Committee. The Shiromani Committee has issued a *communiqué* to the effect that Sardar Jwala Singh was beaten to death in the Multan District Jail for having demanded the full quantity of rations. Again, the Sikh leaders confined in that jail are daily subjected to beating and disgrace and their religious susceptibilities are also wounded. But the Government does not call the perpetrators of these tyrannies to account or institute an impartial enquiry into them. A painful report has also been received from Nabha that five Sikhs have been beaten to death (there). Do not the Sikhs fully realise that the friendly hand extended to them is stained with blood and not fit to be touched? On the one hand, the Akalis are tortured and slaughtered in a heartless manner and, on the other, *communiqués* are issued that the hand of friendship has been extended to the Sikhs. What a shameful act! Apparently the Birdwood Committee has been appointed only to throw dust into the eyes of the people. Government has a foul interior and is concocting schemes to crush the Akali movement. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 161).

Akali, 26 April 1924

Referring to the notice served upon Sardar Harchand Singh, M.L.C., to show cause why he should not be dismissed from the post of Lambardar, the *Akali* remarks that no Sikh should now labour under the misapprehension that Government is honestly prepared to make a settlement with or do justice to his community. The Birdwood Committee has been appointed merely to pass time and deceive the public. Secretly Government continues to pursue the policy of suppressing the Akali movement by overawing Akalis with the aid of repression. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 163).

Islah, 26 April 1924

The *Islah* is of opinion that instead of appointing the Committee Government should unconditionally release all members of the Parbandhak Committee. If they are consulted the views of the entire Sikh community regarding the proposed Gurdwara Bill can be ascertained within a week. A Sikh correspondent of the paper says that the question of Gurdwara reform would have been settled long ago if some selfish Sikhs and non-Sikhs had not imparted a political

character to it and not started an objectionable political agitation against the Government. The Sikhs and their well-wishers should take advantage of the valuable and unique opportunity now afforded to them by Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 162).

***Bande Mataram*, 28 April 1924**

The *Bande Mataram* writes in the course of a leading article: –

“We have said several times that the Akali movement is purely religious and that its only object is to place the management of gurdwaras in the hands of the Sikh community. Our alien Government cannot bear this, because it depends, for its existence, on Indian States, big Jagirdars and capitalists, including Mahants, and highly paid officials; all of whom stand like an iron wall between Government and Nationalists. And frequently the former pursues its selfish policy by using the above people as a cover. At a time when the whole world wants to be under democratic institutions, why should Government feel pained at the Akalis having made up their minds to bring their *gurdwaras* under popular management? If the Akali movement had been intended to overthrow the present Government the Akalis would neither have quarreled with one of the Hindu sects nor offered any defence in courts. If Government is right in claiming that it has given religious freedom to every individual and community why did it fire upon the first Shahidi Jatha at Jaito and why is it arresting other Jathas, especially when Sardar Mangal Singh has, as President of the Central Sikh League, declared that the holding of the *akhand path* at Jaito has no concern with the question of the removal or reinstatement of the Maharaja of Nabha? Had the Sikhs been unwilling to arrive at an honourable settlement with Government they would have declared a boycott against the Birdwood Committee. It is a fact that they are always ready for a settlement, provided the release of all the Akalis imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement is to be one of the preliminary conditions. No harm will accrue by their release. Government is totally wrong in believing all these Akalis to be political prisoners, and unless they are set free it cannot be believed that Government is really prepared for a settlement.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 162).

***Akali*, 28 April 1924**

The *Akali* reports that there has been received another dreadful news, namely that the Akalis of the first Shahidi Jatha were so cruelly beaten at night at the Jaito Railway Station that three of them died on the spot and (some) others are in a most precarious condition. It is also reported that Sikhs at Bhai Pheru are caught by their sacred keshas and given a most cruel beating. In one hand

Government holds a whip, which it is using with violence, and with the other, which it calls the “hand of conciliation” it has appointed the Birdwood Committee to deceive the people. Events show, however, that this is the “hand of enmity” and not of “conciliation”. Where is the Sikh who will shake these blood-stained hands? We would appeal to the Sikhs to banish from their minds the thought that Government wants to come to a settlement with them. On the contrary, it wants to sweep them out of existence. If it had been desirous of framing a Gurdwara law it would have abandoned its policy of repression, allowed the resumption of the *akhand path* at Jaito, withdrawn the ban on the Akali Dal and the Shiromani Committee and released all Sikh prisoners. What is actually happening, however, is that one the one hand much ado is being made about “friendship” and, on the other, repression is in full swing. Does Government imagine, then, that there are still some demoralised Sikhs who can expect friendship and justice at its hands? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 160).

***Akali*, 28 April 1924**

Writing to the *Akali*, the General Secretary of the S.G.P.C. remarks that simultaneously with the appointment of the Birdwood Committee arrests have begun to be made in all the districts of the Punjab. Those who know the tactics of Government are aware that all these are mere makeshifts. The oppression perpetrated in Nabha, Multan and Jaito shows that the Government is still eager to practise rigour. It wishes to crush the sacred Akali movement by keeping the Sikhs engaged in proceedings about an understanding between the two. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 160).

***Partap*, 30 April 1924**

The *Partap* opines that a law enacted without ascertaining the view of the Shiromani Committee will prove useless. It states that ten more Jathas are ready to start for Jaito. This means that 5,000 Akalis are ready to court imprisonment. If the Birdwood Committee has been appointed to settle this dispute it should be its work. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 162).

***Kesari*, 30 April 1924**

The *Kesari* suggests that the Sikhs should be pacified and their demands met before the members are nominate for the Birdwood Committee. The ban upon the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee and Akali Dal should also be removed and all Sikhs convicted at Jaito and in connection with the Gurdwara reform movement should be unconditionally released. Further, the cases pending

against members of the Shiromani Committee should be withdrawn. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 162).

Akali, 2 May 1924

The *Akali* publishes a communication from one Narinjan Singh who severely criticizes the nomination of Captain Hira Singh, a staunch Dev Samajist, as a member of the Birdwood Committee and opines that the Committee has been appointed merely for show. If Government is really anxious to make peace with the Sikhs it should extend its hand of friendship with a clear conscience and make amends for its oppression. As it is, the Sikh community considers its hands to be unclean and blood-stained. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 161).

Onward, 2 May 1924

The *Onward* is of opinion that instead of appointing a committee to enquire into the principles on which Gurdwara legislation may be undertaken, the Government should have called into their councils those leaders who alone represent the opinion of Sikhs on this matter. What the Government wants is to settle the question in such a way as would still leave some loophole by which the authority of the District Officials and through them of the Provincial Government could be exercised over the Gurdwaras, which are the centres of Sikh life. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 172).

Babar Sher, 3 May 1924

The *Babar Sher* learns that Captain Hira Singh, a great toady and a Dev Samajist, is one of the members of the Committee. The public can now guess what sort of men the other members will be. We can prophecy that like all other previous attempts of Government to solve the question of Gurdwara legislation, the present attempt also will prove futile. The reason for this is the absence of good faith. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 172).

Kesari, 4 May 1924

Sardar Narinjan Singh writes in the *Kesari* that the Birdwood Committee is meant as a farce to attract the public. Government has never been actuated by honest motives, as will be evident from a close study of the Guru-ka-Bagh and Golden Temple key affairs. The nomination of Captain Hira Singh to the Birdwood Committee will have the effect of convincing the public that the Committee is only a huge sham. Government has made no error of judgement:

it is proceeding deliberately. Such committees can never prove a success. It is a moot point whether the Sikhs, harassed as they have been under a tyrannical policy, can now be ready for a rapprochement. The Shiromani Committee is the only representative body of the Sikhs. Government should approach it direct for negotiations and settle the preliminary conditions in a liberal spirit. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 173).

***Shanti*, 5 May 1924**

The *Shanti* says that it is believed that if the Akalis are given charge of all Gurdwaras, their agitation will die a natural death. The Sikhs identified with the Gurdwara reform movement can simplify matters by availing themselves of the law courts and the Gurdwara Act. They should seize the opportunity offered by the appointment of the Birdwood Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 173).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 7 May 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* observes that the Committee has been appointed without first creating a calm atmosphere. Repression is in full swing and it appears from the attitude taken up by the bureaucracy that the Sikhs will be represented to be as obstinate and averse to an understanding as ever. The bureaucracy will next make a vigorous onslaught on the Akali movement. The object of its present move is that nominal efforts on the part of the Birdwood Committee to effect a compromise may win a good name for Sir Edward Maclagan, so as to facilitate his securing farewell address and parties. Also that Sir Malcolm Hailey may resort to repression under the pretext that the Sikhs are actuated by revolutionary and not religious motives. As far the latter, they are always prepared for an honourable understanding based on the principle of religious freedom. Every one of them is also ready to become a martyr for the sake of truth and religious liberty. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, pp. 172–173).

***Akali*, 15 May 1924**

In a later issue, the paper [the *Akali*] says that it is still unknown which Sikh gentlemen will serve on the Birdwood Committee. Rumour has it that even those pro-Government Sikhs who were asked to work on the Committee have considered it inadvisable to incur the odium of the Sikh public. Further, they are said to have been skeptical about the provision of adequate facilities to them by Government. If Government is really desirous of coming to a settlement, why is it making so much delay in the matter? As it is, the Shiromani Committee cannot relax its activities. Jathas of 500 each are regularly proceeding to Jaito.

The sixths left the Akal Takht on the 10th. These pilgrims knew that they were going where the authorities were waiting to receive them with machine-guns, *lathis* and ropes. They knew that their relatives would be put to trouble and their household effects attached on some pretext or other, as happened in the case of those convicted in connection with the Bhai Pheru affair. In order to arrive at an understanding with the Sikhs, Government should act with truth and sincerity. Shuffling and a show of prestige would be useless. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, pp. 180–181).

***Bande Mataram*, 15 May 1924**

Mohan Singh Das, B.A., General Secretary of the Punjab Udasin Mahamandal, Amritsar, writes to the *Bande Mataram* that the Birdwood Committee seems to have been appointed to please the Sikhs and that its recommendations will prove most injurious for the Udasi community. Hindus should make every effort to obtain representation for the Udasi sect on the Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 182).

***Akali*, 6 June 1924**

The *Akali* remarks that the official *communiqué* regarding the Birdwood Committee means that a reconciliation between Government and the Sikhs is an impossibility. Fresh attacks on the Sikhs will now commence in pursuance of the oppressive policy of “Hailey Sahib”. The Sikhs should gird up their loins to resist these attacks. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 7th June 1924*, No. 23, p. 204).

***Kesari*, 8 June 1924**

The *Kesari* asks whether the dissolution of the Birdwood Committee is not due to Sir Malcolm Hailey taking over charge of the Governership of the Punjab. In order to suppress the Sikhs Government is seeking help from Hindus and Muhammadans and is willing to bargain with them in several ways. Hindus are not prepared for this, but Muhammadans are agreeable and are getting some rights and privileges from Government (in return). Will Government now practise greater repression on the Sikhs? Before blindly adopting any policy it should study the cause of the downfall of the Muhammadan empire in India. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924*, No. 24, pp. 210–211).

***Sīyasat*, 15 June 1924**

The *Sīyasat* holds Government responsible for the failure of the Birdwood Committee. There was no point in its refusal to release the Sikhs arrested or

imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement. It cannot overawe the Sikhs by its imprudent and high-handed acts. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924*, No. 25, p. 220).

Akali, 25 June 1924

The *Akali* challenges Government to refer to a single incident to show that the Akalis were swayed by feelings of obstinacy. Government itself consider it below its dignity to discuss the case of certain Jaito prisoners. How can a self-respecting and sensible people come to terms (with Government) in such circumstances? Let Government contradict the Shiromani Committee's *communiqué* on the subject. If it was sincerely anxious to come to an understanding why did it not promise to release religious prisoners even on the passing of a Gurdwara law? The Sikhs are always ready for an honourable settlement. If all the proceedings connected with the Birdwood Committee are published, the public will be surprised to see how far the Shiromani Committee was prepared to come to terms and how indifferently and willfully Government acted in the matter. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924*, No. 26, p. 228).

Loyal Gazette, 29 June 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* remarks that the appointment of the Birdwood Committee was a purely political move on the part of Government. If the bureaucracy had really been anxious for peace it would have made some specific promise in regard to Akali demands. Whether it be a Hailey or a Reading or any one else the Sikhs are quite ready to meet his onslaughts subject to non-violence. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th July 1924*, No. 27, p. 232).

Akali, 30 June 1924

The *Akali* remarks that the Birdwood Committee has proved a dismal failure, because Government would not clearly promise to release religious prisoners. It was not prepared to promise even to appoint an impartial committee to enquire into the Jaito incident. Can there be a nation so shameless and inert that it will leave in jail peaceful martyrs ready to die for religion and will at the same time gladly shake hands with Government? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th July 1924*, No. 27, p. 232).

Tribune, 5 September 1924

Commenting on the S.G.P. Committee's version of the breakdown of the Birdwood negotiations, the *Tribune* avers that if Government persists in its so-called silence after all that has happened, the public will think that it is

not publishing its own version, because it has none to publish. The so-called inability of Government to violate an implied understanding cannot serve as even a colourable pretext in such a case. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 290).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 15 October 1924**

In a later issue, the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] admits that negotiations by Sir William Birdwood for a compromise between Government and the Sikhs have dealt a severe blow to the Akali movement. If, however, the Sikhs stubbornly face Sir Malcolm Hailey's attacks, the bureaucracy is doomed. They should give up the idea of a compromise, obey the orders of the S.G.P. Committee and remain firm in making sacrifices. If a Gurdwara Bill is passed without the consent of the Shiromani Committee, it will not be valued more than waste paper. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 18th October 1924*, No. 42, p. 330).

10 **The Nabha Question**

***Kesari*, 4 May 1924**

The *Kesari* states that according to the *Baba Sher*, it is rumoured in Amritsar that a compromise is about to be affected between the Shiromani Committee and the bureaucracy and that only the Sikh demand regarding the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha to his *gaddi* will be rejected. It is on account of this important demand, however, that the Shiromani Committee was declared to be an unlawful assembly and Sikh leaders like Sardar Mahtab Singh and others were prosecuted on charges of sedition and waging war against the King. The Committee took up the Nabha question on the ground that it was religious in character. And the whole Sikh Panth was at its back in the matter. Thousands of Sikhs were imprisoned and some shot in this connection. The solution of this problem alone can, therefore, result in a lasting compromise. Besides, if it is given up or postponed Sikh enthusiasm will cool down and the Khalsa Panth will meet the same fate as the Congress did after the Bardoli decision. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 171).

***Kesari*, 5 May 1924**

In a later issue, the paper [the *Kesari*] opines that in order to preserve its prestige Government has perhaps postponed a reconsideration of the Nabha question and intends to pacify the Sikhs by reinstating the Maharaja later. It should lay the bogey of prestige to rest if it is really anxious for a real and enduring

rapprochement with the Sikhs. They regard the affair as being purely religious and associated with a holy tradition. They cannot put aside a matter for which they have sacrificed so much. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 171).

Baber Sher, 7 May 1924

The *Baber Sher* states that the toadies of the bureaucracy are bringing pressure to bear upon the S.G.P. Committee to give up the Nabha question, saying that it is not a religious matter. We would tell them that if it is not accepted as a religious question to-day it will have to be accepted as such to-morrow, when the Sikhs will demand the Punjab. The myrmidons of the bureaucracy will then be very eager to reinstate the Maharaja of Nabha. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 172).

Babar Sher, 9 May 1924

In another issue the paper [the *Babar Sher*] remarks that the bureaucracy is thrusting innocent people into its jails. If the Sikhs also had their own jails, tyrants like Beaty and Johnston would not have been free and enjoying luxuries in their bungalows. The bureaucracy has armies, cannon, machine-guns and aeroplanes to shoot down non-violent and unarmed Sikhs in the twinkling of an eye. If the Sikhs, too, had all these materials of war they would have left not a trace of it in the Punjab, nay, in India. God does not, however, countenance oppression and a satanic rule has never lasted and will never last long. People say that the bureaucracy wishes to be reconciled to the Sikhs, but we can discern no "gleam of compromise" in the black clouds of oppression raised by it. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th May 1924*, No. 19, p. 172).

Akali, 14 May 1925

In another issue, the *Akali* says that the bureaucracy is bewildered at the growing strength of the Sikh organization. It sees its end in it and this is why it resorts to oppression and deception to break the Sikh jathabandi. Every one of its methods has, however, proved ineffective in crushing the Akali movement. It is not making another move and trying to cause a split among the Sikhs. The S.G.P.C. is being asked through military men, jagirdars and co-operating Sikhs that if it gives up the Nabha question, those of the Gurdwara Bill and the *kirpan* will be decided in accordance with its own wishes. But the Committee should not give up the Nabha question, otherwise the community will become divided, which will deal a severe blow to Sikh organization. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924*, No. 20, p. 181).

Babar Sher, 11 May 1924

The *Babar Sher* is glad to hear that the S.G.P.C. is not giving up the Nabha question. If a compromise is effected, land should be granted (by Government) for memorials of the Akali martyrs. Again, a committee should investigate all occurrence, and the officers found guilty should be suitably punished. All suits against newspapers, whether pending or decreed, should be withdrawn and all fines recovered from Sikhs, except those for offences involving moral turpitude, should be refunded. Master Mota Singh, Bhai Randhir Singh, Baba Gurdit Singh, etc., should be among the released prisoners and the Baba Akalis should be accorded a lenient treatment. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924, No. 20, p. 181*).

Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate, 13 May 1924

The *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* avers that every Sikh is anxious for an honourable settlement with the Government. There can, however, be no final compromise unless the main demands of the community are acceded to. The demanding relating to the Maharaja of Nabha is a very difficult but important question and there can be no peace unless it is satisfactorily solved. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th May 1924, No. 20, p. 181*).

Kesari, 24 May 1924

The *Kesari* affirms that the Shiromani Committee should demand the settlement of the Nabha question along with that of the Gurdwaras. If the Committee drops it the national movement of the Sikhs will be fatally injured and Government encouraged to interfere in the affairs of other States. The Maharajas of Patiala, Kapurthala and Faridkot may have to face to-morrow the situation in which the ex-ruler of Nabha finds himself to-day. It will, therefore be a fatal mistake to ignore the Nabha question for the sake of an understanding with the Government. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 31st May 1924, No. 22, p. 198*).

Babar Sher, 30 May 1924

The *Babar Sher* states that the S.G.P. Committee has issued a *communiqué* declaring that the object of the Jathas sent to Jaito is not to make that place a base for propaganda against the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha. The statement is quite true, but since the Nabha authorities have practised boundless oppression upon Akali Jathas under the impression that their dispatch to Jaito is connected with the Nabha affair, the question has become identified with that of Nabha. Besides, when the S.G.P. Committee has already

announced its intention not to give up the Nabha question the object of issuing such a strange and vague *communiqué* is not intelligible. Again, it is the same thing if you undertake to leave (the Gangsar Gurdwara) after performing 1 or 101 *akhand paths*. When once you accept the condition what becomes of your right of freedom to visit your Gurdwaras? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 7th June 1924*, No. 23, p. 205).

***Babar Sher*, 7 June 1924**

The *Babar Sher* remarks that there can be no honourable settlement between the bureaucracy and Sikhs as long as the former, in its pride of armies and cannon, regards the latter to be weak and consequently looks down upon them. The whole community should leave off all other work for once and step into the religious battlefield prepared for martyrdom, when victory will be theirs. "The bureaucracy, which evades the Nabha question to-day, will then be ready to restore the Punjab to you and will entreat you to make friends with it. Hence, O Khalsaji, roar like a lion, shake the Punjab by your valorous deeds and belie the evil expectations of Hailey." The paper also publishes an article from "G.K.S.", who affirms that the struggle in progress between the bureaucracy and Sikhs shows that a compromise between them is not only difficult but impossible. Indeed, the gulf between the two is daily widening. The bureaucracy, which has become notorious for dishonesty and deception and in whose dictionary the word "compromise" means "a game of deception" wishes to effect a reconciliation with the Sikhs after only crushing them. Its conduct resembles that of a man who holds his enemy by the throat, but also asks him to make peace with him. How can there be any peace between Government and the Sikhs when the former is crushing them under mountains of oppression and thirsts after their blood? It should first give up its tyrannical ways and bid adieu to its tricks, frauds and deceits. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924*, No. 24, p. 210).

11 Edward Douglas Maclagan's Speech

***Babar Sher*, 30 April 1924**

Commenting on His Excellency's speech at Amritsar the *Babar Sher* remarks that if he desires a reconciliation between Government and Sikhs he should unconditionally release all Gurdwara prisoners, allow pilgrimage to the Gangsar Gurdwara and stop arrests at Bhai Pheru. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 161).

Akali, 1 May 1924

The *Akali* remarks that if His Excellency really desires an improvement in the relations between Government and Sikhs (his) Government should promptly relinquish the policy of rigour and repression. It should permit the *akhand path* to be performed at Jaito without let or hindrance, unconditionally release all Sikh prisoners and stop arrests at Bhai Pheru. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 161).

Babar Sher, 2 May 1924

In another issue the paper [the *Babar Sher*] observes that His Excellency shed only crocodile tears. The tyrannies, atrocities and zulum practised under the orders of this gracious officer from the beginning to the end of his regime to crush and exterminate the Sikh nation can never be forgotten by the whole country. The object of his "tears" is to secure an address from any Sikh association to prevent his being called to account for his misdeeds. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 161).

Tribune, 2 May 1924

The *Tribune* states that Sir Edward Maclagan spoke of the restoration of old feelings between Government and Sikhs. Is it expected to restore old feelings by shutting up Sikh leaders in jail and continuing repressive measures against the rest of the Akalis? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 3rd May 1924*, No. 18, p. 161).

12 Governor Malcolm Hailey and "Haileyism"***Akali-te-Pardesi, 4 June 1924***

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* warns the Sikhs to give up all hope of a compromise (with Government) and openly oppose Haileyism with a firm determination. They should thus tell the world that every one of them will give up his home, become a martyr and court ruin, but never allow his religion to be interfered with. Hundreds of workers will be thrown into jails, properties will be confiscated, newspapers will cease to exist and henchmen of the bureaucracy will be appointed to manage Gurdwaras. If the tyrants forcibly prevent the publication of *communiqués* from the S.G.P. Committee the Panth should obey the orders of the Jathedar of Siri Akal Takhat. Every Sikh, male or female, should always remain prepared to go to the Gangsar or the Bhai Pheru Gurdwara. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924*, No. 24, p. 211).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 6 June 1924

The following occurs in the subsequent issue of the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*]:—

“Khalsaji, negotiations (with Government) have fallen through and Haileyism is about to come into play. Offer prayers, therefore, on this day of the anniversary of the martyrdom of the Chief of Martyrs, Guru Arjan Sahib, that every one of you may sacrifice himself in preserving the honour and glory of the Panth and achieving religious freedom.” Elsewhere, the paper writes: — “O beloved Father, Haileyism, which far outdoes Nadarism and Chanduism and can excel Dyerism and O’Dwyerism, is about to be launched. The whole Panth is, however, ready to sacrifice itself to secure religious freedom. ... We wish that its honour and glory may not be tarnished in the least, although every Sikh is sacrificed (in the attempt).” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924, No. 24, p. 211*).

Babar Sher, 6 June 1924

The *Babar Sher* states that Sir Malcom Hailey is hatching plots to launch his policy of repression and deluge the Sikhs with oppression. They should, therefore, be vigilant and tell the bureaucracy that they will not submit to force. All Sikhs — male and female; children, traders, servants, military men, agriculturists and shopkeepers — should unite, work under the orders of the S.G.P. Committee and show a bold front to the bureaucracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924, No. 24, p. 211*).

Akali, 7 June 1924

Writing to the *Akali*, the Jathedar of Akali Jatha, Rawalpindi district, states that the bureaucracy has determined to practise oppression on the Sikhs. Their *jathabandi* has bewildered it. “O beloved ones of the Plumed Guru, repair to Amritsar. This is not time for your to stay at home. Rise and deliver an attack to show to the bewildered bureaucracy that you are prepared to sacrifice your lives in the name of Guru Kalgidhar. Hailey Shah may be relied upon to deliver his own attack.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924, No. 24, p. 211*).

Desh Sewak, 8 June 1924

The *Desh Sewak* observes that the (Sikh) lovers of religion and truth could never hope for a fair and impartial settlement with the Feranghi Government. “Khalsaji, the storm of Haileyism is going to burst. Wake up, O religions people. Wake up, O nation of workers! Those in whose veins courses the blood of martyrs should enter the lists with shrouds on their heads.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924, No. 24, p. 211*).

Akali, 11 June 1924

In another issue, the paper [the *Akali*] says that according to popular opinion, Sir Malcolm Hailey will outdo O'Dwyer in perpetrating oppression and tyranny. It is said that after consulting that incarnation of oppression, Lord Reading, he went to England to secure the support of the Ministers for his tyrannical policy and win the credit of annihilating the Akali movement by brute force. It appears to have been decided to sue aeroplanes, bombs, and the latest scientific inventions to demoralize the Akalis and make them worship Government. The Sikhs should know that the time has come for them to sacrifice their children, wealth and property at the feet of the Guru. The Akali heroes should join in the non-violent struggle, nourish the tree of Sikhism with their blood and obey the commands of the Gurdwara Committee and Akal Takht. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924, No. 24, pp. 211–212.*)

Akali, 12 June 1924

In a still later issue, the *Akali* says that it was Sir Malcolm Hailey who, as Home Member, permitted the first Shahidi Jatha to be fired on. The Sikhs will have to make no complaint even if Government or its representatives in the Sikh State it holds in its grip shoot them down, smash their bones with sticks or cause them to be burnt alive. Government thirsts after their blood to-day. It does not regard any one else in India, nay, the whole world, to be its dangerous enemy like the Sikhs, whom it fears. The whole British Empire trebles at the non-violent war (in which they are engaged). Government cannot decide what line of action it should take. If the Sikhs are resisted by force, how will it show its face to the world? And if their claims and conditions are accepted its credit and prestige are bound to suffer. The negotiations have, therefore, been stopped by the new master of the destinies of the Punjab to maintain his prestige. The Sikhs must prepare themselves to face the new era of oppression which is expected to open shortly. The Panth is about to be subjected to tyranny far exceeding that practised by Abdali or during the oppressive days of Nadir Shah. Hailey is thundering at its pillow armed with all his strength and power. It should defend "the blood of the martyrdom of its ancestors" which courses in its veins, even if the heads of Sikhs are cut off. They should step into the field to seek reparations for the insult offered to (them by stopping the) *akhand path* at the Gangsar Gurdwara. We shall either liberate the Gurdwaras or free our souls from the mortal world in the struggle and rest in the arms of Satguru. The *Kesari* says that if the new Governor practices still greater repression upon the Sikhs, their "cup of patience may become filled to the brim." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 14th June 1924, No. 24, p. 212.*)

Loyal Gazette, 15 June 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* states that the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Hussain declared at the farewell dinner in honour of Sir Edward Maclagan that Government and he were ready to do more than justice to the Akalis. As a matter of fact, however, Government has all along tried to shelve the Gurdwara question and refused to place all historic Gurdwaras under the supervision of the representative society of the Sikhs. It has not also carried into effect the resolution unanimously passed by the Sikh, Hindu, Christian and some Muhammadan members of the Legislative Council regarding the questions of Gurdwaras, *kirpans* and the release of Sikh prisoners. Besides, how can Mian Fazl-i-Hussain say that the want of unanimity between the Sikhs and Hindus constitutes a difficulty in the solution of the Gurdwara problem? Has he also advised the Government of India to practise still further oppression on the Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924*, No. 25, p. 219).

Desh Sewak, 26 June 1924

The *Desh Sewak* remarks that the Feringhi law is a most slippery thing. A clever lawyer can get a man (? an innocent man) hanged and a condemned person discharged under the same law. Let the Khalsa say whether such Feringhi law deserves to be broken or worshipped and whether they will take over the control of Gurdwaras with the help of this law or with their spiritual strength. Let those who wish to enjoy freedom come forward. We shall have to fight against this Feringhi law during the time of Hailey Sahib, who is scheming at Simla to subdue the Akalis. The army of zealous Nihangs will never submit to unjust, tyrannical and repressive laws. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924*, No. 26, pp. 226–227).

Loyal Gazette, 29 June 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* remarks that it is now the era of Sir Malcolm Hailey. He is a powerful ruler and well-known for his partiality for government with the iron hand. Under him the bureaucracy has resorted to new tactics for suppressing the Khalsa Panth. Pro-English Sikhs are being requisitioned to start a propaganda to bring the S.G.P. Committee into infamy. 'Divide and rule' is the last weapon of the British bureaucracy and it is now wielding it to cause dissensions among Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th July 1924*, No. 27, p. 232).

Babar Sher, 6 July 1924

The *Babar Sher* says that a fine of seventeen thousand rupees levied on the member of the Durlji Jatha amounts to dacoity. It is not gross oppression and

brutality to sentence a helpless woman proceeding to a gurdwara to four years' imprisonment? Such are the tyrannies of the bureaucratic rule and the deeds of Haileyism! Hailey has begun his work and people who entertain the Ninth Shahidi Jatha *en route* are being threatened and terrorized, so that the Jatha may be kept without food and water in these hot days. The villainous myrmidons of the bureaucracy are frightening respectable villagers and addressing them in the following words: 'Villains, remember that Sir Malcolm Hailey, who will deal with you suitably, has arrived. Better keep yourselves aloof, otherwise you will be skinned and beaten. All of you will be banished from the country and your properties will be confiscated. Hailey has come from England to put an end to you villains.' Does not the time of Hailey remind you of the times of Mir Manu and Khan Bahadur? During the time of Maclagan the bureaucracy had declared that it had no desire to take possession of Sikh *gurdwaras*. Now the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar is continuously collecting the police and police pickets are seen patrolling near the Golden Temple at night. It is possible that the previous Governor's declaration may be set at naught under Haileyism and an attack delivered on the Golden Temple as the bureaucracy has no religion or faith and attains its end by cunning tricks. The bureaucracy is preparing to exterminate you, while you still consider it your friend. It is not rank folly on your part? The Sikhs should enter the arena and by non-violent sacrifices stagger the bureaucracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, pp. 239–240).

***Desh Sewak*, 6 July 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* observes that the Firangi government in the Punjab has set at naught all canons of law, mercy and religion, sense of shame and regard for the public opinion and has started such lawlessness that on hearing it one's heart leaps into the mouth. Being a Christian Government is has indeed a right to practise oppression on the Akali Sahib, but a worse scene has never been witnessed under any other rule than the one by which the religious Akalis are clandestinely torture in a manner which is both cowardly and contemptible. The burning sun of Haileyism is yet hidden behind the Simla hills, but since this "lucky being" has shown his face to the Punjab and the Sikhs, the tyrants have determined to slaughter the Akalis in the Multan Jail and at Nabha after first making them writhe and gasp. The butcherly treatment which has been meted out to the boys of the Shahidi Jatha at Nabha by suspending them head downwards and beating them brutally, has put even butchers to shame. More than two lakh Sikhs live in the Doaba and the Tenth Guru is demanding a tenth part of this population. "Come O Valiants, gather under the banner of the

s.P.G. Committee unitedly and share the trouble with your brothers.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, p. 239).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 13 July 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* writes that double-faced persons are now-a-days in a great fix, Sir Malcolm Hailey has openly told them that if they are loyal to Government they should oppose the Akali movement. Those who are friendly towards the bureaucracy and hostile to the nation should see where their good lies. With the help of these weak and sinful plots no Government can suppress truth and liberty for a long time. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924*, No. 29, p. 245).

***Loyal Gazette*, 13 July 1924**

“A non-Sikh,” writing to the *Loyal Gazette*, refers to the various severities practised on the Akalis during Sir Edward Maclagan’s time and remarks that Sir Malcolm Hailey, who is well-knowns as an advocate of strong rule, is now making attacks on the Sikhs. Since His Excellency took over charge the lightning of rigour is falling on the Sikhs and clouds of misfortunes are hovering above their heads. To serve the Jathas, which is a moral and religious duty, and to collect subscriptions for the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, which is a religious duty, have been declared as unpardonable offences. Under these pretexts revenge is being boldly wreaked. Attachments are the order of the day. In realizing fines unjustly imposed on a Sikh, the belonging of others are seized. In effecting attachments such articles as cows, buffaloes, bullocks, she-goats, horses, mares, grain, utensils, cots &c., are taken away. Government is anxious to keep the Sikhs without food and water. Their long hair is dishonoured. Any person sympathizing with the Sikhs is pinioned. Akalis are dragged, their hair and beards are pulled and they are beaten to unconsciousness. Water is then sprinkled over them and they are brought to their senses and then again tormented. The henchmen of the bureaucracy torment them by inserting fingers into their private parts. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924*, No. 29, p. 245).

***Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate*, 17 July 1924**

According to the *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* Haileyism has begun. The Akali camp and food articles meant for the Sikhs returning from Bawal have been raided by the police and all materials have been confiscated, while kitchen-servants and Sewadars have been arrested. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924*, No. 29, p. 245).

Akali, 25 July 1924

The *Akali* publishes a communication from the General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, who says that the bureaucracy, which is bent upon suppressing the Akali movement, is now hatching several sorts of deep conspiracies. It has showered *lathi*-blows and fired bullets and made attachments and has seen that the Sikh community has not been shaken in its purpose. Now this crafty Government is, besides practising other oppressioners, zealously pursuing the policy of sowing the seed of discord among the Sikhs with the help of Zail Committees and other beggars in order to destroy the Sikh organization, which is a bugbear for it. It has also transpired that several disciples of the bureaucracy are doing propaganda work in villages. The Sikhs should, however, guard themselves against the tricks of such crafty and cunning persons. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th July 1924, No. 30, p. 251*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 30 July 1924

In a still later issue the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] says that the last four years' experience of the treatment accorded to them by the bureaucracy has opened the eyes of the Sikhs. Moreover, Mr. Hailey has entered the Punjab in full spirits and is saying that "either we shall live or the Akalis." The work of establishing Sikh Leagues should be started in every district. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924, No. 31, p. 259*).

Kesari, 7 August 1924

The *Kesari* thinks that from Sir Malcolm Hailey's speeches sensible men can infer that Government, instead of taking any step directly against the Akalis, will now help the Pujaris and Mahants. In the course of his reply to the joint address of Publicity Committees, His Excellency remarked: "It is notorious that the religion of the Sikhs owes much of its vitality to our military connections." His Excellency's view is clearly offensive to the Sikhs. Sir Malcolm Hailey has shown great boldness in making statements which are not supported by facts, for which no truth-loving person will congratulate him. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th August 1924, No. 32, p. 265*).

Zamindar, 8 August 1924

The *Zamindar* says that Sir Malcolm Hailey ignored the financial difficulties of the Municipality and subjected the Akalis to criticism instead. The paper challenges the correctness of His Excellency's statement that Amritsar trade was being hampered because of the Akali movement. As to the dissemination

of alarmist rumours about the alleged intended seizure of the Golden Temple, etc., is it not conceivable that they may have been set afloat by Government spies or by members of the secret police with the object of inflaming the religious passions of the Akalis, so that they might be impelled to commit acts which would justify repression on the part of Government? It is obvious that Sir Malcolm Hailey is in utter despair over the question of a settlement with the Akalis and intends to practise repression as before. Instead of laying the foundation of an equitable compromise between the Akalis and the Amritsar Municipality, he has incited the latter to institute cases against the former and given it to understand that it can count upon Government support in the enforcement of the decisions given in its favour. He should adopt a statesman-like attitude and abandon the path of repression. Failing this, Government will have to bow everywhere before the Akalis's steadfastness and spirit of sacrifice and lose the prestige and influence of the maintenance of which public money is being ruthlessly spent. He has not proved less imprudent than Sir Edward Maclagan in the solution of the difficult Akali question. The entire responsibility for this rests with Sir John Maynard and His Excellency's other counselors, who have taken their cue from Sir Michael O'Dwyer and have no desire to maintain peace and order in the Province. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th August 1924, No. 33, p. 272*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 9 August 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that "Hailey's" Government has definitely decided either to make the Akalis abandon their religion or put an end to their existence. The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi has informed Patwaris, Lambardars, Chaukidars, etc., that "the Akalis constitute an unlawful assembly", which means that all Sikhs are seditionists. The days when "Hailey's" tyrannical Government will not permit even four Akalis to meet seem now at hand. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th August 1924, No. 33, p. 273*).

Babar Sher, 9 August 1924

In a subsequent issue the paper [the *Babar Sher*] observes that the statement in Sir Malcolm Hailey's reply to the address from the Amritsar Municipal Committee that the Akali organization had handicapped the trade of the city is utterly mischievous and calculated to turn Hindu and Muhammadans against the Sikhs. It had long been obvious from official activities in Amritsar that Government wanted to seize the Golden Temple, Sir Akal Takht and the langar of Guru Ram Das. His Excellency's speech has turned the idea into a conviction. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th August 1924, No. 33, p. 272*).

***Kesari*, 10 August 1924**

The *Kesari* says that the speeches delivered by him [Malcolm Hailey] at Amritsar show that it is Sir Malcolm's wish that, on the one hand, moderate Sikhs should carry on an anti-Akali propaganda, and, on the other, non-Sikhs should represent the existence of the Akalis as dangerous to the nation and country, while Government should continue its measures against the Akalis. Instead of resorting to crooked methods, he should adopt the straightforward course of conciliation, for there is no other way in which he can hope to achieve success. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th August 1924*, No. 33, p. 273).

***Loyal Gazette*, 10 August 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* adversely criticizes the Governor's Amritsar speeches. In all this speeches His Excellency spoke against the Akali movement. It was wrong on His Excellency's part to say that the religion of the Sikhs owed much of its vitality to their military connection. His Excellency's complaint about the Akalis' presence at Amritsar is uncalled for. Amritsar is their greatest religious place and they cannot but make it the centre of their activities. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th August 1924*, No. 33, p. 273).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 15 August 1924**

In a subsequent issue the *Akali-te-Pardesi* informs the Khalsa that the present times are very critical and it is necessary to distinguish a friend from a foe. Sir Malcolm Hailey is an expert in practising the policy of "divide and rule." Money will be lavishly spent, lands and titles will be given, people will be misled with threats and temptations, and, like the Irish, the Sikhs will be made to fight among themselves. The Chief Khalsa Diwan will soon come into the arena, and, in conjunction with the Government, will work to sink the boat of the Panth. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th August 1924*, No. 33, p. 273).

***Akali*, 16 August 1924**

The *Akali* publishes a communiqué supplied to it by Tara Singh on behalf of the General Secretary of the s.g.p. Committee. The communiqué contends that Sir Malcolm Hailey misstated facts in asserting that the Akalis were responsible for the slump in the trade of Amritsar. This depression is due chiefly to the passing of the Rowlatt Act, the firing at the Amritsar railway bridge (in 1919), the general massacred at the Jallianwala Bagh, the promulgation of martial law, the indiscriminate oppression of people, the movement for the boycott

of foreign goods, the over-assessment of income-tax, the enhancement of court-fee and the tension between Hindus and Muhammadans. Again, His Excellency called the Publicity Committees entirely unofficial bodies. There is not an iota of truth in this. These associations owe their origin to official activities and are composed of a few title-holders, Honorary Magistrates and their subordinates, such as Lambardars, Sufaidposhes and Zaildars. Sir Malcolm Hailey has also insulted the Sikh religion by remarking that it owes much of its vitality to the military connection of the Sikhs with the English. As to His Excellency's statement that the State must be supreme, he should know that a Government which frames laws opposed to the religious susceptibilities of the people can never be supreme. Elsewhere the paper remarks that those who can see through the tactics of the English and the disposition of white-skinned officers know that these men act contrary to what they say. Sir Malcolm Hailey's speeches at Jullundur and Amritsar contained no reference to a compromise between Government and the Sikhs. His Excellency should know, however, that the Sikhs never show their back to the enemy through fear of rifles and machine-guns. He has now realized that he can never succeed in suppressing them with the aid of repression. We request the Sikh heroes not to stop their struggle until Government acknowledges their possession of all Gurdwaras. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd August 1924, No. 34, p. 277*).

Desh Sewak, 17 August 1924

The *Desh Sewak* says that if you buy a thing from a shopkeeper for cash and he should shoe beat you, abuse you and become ready to bathe in the blood of your children, will you ever make any purchase from him in future? Let alone making purchases from him, no self-respecting man would like even to see his face. Has not this satanic Ferangi Government similarly lacerated our hearts by massacring innocent Indians at Amritsar, Nankana Sahib, Jaito and other places? Has it not supported Dyer and O'Dwyer? If it has done all this, why should we buy any goods from Ferangi traders, the demons who such the blood of our brethren? Why should we fill the pockets of our enemy by purchasing goods manufactured at Manchester? Not to speak of buying them, we would not even spit at them although they be offered to us gratis. And yet "Hailey" blames the Akalis for the fall in the Amritsar trade! When he uttered these words did he forget that those who ruined British trade were his own white brethren – Dyer and O'Dwyer? You cannot expect the fragrance of musk and rose from the chilies which Dyer sowed in Amritsar? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd August 1924, No. 34, p. 277*).

Kirpan Bahadur, 17 August 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* remarks that “Mr.” Hailey is hissing like a cobra to frighten the Sikhs. Three lakhs members of the Akali Dal are, however, pledged to sacrifice their heads for the Panth and the Guru at the instance of the S.G.P. Committee. Forty lakh other Sikhs also are ready to die at any time. They have vowed that they will live like men and not as slaves of the English and at the sacrifice of their Gurdwaras. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd August 1924*, No. 34, p. 277).

Akali, 22 August 1924

The *Akali* asserts that ever since he became Governor of the Punjab Sir Malcolm Hailey has made shameful efforts to suppress the purely religious Gurdwara movement by employing every means, lawful or otherwise. Our Rawalpindi correspondent learns that during his visit to that city he tried to assure a few inexperienced Mussalmans at a secret meeting that Sikh troops had fired on Mecca against the will of British officers. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 30th August 1924*, No. 35, p. 284).

Kirpan Bahadur, 27 August 1924

Writing to the *Kirpan Bahadur*, M.C.H., states that “Mr.” Hailey stated on the 2nd August “in his barge of a hypocrite” that he did not want to interfere in any one’s religion. He has, however, made pilgrims going to pay their respects to a Gurdwara the victims of bludgeons, bullets and *chhavis*, has stopped the sacred *akhandpath*, is imprisoning thousands of pilgrims, has fixed the condition that batches of 50 (Sikhs only) can (visit the Gurdwara of Gangsar), has given decrees in favour of wicked Mahants and sucks the blood of those who served persons on their way (to Jaito) to commence the *akhandpath*. He awards squares of land to the wicked, calls religious persons rebels and *badmashes*, and drinks the former’s blood in place of sodawater. Does not the appointment of an official receiver for a Sikh Gurdwara constitute interference in religion? We ask of him if he does not identify religion with back-biting, lying, deceiving and mischief-making. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 30th August 1924*, No. 35, p. 284).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 31 August 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* alleges that the Sikhs being an eye-sore to the bureaucracy, they will be prosecuted on false charges of theft, dacoity, rioting, etc. What else can we expect from crooked Hailey? When he is making attempts everywhere to crush the Akali movement, how can justice and truth go near him? On the one hand, the storm of oppression is blowing in the Beas *ilaka* and, on the

other, those who are facing it and are prepared to sacrifice their bodies, wealth and minds at the orders of the s.G.P. Committee, will be prosecuted on the false charge of being Babar. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 290).

***Desh Sewak*, 4 September 1924**

The *Desh Sewak* observes that "Hailey's" speech at Ambala contains nothing but threats to the Sikhs. The Khalsa do not, however, reek with these effusions. The Governor says that he is a friend of the Sikhs. The police are hunting down Akalis like *Sansis*, while he has sounded the bugle for a terrible war at Guru-ka-Bagh and Nankana Sahib. Do these actions signify friendship or bitter hostility? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, pp. 289–290).

***Bande Mataram*, 4 September 1924**

The *Bande Mataram* remarks that His Excellency indulged in repeated threats at Jullundur and Amritsar. They will, however, prove of no use in solving the question, seeing that the Akalis are prepared to lay down their lives in the cause held sacred to them. Repression has failed and Government would do well to discard it and follow a policy of conciliation. If it wants to give the fullest help to the Sikhs in framing a Gurdwara law, let His Excellency discuss the matter with the s.G.P. Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 290).

***Sīyasat*, 4 September 1924**

The *Sīyasat* remarks that the views expressed by His Excellency show that, like his predecessor, he also wants to bring the religious struggle of the Sikhs into disrepute and crush it by force and repression. He has not been able to realise its true character and has chosen to tread the wrong path, which will lead to serious difficulties. The important questions of Gurdwara law and reinstatement of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha can be solved only if Government also is willing to come to a settlement and abandon repression. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th September 1924*, No. 36, p. 290).

***Akali*, 6 September 1924**

The *Akali* alludes to Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech to the Sikh Jagirdars and Zamindars of Ambala and asks who the mischief-mongers are. Is it those who are the true representatives of the Sikh community or those who are not even cared for in the community and injuring both Government and the public by concealing true facts? The aforesaid Sikhs and Government wish to crush the

Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the *gurdwara* reform movement by bringing unfounded and shameful charges against its workers. Does not Sir Malcolm Hailey know that these Jagirdars and Zamindars are at the root of all mischief? They kept Government in the dark and thus brought about the present state of affairs. Ever since British rule has been established in India, the English have been asserting that they will never interfere in the religious affairs of their subjects, but to this day they have never made their words conform to their acts. Indeed, the calamities which have nowadays befallen the Sikh community are ascribable to Sir Malcolm Hailey's friendship. If he were our enemy God knows oppression would be then invented for the Sikh community. Sir Malcolm Hailey can prove useful to the Punjab if his words conform to these acts and he gives up cunningness. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th September 1924*, No. 37, p. 297).

***Akali*, 7 September 1924**

In the next issue the paper [the *Akali*] says that Sir Malcolm Hailey "wishes to save the Sikhs from the discredit and loss of position which must be the fate of a community that yields to the advice of those who, for whatever motive, attempt to inculcate a mentality which is contemptuous of the rights of other communities and subversive of the authority of the State." Those who are prepared to sacrifice even their lives for the religious freedom of the Sikh community are the enemies of the Sikhs and "Mr." Hailey who proves by every act on his part that he wishes to deprive the Sikhs of their natural rights has become the well-wisher and friend of the Sikh community! "Mr." Hailey has also tried a good deal to incite other communities against the Sikhs. As regards the enforcement of the decrees of courts we wish to point out that no court has the right to pass unlawful decrees against our *gurdwaras*. We look upon these decrees as scraps of waste paper, and as long as a single Sikh child is alive the decrees will be spurned and *gurdwaras* will not be allowed to pass into the hands of strangers. Just as the English have taken possession of innumerable countries by treachery and deceit, so do they think others will act likewise. But we wish to point out to "Mr." Hailey that this inestimable blessing is reserved by nature for his nation alone. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th September 1924*, No. 37, p. 297).

***Loyal Gazette*, 7 September 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* remarks that if Sir Malcolm Hailey is a friend of the Sikhs, there is no need of his saying so. He is to be judged by his deeds. It was in his time that the Birdwood Committee was broken up and *Zail* Committees were formed. It was in his time that the decrees were passed by courts about the

Nankana Sahib property and Guru-ka-Bagh lands. It is he who is determined to enforce the execution of decrees. If Government helps in the execution of these decrees, other Mahants will also be emboldened and in order to keep in their possession the property of their *gurdwaras* they will resort to law suits. The property of the Panth will thus go into the hands of others. Sir Malcolm Hailey is wrong in saying that the policy of Government is not to create disunion amongst Sikhs. The *Zail* Committees are being formed with the support of the bureaucracy and they are opposing the Akali movement and the *gurdwara* reform movement in various ways. If it is not creating disunion what else is it? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th September 1924*, No. 37, pp. 297–298).

***Babar Sher*, 8 September 1924**

The *Babar Sher* publishes a communication from the Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar, who remarks that the bureaucracy resorted to may filthy and base tactics in order to destroy the *jathebandi* of the Sikhs, but it signally failed in these attempts. It next resorted to the final tactics of creating disunion in the community and organized Publicity Committees. It has now hatched a new conspiracy, which perhaps is its last move. Government has already confiscated the jagirs of *gurdwaras* and has now begun to wrest their properties also; so that there should remain no source of income for the Akalis, the *gurdwaras* may be ruined, the buildings may be pulled down, the religious and educational institutions of the Sikhs may be stopped, the memories of martyrs, which are calculated to preserve the honour of the Khalsas, may be effaced and the Sikh community may forget itself. The bureaucracy is now determined to wrest again Nankana Sahib, Guru-ka-Bagh, etc., and their properties. Sir Malcolm Hailey has challenged the Sikhs that we will enforce the execution of decrees. We accept the challenge and invite Sir Hailey to bring his machine-guns, cannon and aeroplanes. We shall not allow him to take possession even of a span of *gurdwaras*. The Sikh community will sacrifice itself for even an inch of a *gurdwara*, but will never tolerate any *gurdwara* falling in the possession of non-Sikhs. Let "Mr." Hailey bear in mind that either the Sikhs will get the *gurdwaras* liberated or not a single Sikh will be seen alive. Sir Hailey is anxious to get the decrees executed, while "we" are anxious "to throw dust" on these decrees. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th September 1924*, No. 37, p. 298).

***Akali*, 17 September 1924**

The *Akali* questions the truth of Sir William Birdwood's statements in the Council of State that Sikhs in rural areas are happy in matters of religion and do not

feel that their religion is in danger owing to any action on the part of Government. The paper feels no surprise at these mis-statements by Sir William or at his efforts to deceive the public. Such tactics are no new thing for Englishmen: they have been governing with the aid of these mean weapons. So far Sir William has come in contact only with soldiers, whose only business is to play the second fiddle to their white officers. But for this, we would have known how greatly the rural Sikhs are dissatisfied with the improper interference by Government in their religion, how whole-heartedly they approve of the formation of *jathas* and how far they feel that their religion is in danger because of the shameful actions of Government. Indeed, the number of Sikhs from rural areas who have participated in this religious war is many times larger than that of urban Sikhs. As to Sir William Birdwood's statement that both the Government of India and the Punjab Government are determined to enforce respect for law, which sections of the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code confer upon Government the right of handling over the shrines of any community to strangers with the help of troops and against the wishes of that community? No civilized Government can enact such a law; and if, in its intoxication with authority, a Government acts in the above manner, no civilized community will bow its head before it. The paper also finds fault with Bhai Charanjit Singh for suggesting that an able and sympathetic Governor like Sir Malcolm Hailey should be given the fullest latitude for the settlement of the Sikh problem. "Hailey Sahib" has proved by both word and deed that he is the mortal enemy of the Sikh religion and the Sikh community and that he will leave nothing undone to translate his mean efforts into action. How can any Sikh call that man sympathetic who is determined to crush a purely religious movement like that of the Gurdwara reform? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 20th September 1924*, No. 38, pp. 303-304).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 21 September 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* remarks that in the beginning it was expected that the bureaucracy would not be so mean as to interfere in the Sikh religion. "Sir Hailey" has, however, totally disappointed us in this respect. We believe that under the bureaucratic rule all the religions of India are unsafe. The murderous scheme of "Sir Hailey" has given birth to sycophantic committees all over the country, who in their greed for squares of land and rewards, have started a vigorous and lying propaganda to decry the Akali movement. Lakhs of rupees are thus required to counteract this propaganda as well as to look after the families of those who are making sacrifices for the sake of religion. The Sikh public should rain money into the coffers of the S.G.P. Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 27th September 1924*, No. 39, p. 312).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 28 September 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* observes that the Sikhs have suffered untold tortures at the hands of the bureaucracy during the last four years. Sir Malcolm Hailey announced (so to say) on taking over the reins of Government that it was useless to look for justice or freedom at the hands of the bureaucracy. It can give those seeking justice and freedom only jails to live in and inflicts on them tragedies like those of Guru-ka-Bagh, Nankana Sahib and Jaito. Since the advent of Sir Malcolm, the frying-pan of oppression has been heated in every town and village to parch the Sikhs like gram. Charity for religious purposes, feeding and otherwise serving the Guru's congregations, taking part in the Gurdwara reform movement and the like are considered to be dire crimes by the bureaucracy, so much so that it is an offence to be a relative of those engaged in reforming Gurdwaras. Thousands of the Guru's darlings are rotting in jails and the death of one or two of them is reported daily. Oppression at Bhai Pheru and in jails and the merciless belabouring of Shahidi Jathas have become common with the bureaucracy. The cup of the patience of the Sikhs has been filled to the brim and its overflowing will apparently prove disastrous for the Sikhs, Government, Hindus, Muhammadans and the country. We cannot say how it will overflow, but the event will end the days only of the bureaucracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 4th October 1924, No. 40, p. 317*).

Quami Jiwan, October 1924

The *Quami Jiwan* avers that the British Cabinet appointed Sir Malcolm Hailey Governor of the Punjab to crush the Akali movement and he is practising tyrannies on the Akalis with its consent. The Under-Secretary of State declared in Parliament that the Punjab Government had been authorities to handle the Akali movement as it considered advisable. The whole Cabinet is bent upon suppressing by repression the Sikh spirit of obtaining religious liberty. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924, No. 43, p. 337*).

Loyal Gazette, 5 October 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* writes: –

“The extreme repression which Sir Malcolm Hailey has begun to practise immediately on his arrival in the Punjab and after having stretched, in the Legislative Assembly, the hand of peace to the Sikhs, reminds us of the hand of peace extended by Shivaji to Afzal Khan. Just as Shivaji made Afzal Khan incapable of waging a second war by stretching his hand of peace to him, so has Sir Malcolm Hailey put on the gloves of repression and is extending the hand of peace to the Sikhs with the object of doing away with the risk of a second quarrel with them. They are not, however, made of the ‘*kacha* clay’ of which

Afzal Khan was made. The points of his gloves will turn before getting into the breasts of the Sikhs and he will not succeed in achieving the results secured by Shivaji. His speech in the Assembly and his subsequent achievements will completely disillusion those who pin faith on the words of British statesmen. It is to be regretted that some of our patriotic brethren are still hoping to an honorable and equitable peace with Sir Malcolm Hailey. This delusion will only serve to cool the present spirit of laying down one's life in the non-violent war. It should be remembered that no nation can be wiped out by means of coercion and repression. The Nazim of Sirhind ended Guru Gobind Singh's line by getting his sons walled up. Did Bayazin Khan gain a victory thereby? Did Chandu gain a victory when he got Guru Arjan Devji boiled alive in a cauldron? Did Mir Mannu gain a victory when he got the Sikhs massacred? Did General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer gain a victory when the former shed the blood of hundreds innocent unarmed people? If thousands of our innocent religious devotees now go to jails because of the repression practised by Hailey or Reading or if they undergo suffering or have their properties confiscated, will victory be on the side of Hailey or Reading? Certainly not! It will be on the side of the heroes who sacrifice their persons and substance in the cause of the Panth and do not flinch from religious war. It is religion which triumphs, and not might. We are of opinion that we should make not settlement with Hailey's Government. The latter should continue their work and we ours until such time as all our demands are fulfilled. Even if one-tenth of our population goes to jail we shall be deemed to have been victorious. It behoves our Sardars not to be taken in by the tricks of Sir Malcolm Hailey or of his Government or of the latter's agents, but to make arrangements for vigorously continuing non-violent war to finish. It is a sign of weakness to have pourparlers of peace with diplomatic people how are not honest in their professions. Give up all thought of peace, therefore, and continue the non-violent war until such time as the other Indian communities join you." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the nth October 1924*, No. 41, p. 324).

***Babar Sher*, 5 October 1924**

The *Babar Sher* complains that since the advents of "Mr. Hailey", the tools and agents of the Punjab bureaucracy have become insolvent and have begun to practise unheard of tyrannies on the Malwa Sikhs. They are insulting Sikh women and removing their trousers to attach them. The biggest local Sikh society has published a heart-rendering announcement headed "Hailey hallu te Khalsa mallu" to inform the Sikhs of what is happening in Malwa. It states that in attaching the property of Sardar Jiwan Singh and Bhai Budh Singh of Dhanola, who have been sentenced to six and three years' rigorous

imprisonment, respectively, the sinful officers of Nabha removed the trousers of Punjab Kaur, wife of the former, and embroidered scarf of the latter's wife, Harnam Kaur, as well as the durrie which used to be spread under the Granth Sahib in the house of Budh Singh. These actions on the part of the bureaucracy have inflamed the inhabitants of Malwa. The Faridkot State also has sentenced several hundred servants of the Panth to seven or fourteen years' rigorous imprisonment and is troubling them in jails. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 11th October 1924*, No. 41, pp. 324-325).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 8 October 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* observes that the attitude of the bureaucracy during the last few months shows clearly that it is determined to destroy the Sikh Panth by every possible means. Why does not Government declare the Panth to be a gang of criminals, shoot them and end the whole trouble once for all? It can extricate itself from its present position only by acceding to the demands of the representative committee of the Sikhs or effacing the Panth from the earth, seeing that the whole community is at the back of the Shiromani Committee and if even one Sikh is left alive he will be determined to have his demands accepted. How long will Government continue to practise repression? There is an end to everything. Through this indiscriminate repression the bureaucracy will convert the whole Panth, nay, all Indians, into its bitter enemies. As for the Zail, Sikh Sudhar and Publicity Committees, which it has formed for its own consolation and to throw dust into the eyes of the world, everybody is aware of their true worth. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 18th October 1924*, No. 42, p. 330).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 16 October 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that for the last few years the subjects (Sikhs) have been wailing over the doings of the Punjab bureaucracy and its incapable officers. The heavy expenditure incurred by it has exhausted the public treasury and turned its old friends into enemies. It has been said that Sir Malcolm Hailey greatly boasted of his ability before the British Cabinet and the Viceroy and told them that if he were allowed to work his will for six months, he would make the Sikhs as loyal to Government as they were before. Everyone (every Sikh) is tired of this unjust autocracy. There are complaints in every Sikh home that although Sir Malcolm has not enforced marital law, still he has surpassed Dyer and O'Dwyer in practising oppression. Can he say if peace can be established with the aid of cruelties and that his present conduct is not making matters worse? Formerly Mahants were used against the Sikhs, but not the bureaucracy has gathered against them those Hindus, Muhammadans and

Sikhs who are in the habit of serving as its tools through thick and thin. A scheme is being prepared to unite Sikhs of all view to render the crooked policies of Sir Malcolm Hailey ineffective and prompt every Sikh to undergo self-sacrifice for the sake of religion. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924, No. 43, p. 336*).

Kirpan Bahadur, 21 October 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* publishes an open letter to the Sikh Sudhar Sangat. In the preface it writes: –

“The base myrmidons of this white Government have been committing such horrible deeds for some time past that every Indian is tired of them. Indians think that they can have no peace until this bureaucracy is replaced by the rightful heirs to the throne of India ... In the time of Maclagan two hundred brethren or ours were hacked to pieces at Nankana Sahib, a stream of blood flowed at Tarn Taran and hundreds of our brothers, sisters and children proceeding to Gangsar were shot with bullets and cast into jails. Now Hailey wants to crush the Sikhs by tiring them out and, secondly by causing a split among them. As a result of this policy a part of infidels is going to Jaito to disgrace the Panth. We publish a letter addressed to them in the hope that perhaps it may check them from committing an irreligious act.” The letter then proceeds: – “O ye, who consider Hailey as your God! You can do no harm to us by this proceeding on your part, but you will suffer yourself. We may forget the tyranny of the whites, but this action of yours will always rankle in our hearts, and the hearts of our successors. Will you marry your sons and daughters with the whites? You will be ostracized from the Sikh Panth for ever. Remember that if Government grants you a few inches of land, it will be snatched by your leaders, Sadhu Singh, Raghbir Singh, etc., and no one will even think of you. Do not, therefore sully Sikh history. If you are eager to engage in a religious cause, then under the orders of S.G.P. Committee reject all conditions with contempt, remove all restrictions on pilgrimage to the Gurdwara, perform 101 *akhand paths* and get a good name. To act in opposition to the Guru Panth is tantamount to playing false to it and bathing in the blood of brothers. Why should we complain if this tyrannical Government acts as a Government should do? This wretched one befriends a person only until he remains irreligious. You will not get, O brothers, even a place for burning your dead bodies in the squares which now tempt you. Will you make your cremation-grounds in London?” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924, No. 43, p. 337*).

Akali, 22 October 1924

The *Akali* remarks that the circulation of wholly unfounded rumours is one of the shameful proceedings which Sir Malcolm Hailey adopted against the S.G.P. Committee and the Gurdwara reform movement immediately on assuming the reins of administration in the Punjab. As a result some people have begun to wrongly suspect that the Shiromani Committee has no longer any men and money. Every Sikh is prepared to lay down his head at the order of the Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924, No. 43, pp. 336–337*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 23 October 1924

In a later issue, the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] remarks that the treatment accorded by spectators to the Sikh Sudhar Sangat at Amritsar has exposed the true character of the success achieved by “Mr. Hailey”. The wise have begun to say that his ammunition has been totally exhausted and “all the weapons of his crooked intentions have become blunt.” Conditions will now change. The Akalis will now attack. At the sight of the unheard-of tyrannies practised by “Hailey’s” Government, the Khalsa despair of receiving justice at his hands. The deaths which are daily taking place in jails and the heart-rending news of the subjection of Sikhs to tortures have wounded the feelings of the Panth. People have lost faith in the bureaucracy, because it has refused to hand over Gurdwaras to the Panth, to allow it religious liberty and to release Akali prisoners. The only course left to the Khalsa is to gather under the flag of the S.G.P. Committee and make such a non-violent attack as may bewilder the bureaucracy. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924, No. 43, p. 336*).

Desh Sewak, 23 October 1924

The *Desh Sewak* observes that the Akali movement has shown Indians a straight path to liberty. This is why “Hailey Sahib” has proclaimed his intention of destroying the Sikhs. Our war has, however, entered on the last stage. Let the Khalsa, therefore, gather at Nankana Sahib under the banner of the S.G.P. Committee and deliver such a non-violent attack as to put Haileyism to fight. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924, No. 43, p. 337*).

Akali, 25 October 1924

The *Akali* publishes a communication from Sardar Tara Singh, M.L.C., who charges Sir Malcolm Hailey with resorting to different moves and crooked methods to suppress the Akali movement. Government denies that it has

organized and helps anti-Akali committees. But complaints are daily heard that the thumb-impressions of illiterate villagers are being forcibly secured (on the membership forms). The workers of these committees are generally Honorary Magistrates, Sub-Registrars, Zaildars and title-holders. Again, Tahsil chaprasis and peons have been seen distributing the handbills issued by them. Even low-caste people hate the Sikh Sudhar Sangat, which was accorded no reception on its way to Jaito. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 345).

Bande Mataram, 25 October 1924

The *Bande Mataram* also publishes the above communication. Elsewhere, there paper states that in his speeches at Amritsar and Jullundur Sir Malcolm Hailey held out threats to the Akalis. But has not the bureaucracy indulged in such threats before also? It is more than a year that the Shiromani Committee was declared an unlawful association, but it is the Government that will have to eat the humble pie. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 345).

Loyal Gazette, 26 October 1924

Commenting on Sir Malcolm Hailey's joint reply to the address presented to him at Lahore, the *Loyal Gazette* does not believe that the present Governor will satisfy the religious aspirations of the Sikhs. Indeed, these aspirations are being greatly belittled under his regime, and it will be the worst blunder on the part of Sikh soldiers to leave the question of Gurdwara reform in his hands. The insinuation by Sir Malcolm Hailey that the Sikhs are using force is totally unfounded. He has only lip sympathy with the Sikhs, a proof of which is to be found in the (anti-Akali) activities which were launched immediately on his assuming charge of his office, in which the powerful hand of the bureaucracy is visible and which are totally opposed to the religious aspiration of the Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 345).

Sardar, 27 October 1924

The *Sardar* states that Sir Malcolm Hailey averred that is the present form the Sikh situation involved a question of principle, the settlement of which was essential to the ordered and harmonious development of the province. May we ask him, however, if his words are in accord with the actions which the Punjab Government has been taking against the Sikhs for a long time past? Thanks to these actions, thousands of Akalis are undergoing diverse hardships in jails, while thousands, nay, lakhs have had their houses, goods, lands and

cattle confiscated. Is this the only way of settling the question of the freedom of Gurdwaras? The Governor, who talks so much about law and order, is so engrossed in adopting repressive measures that he has no time to look within himself. "You can, Sir, put forth your best efforts, so that you may fully satisfy your longing for a trial of strength (with the Sikhs)." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, pp. 345-346).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 27 October 1924**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* affirms that neither Sir Malcolm's bureaucracy has been able to influence the people nor have his Committees done any good. The Akali movement is gaining in strength. If the bureaucracy concedes the religious and just demands of the s.g.p. Committee even now, well and good, otherwise, instead of relinquishing Gurdwaras, it will have to quit India. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 346).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 30 October 1924**

In a later issue, the paper [*the Akali-te-Pardesi*] states that Sir Malcolm Hailey declared in his Lahore speech that a Government could not be maintained if law-breaking was resorted to. But can a heart-rending massacre like that of Nankana take place under a Government which enacts laws to protect the rights of its subjects? Again, can a Government which gets people brutally and mercilessly belaboured, as was done at Guru-ka-Bagh, be considered the protector of law and a well-wisher of the people? And can any one respect the Government which killed the religious persons who were on their way to (Gangsar) Gurdwara to perform the (*akhand*) path and then tried to conceal its doings in an unjust manner? Moreover, can the existing law protect the religious rights of the Sikhs? What other course was, therefore, open to the Sikhs than the one adopted by them? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st November 1924*, No. 44, p. 346).

***Loyal Gazette*, 30 November 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* writes that it is a white lie on Sir Malcolm Hailey's part to say that he is opposed to the Sikhs because he is anxious to save Hindus and Muhammadans from their high-handedness. Hindu Sabhas, Khilafat Committees and other Hindu and Muslim societies have passed resolutions in support of the object which the Sikhs have in view. But the bureaucracy is anxious to prejudice Hindus and Mussalmans against the Sikhs. If the Akalis legitimately interfere in the affairs of their Gurdwaras or take possession of them, they do not thereby interfere with the rights of Hindus or Muhammadans. Sir Malcolm Hailey and the officials of the bureaucracy may help wicked Mahants, but they

have no right to say that by acting in that way they are supporting or safeguarding the interests of other communities. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924*, No. 49, p. 385).

***Sardar*, 4 December 1924**

In a later issue, the paper [the *Sardar*] says that Sir Malcolm Hailey was wrong in asserting that the Sikhs had taken the law into their own hands. All laws which show no respect for public opinion are worthy of being effaced. The ruled can never accept a law which does not conform to the religious affairs of the people. That Government alone can be successful in the world which is the Government of the people. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924*, No. 49, p. 385).

***Tribune*, 5 December 1924**

Commenting on Sir Malcolm Hailey's Gujranwala speech, the *Tribune* affirms that from the very beginning His Excellency has proceeded on the assumption that the guilt of the Sikhs has been proved to demonstration and that the Government itself has nothing to repent and nothing to be sorry for. The assumption is entirely wrong, as every one in the least acquainted with the facts of the case is aware. Its falsity can, indeed, be proved by a reference to the Government's own changes of front from time to time. One need not go farther than the Guru-ka-Bagh affair in one set of circumstances and the Jaito affair in another to realise the truth of this remark. In the first case, it began with the policy of arrests and, after an interval characterised by excesses as indefensible as they were stupid, it again fell back upon the same policy. In the second, for which the responsibility did not rest with the Punjab Government, a shocking tragedy was the prelude to the adoption of the same policy of peaceful arrests. The pity of it is that although knowledge has come, wisdom still lingers, and while the worst excesses are now happily a thing of the past, the same old policy continues is all essentials, a policy of coercion as distinguished from conciliation. Where a whole community is in the mood in which the Sikhs have been for some time, the question is not one of the application of the criminal law, but of the application of the resources of statesmanship, the essential ingredients of which are tact, judgement, sympathy and imagination. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 6th December 1924*, No. 49, p. 385).

***Quami Dard*, 10 December 1924**

In a later issue, the paper [the *Quami Dard*] states that the Secretary of State has threatened that if the present agitation in India does not subside, he will have to come to the country after a year and teach a good lesson to the Sikhs

and Muhammadans. The Governor of Punjab also has held out the threat that if the Sikhs at large do not cease to sympathize with the extremist section among them, they will be deprived of the "good offices of Government." All this goes to show that the whole Sikh community will soon be declared a rebellious body and no favour will be shown to any Sikhs, be he a member of the Sudhar Committee, an Extremists, a Moderate, an Akali, a Namdhari or an Udasi. This being so, all Sikhs should unite at the present juncture and gird up their loins to offer non-violence. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 13th December 1924*, No. 50, p. 394).

Akali, 14 December 1924

Commenting in its next issue upon Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech at Sheikhpura, the paper [the *Akali*] tells His Excellency that the Sikh movement is confined to the reformation of gurdwaras and the desire to bring them under the control of the Panth. But it cannot deny that the Sikhs will lag behind no other community in the war for freedom also and will not hesitate to sacrifice, if necessary, their all to deliver Mother Bharat from bondage. It need not comment on the Governor's misstatement and black lie that Government does not interfere with the liberty of worship, because the whole world knows that the bureaucracy interfered with the religion not only of the Sikhs but also of the Hindus and Muhammadans. It has proved this on several occasions by means of arguments and facts. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, p. 401).

Quami Dard, 14 December 1924

The *Quami Dard* contends that every person not blinded by partiality must come to the conclusion that Government is always ready to crush the Khalsa. The Governor asserted at Sheikhpura that Government had not at all interfered with the religion of the Sikhs. Does not the pulling of the hair and beards of Sikhs at Guru-ka-Bagh and Bhai Pheru constitute interference with the Sikh religion? Does not the conduct of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana in sitting on a chair with boots on in the presence of the Granth Sahib, and thus wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Sikhs amount to interference in their religion? Do not the interruption of the *akhandpath* at Jaito, the dragging of the *pathi* (reader), the prohibition to restart the interrupted recitation, the firing of machine-guns on pilgrims to the Gangsar Gurdwara and the religious "moths" going there to resume the *akhandpath* and, lastly, the cowardly and brutal treatment of other Sikhs in jails mean interference in our religion? Some recent *communiqués* of the Shiromani Committee show that the *chapatīs* baked on the 8th November for the First Shahidi Jatha confined in the Bawal

Jail had pieces of bone in them. Fragments of tobacco, bone and meat were also found *chapatis* and *dal* on several other occasions. In the face of all these facts, it is only the representative of the astute British Government who can proclaim everywhere that it does not want to interfere with the religion of the Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, pp. 401–402).

***Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate*, 16 December 1924**

The *Khalsa-te-Khalsa Advocate* asserts that His Excellency the Governor's speeches at Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, etc. abound in threats to the Sikhs. Government is labouring under the mistaken idea that Sikh reformers are law-breakers. It will be a futile attempt on His Excellency's part to try to crush these people. The present tension affects all Sikhs, whether extremists or moderates. It is high time that Government conceded the reasonable demands of the Sikhs and ended the present painful situation. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, p. 402).

13 Sikh Sudhar Committees

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 24 October 1923**

Writing in another place, the paper [the *Akali-te-Pardesi*] states that it has been receiving reports from reliable sources that the bureaucracy is trying hard to destroy the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and establish a new Gurdwara Committee consisting of pro-Government persons. The whole Panth is ready to die and be quartered, but it will never accept such an irresponsible Committee, which is not elected by it. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd November 1923. No. 44, p. 582).

***Gurdwara*, n.d. November 1923**

The *Gurdwara*, on the other hand, writes that in order to crush the Sikhs, Government intends to appoint a Committee of its own henchmen to replace the Shiromani Committee, but if Government persists in the proposal it will suffer a reverse. The paper adds. "O brave men! O you who take pride in being called the children of Guru Gobind Singh! It is your duty to go to Amritsar and wear the laurels of victory. Come and win freedom for your nation, religion and country by offering your heads as sacrifices for your religion." (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 10th November 1923*, No. 46, p. 605).

Akali, 11 November 1923

The *Akali* remarks that the bureaucracy tried to organise a new Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee consisting of its own agents, but it failed in its attempt. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 17th November 1923, No. 47, p. 613*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 26 June 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* writes: –

“O heroic Khalsa! O darlings of those who got themselves dismembered! O worthy sons of Guru Kalghidhar! What time are you waiting for? The bureaucracy has set up *pucca morchas*. O heroes, it is better to die than to lead such a disgraceful life of slavery. Come forward and proclaim the coming oppression in every village and house. The bureaucracy has now devised means to cause friction among the Sikhs by means of fraud and falsehood. It has started propaganda work with the help of some Sikhs in order to bring the Shiromani Committee into disrepute. This is not the time to display negligence in regard to this matter. ‘Strangle this with in the womb.’ Hold Diwans in every village and contribute a series of articles to every newspaper.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 28th June 1924, No. 26, p. 227*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 29 June 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* states that the bureaucracy has formed a committee at Amritsar to preach against the activities of the Panth and cause disunion in its ranks. A strong opposition is to be offered to the bureaucracy very shortly and the Akalis should devise means to prevent any disunion being caused among them and defeat the plans adopted to give the Panth a bad name. The times are becoming critical and the Sikhs should make all sorts of sacrifices. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th July 1924, No. 27, p. 232*).

Kesari, 10 July 1924

The *Kesari* says that when an announcement was made about the appointment of Sir Malcolm Hailey as Governor of the Punjab it was anticipated that while, on the one hand, efforts would be made to suppress the Akali movement with a strong hand, on the other, propaganda work would be vigorously started. It is report that a Central Committee to be called the Shiromani Sudhar Committee is going to be started at Amritsar. The Sikh public should distinguish between the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee – which is the only representative body of the *Panth* – and the so-called Shiromani Sudhar

Committee – which is pro-Government and which has been organized to mislead the Sikhs. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, p. 241).

Akali, 10 July 1924

A correspondent of the *Akali* says that Government is making strenuous efforts to suppress the Sikh community and in order to achieve this end it is using all the weapons in its armoury. The traitors whose services Government wishes to utilize to crush the Akali movement style themselves as the Khalsa Aman Sabha and have assumed the guards of the Khalsa Zail Committee and Khalsa Sewa Sabha at different places. They have begun to dance to the tune of their masters. Such crooked moves and treacherous propaganda will experience the same fate as falsehood and evil have always experienced. The Sikhs should go on doing their work in disregard of these Zail and Aman Sabhas. They should cheerfully face every difficulty and offer hundreds of sacrifices if they are required to make one at the altar of the goddess of oppression. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th July 1924*, No. 28, pp. 240–241).

Babar Sher, 13 July 1924

The *Babar Sher* writes that relying on brute force Sir M. Hailey broke negotiations with the Sikhs; but it appears that he is adopting diplomatic tricks to suppress the Akali movement. The party hostile to the s.g.p. Committee is being strengthened; attempts are being made to deceive the people by forming Zail Committees; articles are being published against the s.g.p. Committee by bribing newspapers and, above all, a society called the Shiromani Sikh Sudhar Committee – a name likely to be mistaken for the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee – has been formed. It is not surprising that those who feel ashamed to disclose even their identity should have the courage to attack the s.g.p. Committee? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924*, No. 29, p. 245).

Akali, 18 July 1924

In a later issue the paper [the *Akali*] remarks that Government has hit upon the last plan to crush the Gurdwara Sudhar Committee. It now wishes to set the moderate Sikhs against the Shiromani Committee and has told the extremist Sikhs that it will not negotiate with them a second time and can conclude no peace with them until the leaders of the Shiromani Committee have been discredited. But we would advise the moderate Sikhs to side with their brethren and

trust they will not prove traitors to the community. If any Sikh plays the part of a traitor the community knows how to deal with them. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 19th July 1924*, No. 29, p. 245).

Loyal Gazette, 20 July 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* remarks that ever since Sir Malcolm Hailey has taken over charge of Governorship innocent Sikhs are being subjected to rigour. Pro-Government Sikhs have established Zail Committees and the Sikh Sudhar Committee to carry on propaganda against the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which is the only representative body of the Sikh community, and sow the seed of discord among the Sikhs. The principle of 'divide and rule' is being used now. It appears that the regime of Sir Malcolm Hailey will be one of calamities and troubles for the Sikhs. Elsewhere the paper remarks that the Sikh Publicity Committee has come into existence all of a sudden and has invited Sir Malcolm Hailey to Amritsar. Sir Malcolm Hailey must know that the committee represents no one. It will be a serious blunder for him to accept an address from this committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th July 1924*, No. 30, p. 251).

Babar Sher, 2 August 1924

The *Babar Sher* writes that "Hailey" is the officer during whose tenure of Home Membership our beloved Maharaja of Nabha was dethroned and at a hint from whom the first Shahidi Jatha proceeding to restart the *akhandpath* at Jaito was fired upon and its members killed in hundreds. He is responsible for the wailings of our widowed sisters and orphans. He has come after conspiring to obliterate the Sikh community. It is due to his deep artifices that Zail Committees, the Sikh Publicity Board and the Sikh Sudhar Committees have been brought into existence in order to create disunion among the Sikhs. The Khalsa should, therefore, proclaim from every street, village and city that no Sikh worth the name should accord any kind of reception to him and thus bring the honour of Sikhism into ill-repute. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 9th August 1924*, No. 32, p. 265).

Shakti, 9 August 1924

The *Shakti* affirms that whatever assurance Zail and Publicity Committees may convey to Government, the situation will not improve until a compromise is effected with the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th August 1924*, No. 33, p. 273).

Akali, 19 September 1924

In a subsequent issue, the *Akali* publishes the following: –

“It is the duty of every human being to safeguard his religion and religious rights. To speak truth, those who hesitate to perform this duty are not worthy of being called human beings. The Sikh religion is in danger at the present moment. It is, therefore, essential for every Khalsa brother to become ready to make every sacrifice if he wishes to be called a human being or that his community should be counted among the living nations of the world. Government and its henchmen are determined to destroy and ruin the Khalsa religion and nation. The S.G.P. Committee are, however, determined to save them. Now, if you wish to destroy your religion and nation, join the *Zail* Committee and the Sikh Sudhar Committee. If this is not so, join the Akali Dal and make the Five-anna Fund a success. Subscribed your share and also make others subscribed their share.” (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 20th September 1924, No. 38, p 304*).

Loyal Gazette, 19 October 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* remarks that the Bill drafted by the loyalist Sudhar Committee may be accepted by the bureaucracy. It will, however, be spurned by the Sikh community. The fair-minded public also will detest it and it will share the fate of the previous Bills. The traitorous Committee is only putting a mark of infamy on its forehead and its efforts to undo the unprecedented sacrifices of the Sikh heroes can please the bureaucracy alone. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 25th October 1924, No. 43, p. 336*).

Akali, 13 December 1924

The *Akali* remarks that “Hailey Sahib” has given full expression to his innermost views and laid bare his innate depravity in the speeches made by him in different cities. Everyone having the least sense can at once arrive at the conclusion that he is bent upon crushing the Sikhs. He had admitted that Government fully sympathizes with the “Traitor Committees” (Sikh Sudhar Committees) and has instructed Deputy Commissioners to render them every possible help. Although “these *goreshahi* officers” know that no true Sikh is a member of these Committees, still they continue to call them representative bodies of the entire Sikh community. As regards “Hailey Sahib’s” remarks about the Nankana incident, was it not a fact that the accused Mahant had long been making preparations to massacre the Sikhs and visited all the high officials in the Punjab during that time? Are we not then justified in saying that Government was fully aware of all his preparations and intentionally took not step

against him? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, p. 401).

***Loyal Gazette*, 14 December 1924**

The *Loyal Gazette* remarks that Sir Malcolm Hailey threatened the Sikhs again at Sheikhpura. They will, however, accept only a Gurdwara Bill which conforms to their wishes and has not been drafted with the help of Sudhar Committees. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, p. 401).

***Babar Sher*, 14 December 1924**

The *Babar Sher* asks how human beings can co-operate with demons. And how can those who beat non-violent and religious-minded persons to unconsciousness with bludgeons and also kill and wound them with bullets be called human beings? How can the character and wisdom of human beings become elevated by co-operating with such butchers? Sir Malcolm Hailey told the members of the Sikh Sudhar Committee – “Sikh Traitors’ Committee” – that religious reform should be sought on more civilized lines. The proof of civilization and forbearance which the Sikhs have, however, given in their efforts for religious reform has won the approbation not only of India but of the whole world. Would the Sikhs have been regarded as civilized only if they had given two bludgeon blows for one from the bureaucracy and killed two persons in retaliation for the death of one? The only goal now before them is that of the reformation of their Gurdwaras and they have clearly state that they look upon Nabha as a Gurdwara. There is no doubt, however, that after reforming their Gurdwaras, they will give full help to the Congress in co-operation with other communities in effacing the bureaucracy from their country. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, p. 402).

***Akali*, 17 December 1924**

The *Akali* remarks that the Provincial Sikh Sudhar Committee’s address to Sir Malcolm Hailey shows that the Committee has come to realize that its evil doing have begun to prejudice the Sikh public against it. Its members have, therefore, changed their attitude and stopped speaking ill of the Akali movement and the S.G.P. Committee. The Sikh community should not, however, allow itself to be taken in by their traitorous moves and tactics. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924*, No. 51, p. 402).

Poems of Protest and Power

1 Komagata Maru

Desh, 26 July 1914

The *Desh* (Lahore), of the 26th July 1914, publishes a poem in Urdu by Lal Chand, Falak, entitled “The painful farewell of the Indians.” The writer pictures the deported immigrants calling the Canadian Government selfish and tyrannical on account of the severity with which the authorities have treated them in refusing to allow them to land. The Chinese and Japanese are fearlessly landing in Canada, and it is the helpless Indians alone who have been ordered to return to their native country. The poem goes on: –

O arrogant Canadians! One day will we humble you,
Though now we admit defeat and leave your shore.
Oh tyrant! Every act of your oppression shall be converted into lightning
and fall upon the Indians.
We go away in grief, because these hardships are being practiced on us in
the presence of the British Lion.

(*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 1st August 1914.* Vol. XXVII, No. 31, p. 755).

Loyal Gazette, 2 November 1914

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore) of the 2nd November, 1914, publishes the following poem: –

“*The cry of the Sikhs in the Darbar of Guru Nanak.*”
By the national poet Hakim Allah Yar Khan, *Jogi*, editor of the *Gau Mata*,
Machi Hatta Bazar, Lahore.
For some days past your Sikhs have been hemmed in by calamities,
While they have been living peacefully, things have gone wrong with
them.
Many of them have, like Jamshid, been cut down by a saw.
And have, like tears, dropped from the eye of the world.
The clouds of failure are gathering on all sides
The tyrannical heavens are discharging lightning while laughing,

The ocean is troubled, the storm is approaching,
 While this is harassing, that also is threatening
 The ship which bore thy name has returned unsuccessful.
 Thou knowest of the catastrophe in which its voyage ended at Budge
 Budge,
 O true Guru! Disappointments have led us to experience this day
 When the loyalty of the Sikhs has been slightly compromised,
 It is regrettable that the effort to restrain grief has unhinged some brains
 The whole mischief has, indeed been done by their having become
 insane,
 For otherwise the feelings of loyalty are even more acute than before
 What has happened was merely accidental.
 It is the desire of the Sikhs to live in peace
 And to obey the command of the King is the teaching of the true Guru
 We have been tossed into the fire of the European war
 And are defending the passes in India,
 We ask the authorities in the Punjab and India
 To say when we deviated from the path of loyalty.
 While the Government should have patted and encouraged us
 It, on the contrary, appears to be displeased,
 The enemies of the community carry tales to your ears,
 You should put these double-dealers to one side,
 They are converting into a furnace the garden of India
 It is pity that they are laying waste a beautiful garden.
 They are digging their graves with their own hands,
 They are converting the country into a hot bed of disunion,
 While those who consider back-biting (lit. eating the flesh of a brother)
 a good thing,
 What loyalty can the Government expect from them?
 If you will not hear, your devotees twill go,
 To make a cry in Nanak's *darbar*,
 O Nanak! We want you to give decision,
 We have been compelled to come to your door,
 Your *darbar* is more revered by us than that of the Government
 For God has made us your slaves
 Poor *Jogi* has come on the birthday of Guru Nanak
 An unfortunate person has come to seek justice from the true *guru*.

*(Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to
 the 7th November 1914. Vol. XXVII, No. 45, pp. 1000-1001).*

Kirpan Bahadur, 12 October 1924

The *Kirpan Bahadur* publishes a poem written by “Bhai Udham Singh, Afghan”. Some verses may be rendered thus: –

The beginning was made by the Ferangis of Canada who killed Bhag Singh.

They shot the Sikh passengers of the *Komagata Maru*.

At the sight of this oppression the whole country cried out in horror and showered curses on them.

They wanted their wealth in India and scattered blood at the Budge Budge port.

They arrested the passengers of the *Tosha Maru* and distributed them among different jails.

Government got up false cases against them and ordered them to be hanged.

If the interior of jails is seen, their roads will still appear red with blood.

The rest were transported to the Andamans and men like Bhan (Singh) and Kehar (Singh) were subjected to dire rigours.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 18th October 1924, No. 42, p. 331*).

2 Ghadar Movement

Khalsa Sewak, 18 February 1914

The *Khalsa Sewak* (Amritsar), of the 18th (received on the 26th) February 1914, publishes from Harnam Singh, Victoria, Canada, a Punjabi poem headed “Have courage”: –

Arise (ye) brave lions! Why are you lying asleep stretched at full length?

Those who were behind you are gone ahead and have reached the sky.

Arise (ye) brave lions! Take daggers in your hands. Carry your drowning community to the other bank (of the river).

We are lagging behind the rest of the world and are repeatedly knocked down. It is now time to realise (that) this (*lit.* the) state will pass away.

We are not allowed to go to foreign countries and (all the) islands have been shut (to us). Understand, ye Indians! that an inauspicious moon has risen.

The world is scoffing (at us) and we have fallen into the pit of the lower regions. And yet we do not feel ashamed. Indeed, the messenger of Death has left nothing.

Our leaders are enjoying every comfort (but) the poor people have lost everything and their future is dark.

(*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 7th March 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, pp. 233–234).

***Loyal Gazette*, 12 April 1914**

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 12th April 1914, publishes from Lala Lal Chand, *Falak*, an Urdu poem entitled “A national song for Sikh children.” It runs thus –

Nectar sweet hath Gobind given us,
 Our name and fame will live for ever,
 Tyrants by us have been out driven,
 Deny not this O India ever;
 Young and old have stood unflinching,
 Caring nought for bow or arrow,
 Bliss for them to dwell unceasing,
 In the faith their Guru brought,
 * * * *

Once the day we sway'd the Punjab,
 Once the day our banners waved,
 Delhi, Kabul, all the country
 Feared, and bow'd before our name.
 Renown'd were we with bow and arrow,
 Sword and spear were by us plied,
 Dreading nought in bloody battle,
 Foeman countless at each Singh's hand died.

To distant climes do we now travel,
 China, Greece, Japan, Ceylon,
 America too, and Afric's shores,
 No part is there we haven't known.
 Our veins do course with Gobind's blood,
 At our aspect dire e'en lions quail,
 No fear for sword or spear or arrow,
 And this our rulers know full well,

Country and rulers do we love,
 And who this truth will dare gainsay?
 For India's sake our blood hath flow'd,

And for this work are we beloved,
 Our guide is he who for his faith
 Did give his sons in sacrifice.

(*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 2nd May 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 18, pp. 447–448).

***Pardeshi Khalsa*, 26 February 1922**

LABH SINGH, *Pardesi*, contributes to the *Pardeshi Khalsa* of the 26th February a poem headed: "A message to the Khalsa abroad." Some of the verses run as follows:

O brother, freedom follow thee,
 Thou hast to free India.
 O dear, the country is suffering agonies,
 Thou hast to come forward, holding the banner of swaraj.
 Although the tyrants hanged thee,
 Thou didst sing the songs of liberty.
 Although they shot thee with bullets,
 Thou didst sail the Guru Nanak steamer.
 Although they caged thy companions,
 Thou didst put forward thy chest to receive bullet.
 Although the murderers used their weapons,
 Thou didst preserve the spirit of Sikh resignation.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th March 1922. No. 10, p. 114).

3 Deposition of Ripudaman Singh

***Kirpan Bahadur*, 26 August 1923**

Elsewhere the paper [the *Kirpan Bahadur*] publishes a poem, some verses of which run as follows: –

Frangra Ogilvie has turned a second 'Rangra': the episode of Massa is to be acted anew.
 The brave Akali Khalsa have taken up the double-barrelled (gun) of non-violence: the hero is red (with wrath) and has placed his head on the palm of his hand.
 The *pujari* of the Phul *gaddi* has been forcibly removed.

We will set up Ripudaman on his throne, although we may be subjected
to severe hardship:
We shall shake the throne of God, who is sitting unperturbed.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 8th September 1923. No. 36,
pp. 468–469).

4 Reform and Resistance

Akali, 25 June 1920

The *Akali* of the 25th June publishes a poem from Harnam Singh, *Ragi*. The poem runs as follows: –

Bravery is dead and gone. Cowardice has made its appearance.
Religion has altogether disappeared from among the community.
Religious places have fallen into the hands of irreligious persons.
The beloved college is in the hands of aliens.
We deserve one-third share, but we have been given one-ninth.
No value has been attached to our loyalty.
Our Sikh brethren are suffering troubles, while prisoners of other communities have been released.
This is a just reward for our loyalty!
The leaders have sun the barge of the community.
By securing jagirs for themselves they have always caused their brethren to be slaughtered.
These champions of love do not leave the community even now.
They have placed a dagger on the neck of the community and have it slaughtered by aliens.
They are outwardly friends (*lit.* sweet) but at heart enemies of the community.
They have caused their brethren to be thrown in jails by getting titles for themselves.

(*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiii, Lahore: The 10th July 1920, No. 28, p. 274).

Akali, 26 June 1920

The *Akali* of the 26th June publishes a poem from Teja Singh who suggests that the Sikhs should observe *hartal* [a closure of shops and offices] on a fixed date and pray to the Almighty on that day for the release of Bhai Randhir Singh

and other Sikh political prisoners. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 10th July 1920, No. 28, p. 274).

Sansar, 23 July 1921

The *Sansar* of the 23rd July publishes a Panjabee poem headed "Expectation for Guru Kalgidhar (10th Guru)." Some of the verses run as follows:

Oppression and sin have spread in the world; when will you (10th Guru)
hoist the standard of religion?

The ship of India is tossing on the ocean; when will you take it ashore?

The birds have been imprisoned by the fowlers; when will you liberate
India?

Pilgrimage to the Gurdwaras has been stopped; when will you eradicate
this oppression?

The bombs of wrath are falling on heads; when will you send cold rain?

All are dying on account of famine; when will you open your kitchens?

The saints are grinding mills in jails; when will you extend a helping hand
to the beloved ones?

The brave are reciting prayers in jails; when will you resort the ruined
gardens to its former position?

(*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 30th July 1921, No. 30, p. 332).

Sansar, 26 November 1921

ARJAN SINGH of Tarn Taran contributes a Punjab poem to the *Sansar* of the 26th November. Some of the lines are as follows: – The King, whom his subjects thoroughly dislike, under whose rule they suffer the greatest trouble and cannot bear [to be shot with] bullets, crawl on their bellies or suffer disgrace by having their faces spat on, should not harass them. But, so far from doing so [his] Government is subjecting the country to suffering. No one bows to its rule, it feels no shame in governing and bathes in our blood. The Indians will not now suffer themselves to be cowed. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 10th December 1921, No. 49, 532).

Akali, 30 November 1921

UTTAM SINGH contributes a Punjabi poem to the *Akali* of the 30th November. Some of the lines are as follows:

Let some one go and ask the fowlers why they have begun to practice
oppression.

Who has done them any injury?

Why have they begun to shoot arrows?
 We pulled them out of the jaws of death by sacrificing our lives;
 They have begun to catch and engage [us].
 O friends! This is an excellence requital for doing good.
 They have begun to take possession of *gurdwaras*.
 O Sikh members [? of the Council]!
 Why have you begun to sprinkle salt on wounded and consumed hearts?
 They have wrested the keys of the Guru's treasury,
 You have begun to make friends with them!
 When honour is gone there is no use for life!
 Heads and bodies have been staked,
 No fop can now come forward.
 The flame of national honour is burning,
 All Sikhs will fall in it like moths.
 They may place a hundred thousand chimneys round it;
 [But] what obstacle will they place in the way of sacrifice?
 The flame goes up in the dark night of oppression,
 There will be heaps of persons sacrificing themselves.

(*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 14th December 1921, No. 49: Supplementary, pp. 558–559).

Akali, 3 December 1921

MUL SINGH of Sangla contributes a poem, headed "We sacrifice ourselves at the altar of religion," to the *Akali* of the 3rd December 1921: –

You should pester to death this narrow-minded, white-faced, hypocritical
 mimicker. His hold from the seat of Government will be now relaxed
 and your blood will loosen his grip.
 We are ready to sacrifice ourselves for our religion and our heads already
 appear to be separate from our bodies.
 O tyrant! You may do your worst; we have not yet forgotten the burning of
 our brethren in the kiln.
 Do not be taken in by the simple looks of these officers; many have been
 entangled in their mesh.
 They oppressed us for their heart's content, and we became used to
 tyranny.
 Their guns, arms, rifles, swords, and scimitars had been all worn off by
 constant use in falling upon our breasts.
 If you do not believe this, then listen carefully to what the land of Lahore
 loudly proclaims:

“I no longer want red colour,” as it is admiring the blood the Khalsa [for its redness] which has been shed in torrents.

(*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 14th December 1921, No. 49: Supplementary, p. 560).

Akali, 4 December 1921

“PHULERA” contributes to the *Akali* supplement dated the 4th December “A complaint in the court of Wah-i-Guru by helpless people.” The writer makes a fervent appeal to God for help in these days of trouble. He says: –

“O Father! Come. The poor, the helpless and the distressed have been subjected to the greatest trouble. The cup of sin has been filled to overflowing ... May this irreligious and unjust rule be destroyed and that of truth and religion established in India.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 17th December 1921, No. 50, p. 579).

Akali, 5 December 1921

The *Akali* of the 5th December publishes the following poem, headed “O Brave one, awake!”: –

O Khalsa! Why hast thou gone to prolonged sleep?
Do not remain locked up in sleep.
Some one has plundered thy house.
It is light now, O sensible man.

Where is thy dignity and honour now?
(The authorities) are confiscating the *kirpan*.
The tyrants are destroying thy garden,
(They) have rendered the flower-garden desolate.

Two hundred of thy brethren have been martyred.
O bad fellow, give up worldly pleasures no.
(They) have wrested the keys of Har Mandir.
O Lion! Awake and know thyself now!

If no spark has [yet] touched [thy] heart,
When will this happen? Thy honour is gone.
(They) are arresting thy leaders and consigning them to the Royal Hotel
(jail);
All the leader are now hastening to the Crystal Palaces (prisons).
O young man! If you have sense of shame, then come forward.

The leaders are eating gram in jail.
 Give up eating good food in the house now.
 The lamp of religion has been lighted. Let the moth come.
 The time has come, sacrifice thyself now.

(*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 17th December 1921, No. 50, pp. 578–579).

Sansar, 28 December 1921

The *Sansar* of the 28th December 1921 publishes a poem by one ARJAN SINGH, Gargaj, of Tarn Taran, who described the condition of the Sikhs under the tyrannical Mughals and says that “the tyrants” have now begun to commit sins like the Mughals and throw people into prison for speaking about religious matters. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 7th January 1922. No. 1, p. 8).

Akali, 4 and 5 January 1922

In its combined issue of the 4th and 5th January, the *Akali* publishes a Punjabi poem written by one SANTOKH SINGH. Some of the lines are as follows: –

Thy beloved ones are lying in jails for the sake of their religious places:
 Uproot oppression, high-handedness and bring them (the prisoners) out.
 How caust thou bear listening to the lamentations of Bharat?
 The tyrants are practising gross oppression and are killing those who are
 already dead.
 They arrested the innocent and filled the jails with them, and have not
 yet cried halt.
 O true Guru with the crest! Save drowning India.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 14th January 1922. No. 2, pp. 21–22).

Akali, 28 January 1922

The *Akali* of the 28th January publishes a poem written by SANT KAUR and BHAGWANT KAUR of Banga, Jullundur District. Some of the verses are as follows: –

O sisters, the foreigners have robbed us;
 Do not become careless after having been awakened.
 If you step forward swaraj will soon will be attained.
 We have to pray to God to reform the sacred places (*gurdwaras*).

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 11th February 1922. No. 6, p. 70).

Gargaj Akali, 23 February 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 23rd February publishes a poem contributed by “RAMTASHER.” Some of the verse are as under: –

All the Sikhs in the country and abroad should combine
 And make a thundering noise in the world,
 By firing the bombs of non-violence,
 Bring the sycophants to their sense.
 All should sing the songs of liberty together
 And make things hard for the bureaucracy.
 End for ever
 The mal-treatment accorded to the Indians.
 Consider for once and recall
 The acts of loyalty done by you from the beginning.
 What reward did we get
 For our gallant deeds on every battle-field?
 We rendered many services by shedding our blood,
 But the wicked have forgotten all.
 O Khalsa! Give up sloth now,
 Thou hast long been in a state of suspended animation,
 And hast received kicks in (thy) partnership with the outwardly white
 and black inside.
 Thou hast got nothing by indulging in entreaties:
 Thou hast stretched forth thy hands to thy heart's content.
 We are tired of co-operation
 And have now taken to non-cooperation.
 Become a lion and prove (this) to the world:
 Thunder forth the songs of liberty now.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 11th March 1922. No. 10, p. 114).

Gargaj Akali, 25 February 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 25th February publishes the following poem contributed by KISHAN SINGH, Gargaj, in praise of Ajit Singh: –

He who prevented land revenue being increased,
 (And) the brave man who loved the country;
 Exiled himself, having suffered pain at the hands of the tyrants,

He delivered lectures which had the lion's roar about them
 And frightened the enemies.
 It is heard that after ten years the brave Ajit Singh, the giver of happiness,
 has come (back).

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th March 1922. No. 10, p. 121).

***Gargaj Akali*, 25 February 1922**

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 25th February publishes a poem written by SUNDAR SINGH of Makhsuspur in praise of Mota Singh. Some of the verses run as under: –

Peregrinating in the country, in the whole world,
 He wakes up the Indians, who are locked up in the sleep of slavery and
 negligence.
 He fears no one
 (And) roars lion-like in the field.
 He makes a thorough exposure of the tyrannical devil's –
 That brave, valiant hero, Mota Singh.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 11th March 1922. No. 10, p. 121).

***Pardesi Khalsa*, 10 April 1922**

In another place the paper [the *Pardesi Khalsa*] publishes a poem, some verses of which run as follows: –

Our Gurus had to work grinding mills,
 Why should we refuse to do so?
 Although they may flog us or throw us into jail
 Or send us to the scaffold.
 Come into the field in three or four times your original number,
 Holding the weapon of non-violence in your hands.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 22nd April 1922. No. 16, p. 192).

***Ramgarhia Gazette*, 20 April 1922**

The *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 20th April publishes a poem written by one GURSARAN SINGH Mit, of Nairobi. Some verses run as follows: –

O Tenth Guru! The sinners have caught many nightingales from thy garden and put them into the cage.
 Tyranny and oppression have reached their limit (and) we have now no sympathizer but thee.
 Thou, O Master, gavest the promise that thou wouldst come at the time of need:
 Would that thou, O Kalgidhar, shouldst liberate suffering India.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 6th May 1922. No. 18, p. 209).

Gargaj Akali, 22 April 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 22nd April (received on the 13th May) publishes a Punjabee poem, of which the following is a translation: –

O True King, Kalghiwala (10th Guru);
 False kings are troubling us much;
 The chastity of women is being violated, while the long hair of the sons of the Guru are being plucked.
 Thy sons are being beaten with stick when reciting hymns.
 The bureaucracy has released murderers but has fettered religious-minded workers.
 It now openly interferes with religion and wants to crush the Akali movement.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 232).

Pardesi Khalsa, 26 April 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 26th April publishes a poem written by HARI SINGH CHELEWALA. Some verses run as follows: –

O God, look after the friendless Indians:
 The bureaucracy has gone to extremes.
 Religion, mercy and justice have vanished;
 The (bureaucracy) has let loose the storm of high-handedness and oppression.
 It has rendered India poor
 (And) deprived us of pleasure and dignity.
 It wrested the pen from our hand for (*lit.* while) writing the truth,
 (And) stopped (*lit.* took away) the tongue when we spoke the truth.
 At some places it arrested and imprisoned innocent people;
 Elsewhere it wrested the *kirpan*, a religious emblem;

At other places it took the lives, with machine-guns,
 Of those who were complaining of their sufferings.
 The heads of those who sing "Peace" are hammered with bludgeons.
 O Hari Singh, much oppression has been practised:
 O God, bring forth the moon of Swaraj.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 6th May 1922. No. 18, pp. 209–210).

***Akali*, 27 April 1922**

The *Akali* of the 27th April publishes a poem by a student of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Some verses run as follows: –

Thou dost feel pleased at imprisoning (them),
 (But) they do not fear (even) the gallows.
 Know, O tyrant, that for the sake of religion
 The Sikhs place their heads on their palms.
 They uphold (their) religion, community and country
 And destroy sinful rule.
 When the fire of tyranny leaps up
 The Sikhs immolate themselves like moths.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 6th May 1922. No. 18, p. 212).

***Akali*, 28 April 1922**

The *Akali* of the 28th April publishes a poem written by "MAST BHUAU." Some verses run as follows: –

Attacks on the kirpan are made daily.
 This Government makes wrong moves.
 There are clouds of tyranny whichever way one may look
 (And) sufferers are weeping and crying.
 He who speaks out the truth
 Is instantly thrown into jail.
 A great war is going on between tyranny and religion:
 We are witnessing the ways of God.
 They have never so far gained victory
 Who boast of their strength,
 (Bare) chests are on this side and bullets on the other,
 (Let us see) who will win and who will lose.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 6th May 1922. No. 18, p. 210).

Pardesi Khalsa, 10 May 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 10th May publishes a poem by BHAG SINGH, Dukhi, of Canada. Some verses run as follows: –

See, the war for religion has commenced,
 O Khalsa Panth, thou also shouldst come into the field.
 The tree of religion is becoming dry,
 Come forward to give it the water of (thy) heart.
 The chief goddess of liberty demands an offering,
 Place thy head on thy palm and come to offer it.
 Expand thy breast and come forward like a brave hero,
 Come to destroy tyranny and oppression.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 232).

Akali, 17 May 1922

The *Akali* of the 17th May publishes a poem from Narain Singh Talib (Nabha). Some verses run as follows: –

O Akali! The barge of those who practice oppression will drown;
 Thy true flag will fly everywhere
 O God! Motors and carriages are provided for white men,
 (But) the black are called damned fools and coolies.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 27th May 1922. No. 21, p. 244).

Panth Sewak, 24 May 1922

The *Panth Sewak* of the 24th May publishes a poem from one Parsin Singh. He says: –

O Tenth Guru! Tyrants practice oppression every day,
 And every one is suffering.
 Thy brave sons are rotting in jails.
 Come and share their hardship now.
 The Sikhs are being subjected to tyranny
 Which has no end.
 To help whom the war against Germany was fought –
 They have forgotten that kindness.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 3rd June 1922. No. 22, p. 253).

Pardesi Khalsa, 30 May 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 30th May publishes a poem from Nanak Singh "Dinesh." Some verses may be translated as follows: –

Let us become martyrs to religion, undergoing sufferings like the Gurus.
 We will be then the true followers of the Guru.
 If we are hacked to pieces for the sake of religion.
 Let the tyrants practice oppression to their hearts content,
 We will bear the unbearable like the Gurus.
 Either we will be burnt like the Gurus,
 Or we shall fulfil what we say.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 10th June 1922. No. 23, p. 263).

Akali, 30 May 1922

The *Akali* of the 30th May publishes a poem from Sardar Raghbir Singh, B.A. Some verses are translated as follows: –

O tyrant! If, after killing the nightingale thou hast washed thy hands with
 soap,
 Still blood-stains will remain on thy garment.
 O fate! As long as thy bow of tyranny remains stretched,
 The Sikh community will eagerly keep its breast open in order to test thee.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 10th June 1922. No. 23, p. 263).

Pardesi Khalsa, 8 July 1922

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 8th July publishes a poem by Amar Singh Dukhia. Some verses may be rendered as follows: –

O bureaucracy! Why hast thou become mad and art harassing the
 Indians?
 Why do not want thy (Gurdwara) Bill.
 Why art thou bent upon carrying it through with force?
 Thou givest a position to the tyrants of India
 (And thereby) pourest salt on fresh wounds.
 (Thou should'st) release the genuine moths of national Indian from thy
 net and do penance promptly.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 15th July 1922. No. 28, p. 327).

Gargaj Akali, 31 July 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 31st July publishes a poem by Darshan Singh. Some verses may be translated thus: –

Ever since their birth the Khalsas have stood against the tyrants.
 The Guru taught (them) to sacrifice their lives to protect the poor cow.
 We shall become bold like Mani Singh and have ourselves quartered.
 Our community alone can shed blood for the sake of religion.
 The jail is the gate of Swaraj.
 The Khalsas will encamp (there) and
 Uproot tyranny by sacrificing their all.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 5th August 1922. No. 31, p. 359).

Gargaj Akali, 31 August 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 31st August publishes a Punjab poem by one Bhai Kartar Singh Kavi of Amritsar. Some verses may be rendered as follows: –

Tyrants ruled (India) in the past – Ahmed (Shah) and Aurang (Zeb) used
 to practice great oppression then.
 They used to cut off tufts of the hair of the Hindus, lick up *tilaks* from
 their foreheads and daily snatch away their sacred threads, weighing a
 maund and a half.
 They used to take away our mothers and daughters. But the benevolent
 Sikhs used to bring them back.
 The same time has come again, to-day, O Khalsas. The tyrants now stop
 the *langar* of the Guru.
 They have arrested our brethren and filled the jails with them. This is the
 reward of 70 years' friendship!
 O Kartar Singh, the Khalsa will not recede. The tyrants have interfered
 with our religion.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 9th September 1922. No. 36, p. 425).

Gargaj Akali, 11 September 1922

The *Gargaj Akali* of the 11th September publishes the following poem by Kartar Singh Kavi: –

Note, O members of the C.I.D., and go and tell Beaty and Dunnet,
 'We have to emancipate the Gurdwaras,

‘We will not refrain from going to the Guru-ka-Bagh, even if you set up a battery (there).
 ‘Forty lakhs of us will die for religion.’
 Go and tell Macpherson,
 ‘We will go and cut down *kikar* trees in the Guru-ka-Bagh.’
 Carry the news to Sir John.
 He says that he will ruin the Akalis; go and make him understand,
 ‘Banish from your mind the idea; you and not we shall come to an end.’
 ‘We have to uproot tyranny in a peaceful manner. Why are you casting a blot on yourself?’

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, p. 457).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 13 September 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 13th September publishes a poem by Raghbir Singh, B.A. Some verses run as follows: –

We were wrong in shedding the blood of our Talanga (mutineer) brothers during the Mutiny.
 O tyrant, we made a mistake in having ourselves skinned at the Saragarhi for thee.
 These are old episodes; we were (also) mistaken in laying down our lives like mad men in the recent war.
 O faithless one! If we had known that thou wouldst act like this in the end, Why should we have shed our blood with our own hands to strengthen the foundation of thy tyranny?

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 23rd September 1922. No. 38, pp. 456–457).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 8 October 1922**

One Raghbir Singh, B.A., contributes a poem to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 8th October, some verses of which run as follows: –

To witness the war of tyranny and humiliation,
 There comes a golden hawk.
 When the tyrants drag Sikhs by their *keshas*,
 The hawk is heard to say,
 ‘The Tenth Lord, to whom I belong, is following me.’

We will accept death for the sake of religion
 And will not regret this even in dream.
 We swear by the hawk of the Tenth Guru
 That we will not desist from laying down our lives in His path.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 14th October 1922. No. 41, p. 504).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 13 October 1922**

The following is a translation of some verses in a poem contributed to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 13th October by Bhai Balwant Singh, *Gajraj*, Secretary, Khalsa Dharamsala, Patiala: –

What if the tyrant holds a naked dagger over our heads?
 O tyrant! The beating by thee has fallen flat upon us.
 The nation of which Kabul, Qandhar and Germany were mortally afraid
 (And) which was also regarded with awe by the army even from the other
 side of the Sutlej
 Is the same (Sikh) nation, the liberator of captives,
 Which shared thy sorrows also
 And used to suffer countless troubles for thy sake.
 That faithful Government thirsts after our blood to-day.
 We fear neither machine guns or chains;
 O *Gajraj*, groups of one hundred each have been formed to learn the les-
 son of martyrdom.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 21st October 1922. No. 42, p. 515).

***Sant Samachar*, 17 October 1922**

The *Sant Samachar* of the 17th October publishes a poem written by Mahant Indar Das of village Indargarh in the Ferozepore District. Some verses may be rendered thus: –

O brethren! We tell you again and again, ‘Sacrifice your wealth for the
 sake of your religion (and)
 ‘Have firm belief in your faith, even though your bodies may be cut to
 pieces.’
 Let the old and young, men and women, sacrifice themselves for the hon-
 our of their community.
 The Government is drafting a Bill to efface our name from the face of
 the world.

It has handed over our wealth and religious places to (our) enemies and
 has also imprisoned our chief.
 O Government! Recover your senses a little, administer justice and see
 that you do not destroy our rights.
 The Government goes on destroying our rights, and does not listen to our
 lamentations.
 It adopts new tactics daily; how can we repose confidence in it?
 O Government! Our sect is bitterly weeping over your law and justice.
 Why are you ruining our home when the old owners have been residing
 (in it) for a long time?
 'O Government' You should not fear the enemies and should muster cour-
 age and save our homes.
 We want no law: you should not deprive us of our rights of ownership.
 You should preserve our old rights and release our innocent chief.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 529).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 13 November 1922**

Elsewhere, the paper publishes a poem from "Dardi." Some verses run as fol-
 lows: –

When at Manianwala the sinner
 Removed the veils of our ladies,
 Who is the self-respecting man who will have the hardihood
 To look at the faces of these butchers?
 On remembering Budge-Budge and the Jallianwala Bagh
 Sighs come out of our hearts.
 The edifice of the bureaucracy will one day be destroyed by our sighs.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47,
 p. 580).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 17 November 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 17th November publishes a poem by a student of the
 Khalsa College, Amritsar. Some verses run as follows: –

Take away (thy) Subedarships and pensions,
 Keep thy ranks to thyself, O tyrant!
 What shall we do with thy medals now
 When our Panth is faring like this, O tyrant?

There is no parallel, O tyrant, to the extreme oppression practised by thee.
 Do not show thy face to us, O sinful and ungrateful one.
 Thou hast reduced our community to its present state, O tyrant.
 We rue the hour
 When we failed to see through thy policy, O tyrant.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 25th November 1922. No. 47, p. 580).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 24 November 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 24th November publishes a poem by Arjan Singh Bir. Some verses run as follows: –

We gave the snake milk and rendered it furious for nothing.
 It now spits venom and hisses.
 He is inebriated with the wine of rule
 (And) does not, therefore, distinguish between good and evil
 At one time he gage the leaders and at another a newspaper.
 High-handedness, tyranny, tortures and severe rigours
 Are his reward to this helpers,
 To slaughter like a butcher with a knife
 Is his reward to one devoted to him.
 It has been proved that he is a card-sharper and a tyrant,
 Selfish and false of promise.
 A flood of curses has descended on him from all sides.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 2nd December 1922. No. 48, pp. 590–591).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 7 December 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 7th December publishes a poem by “A Sikh,” some verses of which run as follows: –

The justice of the Ferangis is being sold at two pice a seer in the streets
 and bazars.
 See, thieves are let off and good men are imprisoned:
 Wonderful are the ways of my God!
 Those who in England live in a state of nudity
 (And) eat parched potatoes
 Have become gorged by sucking the blood of India

(And) have forgotten all fear of the Infinite God.
 The Bill of the bureaucracy has now been set rolling;
 The Akalis will kick it.
 The non-Sikh, who is not acquainted with our religion,
 Has obtained the title of Sri Mahant.
 The boat of tyranny and injustice
 Has left for the deep sea:
 Drown it, O Kalghiwala!
 Accept the prayers of the Khalsa Panth.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 16th December 1922. No. 50, p. 619).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 18 December 1922**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 18th December publishes a poem from Kartar Singh, some verses of which are as follows: –

The hands of those for whose friendship we left our hearths and homes,
 laid down our lives by the million,
 (And) demolished the walls of our Gurdwara at Delhi, O friend,
 The hands of these very friends administered beatings and bludgeons
 and pulled our beards at Guru-ka-Bagh.
 What a fine reward we have obtained for thy friendship: we have lost the
 'ship' and the 'keys.'

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, p. 12).

***Loyal Gazette*, 24 and 25 December 1922**

The Saptami number of the *Loyal Gazette* dated the 24th and 25th December contains an Urdu poem by Brij Goopu Nath, *Bekal*, of Jullundur addressed to Guru Gobind Singh. The poet says: –

Thy beloved Panth also is reserved for oppression:
 Who is there to listen to (its) complaint except thyself?
 The power of forbearance is on one side with its head and in its hands;
 On the other side stands the courage of the tyrant with a dagger in his
 hands.
 Liberate us in the name of thy beloved ones.
 The garden of India is being devastated; save it.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 6th January 1923. No. 1, p. 13).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 25 January 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 25th January publishes a poem written by Kishan Singh of Gujar Khan. Some of the verses run as follows: –

We must liberate the Gurdwaras, although thou mayst blow us from the
cannon,
Pierce our hearts with lances or throw us to the dogs.
Thou mayst prick our bodies and sprinkle salt on the wounds,
We will liberate all the Gurdwaras, although thou mayst burn us in
furnaces.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd February 1923. No. 5, p. 73).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 7 February 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 7th February publishes a poem, some verses of which run as follows: –

They robbed us of our diamonds and looted our Punjab: they captured
and took away our handsome lion king.
Dacoits have become the right arm of the Sarkar and patriots are regarded
as traitors to-day.
The jail has become Karbela [Karbala] for us, where some heroic scions
of the community have been hanged,
Some are suffering agonies and some are about to leave for the next world
(*lit.* the Guru's land).
O Kalghiwala! The prayer of us helpless birds in thy court is that the
oppressive rule may soon be uprooted.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 17th February 1923. No. 7, p. 97).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 12 February 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 12th February publishes a poem written by Arjan Singh of Kharaudi, Hoshiarpur district. Some of the verses run as follows: –

This wealth, property and country are ours,
What business have the English to be here?
Be courageous and let us have Swaraj;
Gandhi has told us of an easy way (to get it),

Give up co-operating with them, O brothers,
So that the price of (these) haughty people may be humbled.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 17th February 1923. No. 7, p. 97).

Kirpan Bahadur, 5 July 1923

The *Kirpan Bahadur* of the 5th July publishes a Panjabi poem, some verses of which may be translate thus: –

O (Sikh) community, be vigilant and careful, your Raja is about to become
a *faqir*.
The wounds inflicted through (the deportation of) “Dalip” have not yet
healed. The fresh news has wounded the heart (still further).
Awake and take time by the forelock, if you wish to preserve the Nabha
Government.
The turn of Patiala will come after Nabha is ended; you should not ignore
this serious matter.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 14th July 1923. No. 28,
pp. 360–361).

Babar Sher, 12 July 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 12th July publishes a poem written by “Gargaj Udaru”.
Some verses may be translated thus: –

O simple-minded community, open your eyes at once (and see) how your
condition is about to become wretched.
You are going to be extirpated altogether; look at Nabha, O Sikhs.
Our States are now going to be wrested (from us); (our) name is going to
be effaced, O Sikhs.
An intrenchment will be set up (at Nabha) like the Guru-ka-Bagh. See, we
shall go there with (our) families.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 21st July 1923. No. 29, p. 374).

Babar Sher, 25 July 1923

The *Babar Sher* of the 25th July publishes a poem written by Darjit Singh,
Damak, Some verses run as follows:

What has happened to us afresh in Nabha should be communicated to every Sikhs.

'Dalip' has been hidden a second time: let this be proclaimed in every village and household.

Where have they taken the Maharaja of Nabha like dacoits? (His) children are crying. Convey this information to sympathising hearts.

The lamp has been lighted in Nabha. O Khalsa, be ready to immolate yourselves on it like moths.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, pp. 406-407).

***Babar Sher*, 30 July 1923**

The *Babar Sher* of the 30th July publishes a poem which contains the following verses: –

Khalsa ji, set up an entrenchment at Nabha.
 Rise roaring, O brave Khalsa, and remind him of Guru-ka-Bagh.
 Obeying the order of your organization, the Sikh League, proclaim in every city and household that
 (The bureaucracy) is testing your bravery to-day; if it fires a bullet make your breast the target for it;
 It has separated our Tika (from his father); so should you kindle a fire in England.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 4th August 1923. No. 31, p. 407).

***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 4 August 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* of the 4th August publishes a poem written by "Daljit," some verses of which may be translated thus: –

O sleeping Panth, recover thy senses now: negligence has led to thy house being looted.
 Oh, the bureaucracy took up the 'sweet knife' and pierced thy heart through deception.
 See, the Government itself has taken possession of Nabha after deposing its master.
 It has sent him to Dera Dun as a prisoner in a motor car.
 It has forgotten thy dignity and greatly dishonoured thee.
 Why did not thy blood boil in thy veins? Why didst thou keep silent on seeing this with thy own eyes?

If thou hast sense of honour, step into the field and take rest only after taking Nabha in thy hands.
 Otherwise, forty lakh (Sikhs) should properly acquit themselves in the eyes of the beloved one by dying at his door.
 O Panth, tear up the sheet of negligence now and go to Nabha in large numbers.
 O Panth, set up an entrenchment of non-violence and preserve the honour of thy forefathers.
 O Panth, rescue Ripudaman Singh out of the clutches of the tyrants and (*re*)-install him on the throne.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 18th August 1923. No. 33, p. 428).

Babar Sher, 14 February 1924

The *Babar Sher* publishes a Punjabi poem, which contains the following verses: –

May you be victorious over the tyrants!
 Sacrifice yourselves in a spirit of faith and devotion
 (And) fight for the sake of national dignity.
 Go to extinguish the burning fire of tyranny
 By sprinkling the blood of your heart.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 69).

Kesari, 14 February 1924

The *Kesari* of the 14th February also publishes a Punjabi poem recited by the Jathadar of the Nirmalas included in the Jatha. Some verses run as follows: –

Our brethren have been dragged there by the hair.
 A war is going on between peaceful religion and oppression: We are going to humiliate tyranny.
 The tyrants are bent upon speaking falsehood: We are going to raise the shout of truth.
 We have sacrificed our lives for the sake of religion:
 We will never retrace our steps, because we are going to lay down our lives.
 In order to obtain martyrdom with smiling faces, we are going to break this potsherd (? body) by striking it against Government.
 The bureaucracy feels no shame: We are going to render its weapons blunt.

A special correspondent of the paper reports that the *Jatha* will neither abide by the restrictions imposed by the authorities, nor will it enter into any

compromise with the latter. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 16th February 1924, No. 7, p. 61*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 14 February 1924

Bhai Dewa Singh of Baramula contributes a Punjabi poem to the *Akali-te-Pardesi*. He complains that we are arrested for wearing black turbans, flogged for shouting Sat Sri Akal and sent to jail for wearing the five K's. He adds: –

We have thrown off the collar of slavery for the sake of beautiful liberty.
 We will not abandon religion (through fear of) beating.
 We are not afraid of thy sword. We shall remain silent in spite of thy
 beating.
 We shall go to Gangsar and suffer martyrdom.
 We shall be burnt like moths.
 O beloved one! We shall secure the liberty of Gurdhams. We shall die for
 propagating our faith.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924, No. 8, pp. 66–67*).

Onward, 19 February 1924

The *Onward* publishes a poem headed “The 500”, in which the poet says: –

God's soldiers! God's battle to fight – to no-violence vowed,
 Trophy to win, or to sleep under Despots' forceful shroud,
 Sacrileged Religion's honour and Gurubani to redeem,
 With hearts strung to spirit's tune – faith, flown to the brim.
 With Hope on Martyr's visions bred.
 Behold! There march the Khalsa five hundred!
 Purblind Power! To vain Authority's fury wed,
 May, in revenge, with bullets their limbs asunder shred!
 The Holiest of Holies shall in His bosom embrace
 These 'Sahidee' Fighters – these sons of a valorous race!
 Bent, for the Panth, their blood to shed,
 Lo! there march the Khalsa five hundred!

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924, No. 8, p. 70*).

Kirpan Bahadur, 27 February 1924

The following verses are taken from a Punjabi poem published by the *Kirpan Bahadur*: –

O tyrant, practise more oppression now if thou so likest.
 Another Jatha is again going the same way.
 The Khalsa will not turn back through fear of these machine (guns) of
 thine.
 They have decided that either the oppressors of they they will now live.
 Thou mayest riddle the Sikhs with bullets, wherever thou mayest find them.
 O tyrant, thou mayest kill the entire community.
 O people, (even) dogs will not eat the bodies of those
 Who brought misfortunes to the Sikh community.
 This satanic rule will not now remain.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th March 1924, No. 10, p. 97*).

Loyal Gazette, 23 March 1924

The *Loyal Gazette* publishes the following poem: –

Do not fear the fowler and have no care for the gardener,
 But march on, O nightingales of the garden of Gangsar.
 Take courage, the stage of victory is near;
 O friends, do not tarry on the way but march on.
 O lovers of religion, there may be lakhs of guns and rifles;
 Receive bullets on your breasts and march on.
 The blood of the martyred Khalsa will bear fruit;
 O beloved ones, march on to Jaito to have your heads cut off.
 What a curious command is Love's:
 Lay down your lives in the battle, kill no one, but march on.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th March 1924, No. 13, p. 124*).

Babar Sher, 18 June 1924

In another issue, the paper [the *Babar Sher*] publishes a poem written by Bhai Indar Singh, *Dukhi*. Some of the verses run as follows: –

The announcement about a compromise were but tricks to deceive thee,
 O Panth.
 Hailey has now come with orders to exterminate thee, O Panth.
 Leave off all other work for the present, therefore, and descend into the
 arena quickly to preserve thy dignity,
 And shake the heart even of Hailey by quickly shedding thy heart's blood.
 The tyrants are now making preparations on a larger scale than ever
 before, O Panth.

It is possible that the Gurdwaras which have already come under thy control may be wrested and thou mayst have to live in forests, O Panth. Look for worse tyrannies than those perpetrated at the Budge Budge port, Nankana and Jaito.
 O tyrannical Hailey, thou also mayst thy strength upon rebellious and religious people.
 Thou also mayst ... fire bullets at the hearts of the religious and dye the earth with blood.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 21st June 1924, No. 25, pp. 219–220*).

Pritam, July 1924

The *Pritam* publishes a Punjabi poem, some verses of which may be rendered thus: –

The ruler of the time has become tyrannical (and) is practising extreme oppression.
 (He) has begun to crush (our) beloved religion; wail and woe is prevailing.
 O Beloved one! (He) is subjecting thy children to extreme hardships.
 He has pierced (their) hearts by firing bullets on them; the wretch does not take pity.
 O Beloved one! Thy Panth has been now declared 'rebellious.'
 O Lord! Storms of oppression are blowing and the tyrants are practising oppression.
 The 'Akali army' is entangled in troubles and turmoils.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924, No. 31, p. 259*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 20 July 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* publishes a Punjabi poem by "Prem," some verses of which may be rendered thus: –

O murderer, (thou) mayst go on cutting the throats of religious persons with the sharp dagger in thy hand.
 (Thou) mayst tear open (their) stomachs and cleave (their) bosoms;
 (thou) mayst go on 'taking off (their) livers' with a knife.
 O tyrannical butcher, do not leave any stone unturned; (and) go on cutting (them) as (thou) mayst choose.

Be on thy alert, (as) the sigh of the oppressed produced an evil effect.
 Thou mayst go on sowing the seeds of sin, O sinner. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 26th July 1924, No. 30, p. 250*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 31 July 1924

In a still later issue the paper [*Akali-te-Pardesi*] writes that now Mr. Hailey is coming down to the plains saying that he will set the Akalis right and crush them. None but the party of loyalists and Government servants will welcome him. The paper publishes the following poem: –

O Hailey! You are our old friend; you are the late Home Member and the present Governor. We ask you to keep friendship (with us).
 If you will apologize for your past deeds, then your honour and prestige will be safe,
 Otherwise, remember that by becoming our enemy, you will not remain Governor.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 2nd August 1924, No. 31, p. 259*).

Narol Khalsa, 25 August 1924

The paper [*Narol Khalsa*] publishes a poem some verses of which are translated below: –

O Tenth Guru, once more come on the earth and see the condition of India.
 The tyrants, who have no one's control over them, are practising very many tyrannies.
 If you do not believe us, come and see the faithless one (Government) with (your own) eyes.
 Foreigners have ruined the country with the sword to establish their control (over it).
 The ruler of the Punjab has ruined lakhs of families.
 India has become like cemetery. You may see heaps of bones at several places.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 30th August 1924, No. 35, p. 283*).

Akali-te-Pardesi, 4 October 1924

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* publishes a poem by Harnam Singh, “Khadang”, of Multan, the more important verses of which are translated below: –

Where 200 brethren of our played *holi* with their blood the other day
 (And) the tyrant dyed his jacked in our blood and gore,
 The heads of forty lakh (Sikhs) are again demanded there to-day.
 At the Janam Asthan and Guru-ka-Bagh we are again going to be put to
 the test:
 It appears that (our) Ferangi friend of seventy years wishes to exterminate us.

* * *

When our blood boils our hand instantly falls upon the *kirpan*.
 We wish to unsheathe it, because only by so will the executioner be prevented from practising oppression.
 But when we recollect the national policy we become helpless like a snake (tied to) a peg.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 11th October 1924, No. 41, p. 324*).

Quami Dard, 14 December 1924

The *Quami Dard* publishes a Punjab poem by one Kartar Singh, some verses of which may be rendered thus: –

Thou art practising oppression on innocent persons: hast thou lost thy senses, O tyrant?
 O tyrant, thou hast a white complexion but a black heart, a sweet tongue but a foul interior.
 After making vain efforts, thou wilt pass away, O tyrant, like Nadar Shah, Aurang(zeb) and Ahmad Shah.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924, No. 51, p. 401*).

Babar Sher, 14 December 1924

The *Babar Sher* publishes a Panjabi poem by “Band Pancchi”, some verses of which may be rendered thus: –

(We have) grams to eat and floor to sleep upon. (We) have fallen into the clutches of butchers.

Who can listen to our (complaint) at the shambles? Youths are suffering martyrdom.

On one side, the fire (of oppression) is ablaze in Multan; on the other, lamentations are being raised in Rawalpindi.

And Government, with the sword of oppression in its hands, is making a noise in the Dera Ghazi Khan Jail.

(*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 29th December 1924, No. 51, p. 402*).

5 A Vision for the Future

Khalsa Advocate, 26 July 1912

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of 26th July 1912: –

“A Dream.

“I dreamt a dream and saw men of Brobdingnagian dimensions, majestic appearances, long venerable beards, whose living was plain, but whose thinking was high. Their physical frames seemed to adorn the earth which they trod. Their relations with each other were cordial, pure thoughts were their constant practice, service of humanity was their ideal, and resignation and patience under suffering were their chief features. The foundations, on which their organization was to rear, were solid, and the foundation of that organization was firm and unshakable and that body was one whole and indivisible, and people whispered, with awe, wonder, and respect, ‘They are Sikhs.’

“Oh, they vanished from my sight. My eyes, what do I see! The Raj of the Sikhs. I see the ‘Lion of the Punjab’ majestically seated on his throne. Reader, you surely regard that time as the happiest and the luckiest period of our national history? No, no. It was not an unmixed blessing.

“Fate wings with every wish the afflictive dart,

“Each gift of nature, each grace of art.’

“The Puritans of England were the purest and noblest people at the time of their origin. Adversity purified and ennobled them, as gold becomes brighter after passing through the furnace. They were incorruptible so long as adversities and misfortunes confronted them. But when they succeeded in overthrowing the second among the Stuart Kings, and established a Government of their own, it was then they began to degenerate. Clever and shrewd people, finding that they could derive immeasurable gain by identifying themselves with the governing body, went so far as to change their external form and hypocritically declared themselves Puritans. A mixture of the insincere and the hypocritical,

the Puritans produced their inevitable product. The Puritans deteriorated. Their name became a bye-word for hypocrisy. This was exactly the case with the Sikhs in the Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time. Finding that men of long, flowing hair and venerable beards were the favourites of the Maharaja, people soon metamorphosed their outer selves. The number of men wearing long hair and majestic beard doubled, trebled, quadrupled, and multiplied infinitely within a brief compass of time. The Sikhs were to be found at every foot of ground, but Sikhs of a strange type, who combined the religious beliefs of Hindus and Sikhs in themselves, who bowed before the Guru Granth volubly and musically sang its hymns, but who also were the most earnest devotees of Thakar Ji Maharaj, and regarded the Vedas and Guru Granth not as essentially two different things, teaching widely different doctrines, but as one and the same thing. Reader, it served their purpose to do so. They were like Bunyan's Mr. Facing-Both-Ways; and what is the outcome of such a mixture? We became a community of degraded men. Our reputation for honesty and truthfulness was lost. The word Sikh became a nickname for an illiterate, shabbily dressed and lukewarm being. Above all, the lost our Raj. 'What is to be, will be.'

"But my dream, my dream! What do I behold? I see some wide-awake conscientious persons shouting out to their slumbering brethren 'Arise, awake, it is time to be up and doing,' and behold, grand edifices begin to be set up at various places, as if by a touch of Allahdin's lamp. 'Reform' 'reform' is the watchword. But, but – Did we sow dragon's teeth like an old mythological character? Who are these Fathers of Evil? Surely a hollow vessel makes much noise. The cries of false, peripatetic medicine vendors are the loudest and their shops are set up at the most conspicuous places and simple-minded people are beguiled and led astray. Exactly similar are these glib talkers. But let me proceed. I saw that the Father of evil died their own death after a generation or two and truth eventually flourished, for truth is like God eternal, being an attribute of God. I saw that Sikhs had three well equipped colleges at Amritsar, Ferozepore and Gujranwala and several self-supporting High Schools.

"I saw that the Sikhs discarded their old evil customs which resulted from the mixture of hypocritical people.

"I saw that the Sikhs rose up once more in all their glory and the word 'Sikh' became a word of honour, as it has been so.

"I saw that the minds, souls, and bodies of Sikhs were harmoniously developed, and the word again said with wonder and respect 'These are Sikhs.' I rejoiced, my heart beat more rapidly with joy, the blood rushed into my head, and I woke up, and my dream had its end. Good-bye."

(Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 3rd August 1912, Vol. xxv, No. 31, pp. 633–634).

Responsible Government Translators and Reporters for the Reports of the Vernacular Newspapers in Punjab

Year/s	Names and titles
1864–1869	George Wagentreiber, Government Translator and Reporter of Selections from Vernacular, Delhi.
1870–1874	George Wagentreiber, Government Reporter on the Vernacular Press of Upper India, Allahabad. Sohan Lal, Government Reporter on the Vernacular Press of Upper India, Allahabad.
1875	George Wagentreiber, Government Reporter on the Vernacular Press of Upper India, Allahabad. Sohan Lal, Government Reporter on the Vernacular Press of Upper India, Allahabad. P. Robinson, Governmental Reporter of Vernacular Press of Upper India, Allahabad.
1876	P. Robinson, Governmental Reporter of Vernacular Press of Upper India, Allahabad. Priya Das, Governmental Reporter of the Vernacular Press of Upper India, Allahabad.
1877–1888	Priya Das, Governmental Reporter of the Vernacular Press of Upper India (from 1880 M.A.), Allahabad.
1889–1907	No signatures.
1908	F. Isemonger, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. G.A. Cocks, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.
1909	G.A. Cocks, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. D. Petrie, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.

(cont.)

Year/s	Names and titles
1910	D. Petrie, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. V. Vivian, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.
1911	D. Petrie, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. C. Stead, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.
1912	C. Stead, Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.
1913	J. Slattery, First Assistant to the Deputy Inspection-General of Police, C.I.D. and Railways, Punjab. J. Misick, First Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department and Railways, Punjab. C. Stead, First Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department and Railways, Punjab.
1914	C. Stead, First Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. and Railways, Punjab. J. Slattery, First Assistant to the Deputy Inspection-General of Police, C.I.D. and Railways, Punjab. H. St. J.B. Philby, Officer on special duty in the Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab (from autumn 1914 when war broke out).
1915	H. St. J.B. Philby, Officer on special duty in the Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. C.F. Strickland, Officer on special duty in the Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. A.V. Askwith, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.
1916	A.V. Askwith, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. L.L. Tomkins, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department Punjab. H.E.C. Beaver, Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. A.V. Askwith, Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.

(cont.)

Year/s	Names and titles
1917	H.E.C. Beaver, Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. V.W. Smith, Personal Assistant to Deputy Inspector General and Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.
1918	Abdul Aziz, Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. Mukh Dial, Superintendent, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.
1919	Mukh Dial, Superintendent, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. A.V. Askwith, Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.
1920	A.V. Askwith, Personal Assistant to the Director Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. Mukh Dial, Superintendent, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab. Bhagat Ram, for the Superintendent, Press Branch, Punjab Civil Secretariat.
1921	Mukh Dial, Superintendent, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation, Department, Punjab. Abdul Aziz, Superintendent, Press Branch, Punjab Civil Secretariat. Bhagat Ram, for the Superintendent of the Press Branch, Punjab Civil Secretariat.
1922–1924	Abdul Aziz, Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch, Punjab Civil Secretariat. Mukh Dial, Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.

Newspapers Reviewed for the Reports of the Vernacular Newspapers in Punjab (1864–1924)

Urdu

Adeeb Hind	Delhi	---
Afghan	Peshawar	Publisher: Saiyid Abdulla Shah. Editors: Saiyid Mehdi Shah; Abdulla Shah.
Aftab	Delhi	Publisher: Saiyid Haidar Raza.
Aftab-i-Hind	Jalandhar	Muslim paper for general news. Publishers: Barkat Ali; Muhammad Hussain. Editor: Muhammad Hussain.
Aftab-i-Panjab	Lahore	General news with interest for Sikh education and development. Started in 1866. Press: Aftab-i-Hind Press. Proprietors: Diwan Buta Singh; Diwan Aya Singh; Diwan Atar Singh. Editors: Muhmmad Sheikh; Nabi Bakhsh; Hafiz Umar Daraz; Jai Gopal; Aya Singh; Atar Singh.
Agni	Amritsar	Publisher: Bawa Gurdas Singh, Batalvi.
Agra Akhbar	Agra	Publisher: Khwaja Usaf Ali.
Ahl-i-Hadis	Amritsar	Organ of the Ahl-i-Hadis sect. Press: Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar. Editors: M. Sana-ulla; Abdul Karim; Abulwafa Bana Ullah
Ahluwalia Gazette	Amritsar	A Sikh paper. Started in 1904. Press: Ahluwalia Printing Press, Amritsar. Publishers: Balwant Rai; Lehna Singh; Ishar Das. Editors: Lehna Singh; Ishar Das.
Ahluwalia Rajput	Lahore	Organ of the Ahluwalia Rajput community. Editor: Amar Nath Shad.
Aina-i-Aib-i-Numa-i-Hind	Lahore	---

*(cont.)***Urdu**

Ajit	Amritsar	Press: Ajit Press, Amritsar. Editor: Ram Singh Dharowalia.
Akali	Amritsar	Sikh paper which received aid from the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Started in 1920. Press: Onkar Press, Amritsar. Editors: Hari Singh; Sardul Singh Kavishar.
Akhbar-i-Alam	Meerut	Publishers: Muqarrab Hussain Khan; Kamta Prasad.
Akhbar-i-Am	Lahore	Hindu paper for political and general news. Started in 1870 by Mukand Lal. Press: Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore. Editors: Govind Sahai; Bal Kishen; Gopi Nath. Publishers: Mukand Ram; Gopi Nath; Govind Sahai; Bal Krishna.
Akhbar-i-Chunar	Chunar	Publisher: Hanuman Prasad.
Akhbar-ul-Akhyar	Delhi	An organ of Sunni Muslims. Press: Anwar Mhamdi Press, Delhi. Editor: Munshi Habib-ud-din (former editor of Syad-ul Akhbar).
Akhmal-ul-Akhbar	Delhi	A paper for general news and letters from native states. Press: Hakim Ghulam Roza Khan's Press; Akmal-ul-Matabia Press. Publishers: Hakim Muhammad Khan (proprietor); Fakhr-ud-din; Hakim Abdul Maji Khan. Editors: Bihari Lala; Mir Abdullah; Tasadaq Husain; Maulvi Jami-ul-Rahman; Said Ahmad Husen.
Alamgir	Amritsar	A paper in opposition of the Akali movement. Started in 1924. Press: Hashmi Press, Amritsar. Publisher: Muhammad Yukub. Editors: Khwaja Muhammad Zia Ullah and Muhammad Yukub.

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Urdu

Aligarh Institute Gazette	Aligarh Urdu and English	Publisher: Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Sheikh Alim-ulla, Gulab Rai.
Al-Munir	Jhang	A Muslim paper. Press: Al-Munir Steam Press, Lahore; Islamia Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Ghulam Hussain.
Al-Rai/Ar-Rai	Lahore	Organ of the Arsin community. Press: Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; Co-operative Printing Press, Lahore. Editors: Mehraj Din; Fateh Muhammed.
Amrit	Lahore	Publisher and editor: Sham Lal.
Anjuman-i-Panjab	Lahore	A paper of the society Anjuman-i-Punjab with general literary news. Publishers: Chandan Lal; Mir Nisar Ali; Ashraf Husen; Lal Singh; Gul Muhammad.
Army News	Ludhiana	A paper for political, civil, and military news. Started in 1903. Editor and proprietor: Hira Lal & Co. The concern consisted of Hira Lal, Ram Chand, and Ram Richpal.
Arorbans Sudharak	Lahore	A paper advocating social reform in the Arora community. Press: Diwan Printing Works, Lahore; Parkash Steam Press, Lahore. Editors: Mehta Jaimal; Salig Ram.
Arya Gazette	Ferozepur, Lahore	An organ of the non-vegetarian section of the Arya Samaj. Press: Hitkari Steam Press, Lahore; Public Printing Press, Lahore. Publishers: Atma Ram; Bhowani Das; Amin Chand. Editors: Bhowani Das; Khushal Chand Khursand.

*(cont.)***Urdu**

Arya Musafir	Jalandhar	A paper for religious news for Arya Samajists. Press: Sat Dharm Pracharak Press. Publishers and editors: Lala Munshi Ram; Wazir Chand; Sant Ram.
Ashraf-ul-Akhbar	Delhi	A paper for general news and matters of the native states. Press: Muhammadi Press. Publisher: Mirza Jan. Editors: Mirza Khan; Ali Jan; Mirza Zia-ulla Beg.
As-Sabah	Lahore	A Muslim paper. Editor: Abdulla Imadi
Azad	Lucknow, Lahore	A political and biographical journal. Press: Sewak Press, Lahore. Publisher: Pandit Bishan Sahai.
Azadi	Lahore	Publisher: Abdul Hakim. Editors: Maulana Farrukh and Bashambar Dial.
Badar/Badr	Qadian, Gurdaspur	Publisher: Muhammad Sadiq.
Bande Mataram	Lahore	An organ of Indian nationalism. Press: Bande Mataram Steam Press, Lahore. Editors: Lajpat Rai; Mela Ram Wafa; Karam Chand Shukul.
Bedari	Lahore	Publisher: Ishri Parshad.
Bemisal Punch	Delhi	A paper for general matters in an amusing way. Press: Shaukat-ul-Islam Press. Editor: Abdul, Rahman
Bharat	Amritsar, Lahore	A Sikh paper. Press: Sanatan Dharm Press. Publisher: Sundar Lal. Editor: Ralia Ram.

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Urdu

Bharat Sevak	Jalandhar	A paper for religious, social, and general news. Press: Sat Dharm Pracharak Press (Arya Samaj); Sanatam Dharm Press. Publishers: G.M. Francis; Gujar Mal. Editors: Gujar Mal; Maharaj Kishan.
Bharat Sudhar	Lahore	A paper for general and religious news in support of Arya Samaj. Started in 1889. Press: Arorbans Press. Editors: Manihar Lala; Salig Ram; Sundar Das. Publisher: Salig Ram.
Bijli	Lahore	Publisher: Sham Lal. Editor: Dina Nath.
Brahman Samachar	Lahore	Organ of the Hindu Brahman community. Press: Brahman Samachar Printing Works, Lahore. Editor: Vidya Rattan Parashar.
Chalta Purza	Delhi	Publisher: Abdul Rahman, Rasikh.
Chandr	Lahore	Editor and publisher: Sodarshan.
Chaudhwin Sadi	Rawalpindi	A voice for Muslims with anti-Hindu and anti-Congress stances. Press: Chaudwin Sadi Press. Publisher and proprietor: Saraj-ud-din Ahmad. Editors: Haji Ahmad; Fazl Ahmad; Kazi Haji Ahmad.
Civil and Military News	Ludhiana	A paper for political, military, and general news. Press: Civil and Military News Press. Publisher and proprietor: Ghulam Mohal-ud-din; Abdul Aziz. Editors: Ram Richpal; Syad Muhammad; Mishba-ul-Haq.

*(cont.)***Urdu**

Curzon Gazette	Delhi	A Sunni Muslim paper for political and general news. Press: Anwar Mohammadi Press; Curzon Press. Publisher and editor: Mirza Hairat.
Dabdaba-i-Sikandari	Rampur	Publisher: Muhammad Hussain.
Darshanand	Lahore	An Arya and Hindu paper. Editor: Narsingh Sharma.
Delhi Punch	Lahore	Mouthpiece of opponents to Syad Ahmad Khan of Aligarh. Started in Delhi but moved to Lahore. Press: Delhi Punch Office, Delhi Punch Press. Publishers and editors: Hassan Ali; Munshi Allah din; Maulvi Fazl-ud-din.
Desh	Lahore	A Hindu paper. Press: Girdhar Steam Press, Lahore; Lakhina Electric Press, Lahore. Publisher: Girdhari Lal. Editor: Dina Nath.
Dharm Bir	Lahore	A religious Arya paper. Editor: Sant Ram.
Dipak	Lahore	Publisher: Guranditta Mal. Editor: Ram Rachpal Singh.
Dost-i-Hind	Bhera	An organ of the Arya Samaj with liberal views. Started in 1887. Press: Wilson Press. Proprietors: Ram Labhaya; Sunder Singh, Ghulam Haidar. Editors: Ram Labhaya; Bawa Arjan Singh.
Durbin	Lahore	A paper for general news. Started in 1887. Press: Punjab Punch Press. Publishers: Manohar Nath; Kale Khan. Editors: Manohar Nath; Brij Nath.

(cont.)

Urdu

Faruq	Qadian	A paper for Ahmadiyyas. Press: Faruq Press, Qadian. Editor: Qasim Ali.
Fazal	Qadian	Publisher: Abdul Rahman. Editor: Mirza Mahmud Ahmad.
Gham Khwar-i-Hind	Lahore	A paper with political and general news. Press: Gham-Khwar-i-Hind Press. Proprietors: Pandit Maharaj Kishan; Pandit Data Kishan; Pandit Jal Lala. Editors: Pandit Maharaj Kishan; Pandit Data Kishan; Durga Das.
Gulzar-i-Hind	Lahore	A paper for general news. Press: Gulzar Muhammadi Press; Gulzar-i- Hind Steam Press, Lahore. Publisher: Gulzar Muhammad. Editors: Gulzar Muhammad; Ahmad Ali Chisthi.
Gurdwara	Amritsar	An Akali paper for the Gurdwara reform movement. Started in 1923. Press: Gurdwara Press, Amritsar. Editors: Ajit Singh; Gurmukh Singh.
Hakam/Al-Hakam	Qadian, Gurdaspur	A religious paper of the Ahmadiyya. Press: Anwar Ahmadiya Press, Qadian. Publisher and editor: Yakub Ali.
Hamdard-i-Hind	Lahore	A paper for political and general news. Press: Kishan Chand Press. Publisher and proprietor: Pandit Sarb Day. Editors: Brij Lal; Pandit Sarb Dyal.
Hamdard-i-Khalsa	Amritsar	A Sikh paper run by a <i>pujari</i> of the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Started in 1899. Press: Chasma-i-Nur Press. Proprietor and publisher: Suchet Singh.
Haq	Delhi	Publisher: Kazim Ali.
Hak/Haq Pasand	Amritsar	Publisher: Ram Nath. Editor: Durga Das.
Harbinger	Lahore	Publisher and editor: Durga Parshad.

(cont.)

Urdu

Haryana Tilak	Rohtak	Press: Haryana Tilak Press, Rohtak. Editor: Shri Ram Sharma.
Himala/Himalah	Rawalpindi	A paper supporting the Congress. Press: Himla Press. Publisher: Kirpa Ram. Editor: Dina Nath.
Hindu	Lahore	Press: Hitkari Steam Press, Lahore; Brahman Samachar Printing Works, Lahore. Publisher: Hari Lal Sharma. Editors: Hari Lal Sharma; Labh Singh Jallianwala; Vidya Rattan Parshar.
Hindu Prakash	Amritsar	---
Hindustan	Lahore, Sialkot	A Hindu paper. Press: Hindustan Printing Press, Sialkot; Girdhar Steam Press, Lahore. Publishers: Ishar Das; Ram Sarn Datt; Guranditta Mal. Editors: Dina Nath; Ram Sarn Datt; Ram Rachpal Singh; Badri Nath; Diwan Chand; Sant Ram.
Hindustani	Lucknow	Publisher: Ganga Prasad.
Hitkari	Lahore (Amritsar 1905)	Press: Branch Sewak Press; Dabir-i-Hind Press. Publisher and editor: Atma Ram.
Huma-i-Punjab	Lahore	A weekly published by Anjuman-i-Punjab. Editors: Pandit Gopi Nath; Munshi Nisar Ali; Muhammad Hussain Azad.
Imam	Lahore	Press: Islamia Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Taj-ud-Din Ahmad.
Imperial Paper	Lahore	A paper for general news and religious matters. Press: New Imperial Press. Publisher: Sayad Rajab Ali Shah. Editors: Said Ata Husain; Syda Jawad Ali Shah; Rahma Ali Shah.
Indar	Lahore	Publisher: Dharm Pal.

(cont.)

Urdu

Inqilab	Lahore	Press: Hindustani Press, Lahore. Editor: Ghulam Nabi Khan.
Islah	Ludhiana	Press: Islah Press, Ludhiana. Editors: Muhammad Shafi; Muhammad Mizbah-ud-din.
Jagrit	Lyallpur	Press: Bar Machine, Press, Lyallpur; George Steam Press, Lyallpur. Editor: Pandit Narsing Lal.
Jalwa-i-Tur	Meerut	Publisher: Rai Ganeshi Lal.
Jat Gazette	Rohtak	A Hindu organ of the Jat community and the landowning class. Press: Haryana Tilak Press, Rohtak. Proprietor: The Jat Association, Rohtak. Editors: Molar Singh; Chhotu Ram.
Jhang Sial	Jhang; Lahore	Publishers: Prabh Dyal; Sarb Dyal. Editors: Bhagwan Das; Prabh Dyal.
Jijnasu	Lahore	Publisher and editor: Bhagat Ishar Das.
Jiwan Tat	Lahore	An organ of Dev Samaj. Press: Jiwan Press, Lahore, Mercantile Press, Lahore. Publisher and editor: Amar Singh Editors.
Kaisari/Qaisari	Jalandhar	Press: Kaisari Press. Publisher: Ahmad Bakhsh. Editors: Mirza Muwahid; Munshi Ghulam Ali; Ahmad Bakhsh.
Kam Dhenu	Ludhiana	Publisher: Daulat Ram.
Kanauj Punch	Kanauj; Farukhabad	Publisher: Bhaggu Khan.
Karnamah	Lucknow	Press: Karnamah Press, Lucknow. Proprietor: Maulvi Yaqub Ali. Publisher: Muhammad Yakub.
Kashatri	Gujranwala	A Hindu paper and organ of the Khatri community.
Kashatri Sewak	Lahore	Press: Brahman Samachar Printing Works, Lahore. Editor: Parmeshri Das Chopra.

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Urdu

Kashmiri Magazine	Lahore	An organ of the Muslim Kashmir Conference. Press: Desh Steam Press, Lahore; Lakhima Electric Press, Lahore. Publisher and editor: Muhammad Din.
Kesari	Lahore	Press: Desh Steam Press, Lahore; Lakhima Electric Press, Lahore. Editors: Lachhman Singh; Sham Lal Kapur; Dina Nath Atish.
Khadim-i-Hind	Lahore	A paper for social and literary reform. Press: Gulzar Muhammadi Press. Publishers: Amir Shah and Nur-ud-Din. Editor: Muhammad Nur Din.
Khair Khwah-i-Alam	Delhi	Press: Razi Press; Asghari Press. Publishers: Sayyid Mir Hassan; Abdul Rahman Rasikh. Editors: Sheikh Muhammad Amir Hassan; Abdul Rahman. Proprietor: Muhammad Amir Hassan.
Khair-Khwah-i-Am	Gujrat	Press: Khair-Khwah-i-Am Press. Proprietor: Ralla Ram. Editor: Ghulam Husen.
Khair Khwah-i-Hind	Lahore, Delhi	Press: Chasma-i-Faiz Press. Proprietor and publisher: Maha Narayan.
Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir	Lahore	A paper for news on the Kashmir State. Press: Gulzar Muhammadi Press. Publisher and editor: Pandit Salig Ram.
Khair Khwah-i-Punjab	Gujranwala, Sialkot	Press: Gian Press; Victoria Press. Publishers: Diwan Chand; Brij Lal. Editor: Ganesh Das.
Khair Khwah-i-Riyasatha-i-Hind	Lahore	Publisher: Hakim Gholam Nabi.
Khalsa Akhbar	Lyallpur/ Lahore	A Sikh paper critical of British policy. Started in 1914 by Harchand Singh. Editors: Mul Singh; Sundar Singh.

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Urdu

Khalsa Bahadur	Lahore	A Sikh paper supported by the Maharaja of Patiala. Started in 1897. Press: Guru Gobind Singh Press. Publisher and proprietor: Rajindar Singh.
Kisan	Lahore	A Muslim paper. Publisher: Fakir Ullah Khan. Editor: Shabir Hussain
Koh-i-Noor/Nur	Lahore	One of the first newspapers in Punjab, founded by Munshi Harsukh Rai. Started in 1850. Press: Koh-i-Nur Press; Sewak Press. Proprietors: Harsukh Rai; Jagat Narain; Mussamat Parbati. Editors: Sharf-ud-Din; Abdullah Khan; Muharram Ali Chisti; Jawwad Ali; Harsukh Rai; Muhammad Husan; Nathu Ram; Nar Narain; Jagat Narain, Nabi Bakhsh Khan, Niaz Ali; Brij Bhaslu.
Lahore Punch	Lahore	Press: Gulzar Mahomedi Press; Sada-i-Hind Press. Proprietor and editor: Abdul Rahman.
Lamat-ul-Akhlaq	Bareilly	Publisher: Imdad Hussin.
Latif-ul-Akhbar	Gorakhpur	Publisher: Muhammad Latif Khin.
Lauh-i-Mahfuz	Moradabad	---
Lawrence Gazette	Meerut	Publishers: Sayyid Jamil-ud-din; Iqbal-ud-din.
Leader	Lahore	A Hindu paper. Press: George Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Sham Lal.
Loyal Gazette	Lahore	A paper started to unite Sikhs and Hindus, with criticism to Arya Samaj and a loyal stance towards government. Started in 1911. Press: Girdhar Steam Press, Lahore; Loyal Press. Proprietor: Lal Singh. Editors: Amar Singh; Ram Singh.

*(cont.)***Urdu**

Lyall Khalsa Gazette	Sialkot	A paper to promote and advance the Sikhs. Started in 1891. Press: Guru Gobind Singh Press. Publishers: Archander Singh; Rajindar Singh. Editors: Gurdit Singh, Rajinder Singh.
Majma-ul-Bahrain	Ludhiana	A paper for Shia Muslims founded by S. Rajab Ali Shah Naqvi.
Malumat-i-Dunya	Lahore	Publisher: Pandit Girdhari Lal.
Mayo Memorial Gazette	Delhi	A paper started in 1872 by the Anjuman in Delhi.
Mehr-i-Nimroz	Bijnor	Press: Karim-ul-Mataba. Proprietor: Hafiz Karim-ul-lah.
Mihir-i-Darakhshan	Delhi	A Muslim paper. Publisher: Maulvi Nusrat Ali.
Milap	Lahore	A paper with Arya leanings. Press: Public Printing Press, Lahore. Editors: Ram Lal, Khushal Chand Kharsand.
Muir Gazette	Meerut	Started in 1868. Proprietor: Babu Khushbakht Rai.
Mukhbir/ Mukhbar	Amritsar	A Hindu paper for municipal and political matters. Started in 1902. Press: Silcock Press. Proprietor and editor: Lakhmi Das.
Mulla Dopiazza	Lahore	A Muslim paper. Press: Anjuman-i-Punjab Press. Proprietors and editors: Ahmad Bakhsh and Allah Din.
Mulla Jafar Zatalli	Lahore	A paper directed against Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian. Press: Taj-ul-Hind Press. Proprietor and editor: Mulla Muhammad Bakhsh.
Municipal Gazette	Lahore	A Muslim paper devoted to municipal politics. Press: Parkash Steam Press, Lahore; Rifah-i-Am Steam Press, Lahore. Publisher and editor: Din Muhammad.

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Urdu

Munir	Jhang	Publisher and editor: M. Ghulam Hussain.
Musalman	Lahore; Amritsar	Publishers and editors: Sans-ulla; Ilm Din.
Najmu-l-Akhbar	Etawah; Meerut	Publisher: Muhammad Hayat; Bubu-l-lah Khan.
Nanak Prakash	Kapurthala	A paper devoted to the affairs of Kashmir and Kapurthala, funded by the Maharaja of Kapurthala. Started in 1887. Press: Ravi Ben Nazir Press. Proprietor and editor: Bawa Arjan Singh.
Nasim-i-Agra	Agra	Publisher: Jamna Das.
Nazim-ul-Hind	Lahore	A paper for general news and poetry. Press: Shahab Sakab Press. Publisher and editor: Nazir Hussain Khan.
Nihang	Gujranwala; Lahore	A radical Sikh paper supporting the Gurdwara reform movement. Press: Virst Press, Gujranwala; Girdhar Steam Press, Lahore. Publishers and editors: Bawa Ram Jaitli; Thakar Singh.
Nizam-ul-Akhbar	Delhi	Press: Wazir Ali Press. Publisher: Wazir Ali.
Nur	Qadian, Gurdaspur	An Ahmadiyya paper with anti-Arya Samaj orientation. Press: Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian. Publishers and editors: Muhammad Yusuf; Ahmad Hussain.
Nur Afshan	Ludhiana	A paper for Christian missionary work. Started in 1873. Press: American Mission Press; Panjabee Press, Lahore. Publishers and editors: Rev. E.M. Wherrey; Rev. C.B. Newton; M. Wyllie. Editors: E.M. Wherry; Muhammad Ismail; Sheikh Abdul Latif; Nizam-ud-Din.

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Urdu

Nusrat	Lahore; Amritsar	A Muslim paper. Press: Hindustani Press, Lahore; Khudadad Press, Lahore. Editors: Hakim Muhammad Inayat Khan; F.M. Khurshaid.
Nusrat-ul-Akhbar	Delhi	Started in 1872. Press: Nasrat-ul-Matabi Press. Publisher and editor: Maulvi Nusrat Ali.
Onward	Amritsar	Editor: Chandra Sain Vasishtha; K.M. Pannikar.
Oudh Akhbar	Lucknow	Publisher: Sheo Prasad.
Paigham-i-Sulah	Lahore	An Ahmadiyya paper. Press: Cooperative Steam Press, Lahore. Publisher: Rajab-ud-din. Editors: Ahmad Hussain; Dost Muhammad.
Paisa Akhbar	Ferozewala; Lahore	A Muslim paper for general news. Started in 1887. Press: Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore. Proprietor: Maulvi Mahbub Alam. Publishers: Mahbub Alam; Muhammad Din; Abdul Aziz Editor: Maulvi Mahbub Alam; Abdul Aziz.
Panjabi Akhbar	Lahore	Started in 1860 by Muhammad Azim. Press: Panjabi Press. Proprietor and publisher: Muhammad Azim. Editor: Hafiz Umar Din.
Parkash	Lahore	An Arya Samaj paper. Press: Parkash Steam Press, Lahore. Publishers and editors: Krishna; Radha Krishan.
Partap	Lahore	Press: Parkash Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Radha Krishan.
Pate Khan	Lahore	Proprietor: Abd-ul-Rahman. Editors: Muharram Ali Chisti; Abdul Raman.

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Urdu

Patiala Akhbar	Patiala	Organ of the Patiala State. Started in 1880. Press: Patiala Akhbar Press; Newal Kishore Press; Rajinder Press. Publishers: Munshi Newal Kishore, Rikhi Kesh; Abdul Rahman, Din Muhammad, Syad Rajab Ali Shah.
Peshwa	Lahore	A Hindu paper. Publisher: Zia-ul-Haq.
Philosopher	Lahore	Publisher: Amin Chand. Editor: Dina Nath.
Public Gazette	Amritsar	An organ of the Arya Samaj. Press: Public Press, Riaz-i-Hind Press. Publishers: Jai Chand; Maharaj Mal; Prabh Dyal. Editors: Amin Chand; Nathu Ram; Harji Ram.
Punjab	Lahore	A Muslim paper. Publisher and editor: Kishen Chand.
Punjab Advocate	Mianwali	Publisher: Bhanju Ram.
Punjab Organ	Wazirabad, Sialkot	Press: Gian Press; Victoria Press. Publishers and editors: Diwan Atma Ram; Brij Lal.
Punjab Samachar	Lahore	Press: Khatri Samachar Press; Girdhar Steam Press, Lahore; Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore. Publishers: Pholo Mal; Hira Lal. Editors: Hira Lal; Kahn Chand; Jai Gopal, Munshi Dwarka Parshad Ufaq.
Qaum Parast	Lahore	A Sikh paper working for Indian nationalism. Press: Congress Electric Press, Lahore. Editor: Sadhu Singh.
Rafiq	Lahore	Publisher: Charinji Lal.
Rafiq-i-Hind	Lahore	A paper relating to Sir Syed's educational movement. Started in 1884. Press: Rafiq-i-Hind Press. Publisher and editor: Muharram Ali.

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Urdu

Rahbar-i-Hind	Lahore	Press: Saifi Press. Proprietor and editor: Syad Nadir Ali Saifi.
Rajput Gazette	Lahore	Organ of the Rajput community. Press: Desh Steam Press, Lahore; Girdhar Steam Press, Lahore. Publishers and editors: Thakur Sukhram Das; Sukhram Das Choban.
Rajputana Social Science Congress Gazette	Jaipur	---
Revenue Gazette	Lahore	Press: Girdhar Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Munshi Ram.
Riaz-i-Hind	Amritsar	A Muslim paper for general news. Started in 1880. Proprietor: Nur Ahmad.
Riyaz-ul-Akhbar	Gorakhpur	Press: Riyaz-ul-Akhbar Press. Editor: Nizam Ahmad.
Roznamcha	Lucknow	Press: Anwar Muhamdi Press. Proprietor: Munshi Muhammad Teg Bahadur.
Sada-i-Hind	Lahore	Publisher: Din Muhammad.
Sadiq-ul-Akhbar	Bahawalpur	Publishers: Lal Singh; Abdul Qudus; Sayyid Fazul Hassan; Dwarka Nath; Maulvi Abdul Qaddus; Maulvi Ata Ulla.
Safir-i-Hindustan	Amritsar	Started in 1878. Press: Safir-i-Hind Press. Publisher and editor: Rev. Rajab Ali.
Sahaik	Lahore	Press: Sat Dharm Parcharak Press. Editor: Munshi Ram.
Sahifa-i-Qudsi/ Sahifa-i-Kudsi	Delhi	Press: Kudsi Press. Proprietors and editors: Abdul Kudus; Munshi Ghulam Hasnain.
Sanatan Dharm Gazette	Sialkot, Lahore	An organ of the Sanatan Dharm Sabha. Press: Mirza Mowahid Press, Sialkot; Mitra Vilasa Press, Lahore. Publishers: Sundar Lal; Gopi Nath; Pandit Govind Sahai; Pandit Hari Kishan.

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Urdu

Sanatan Dharam Parkash	Ferozepore	Press: Upper India Printing Works, Ferozepore; Public Printing Press, Ferozepur. Editor: Manohar Lal Bhatnagar.
Sanatan Dharm Patrika	Lahore	A Sanatan Hindu paper. Editor: Diwan Chand Sharma.
Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar	Editor: Rulia Ram.
Saraj-ul-Akhbar	Jhelum	Press: Saraj-ul-Matabia Press. Publishers: Maulvi Fakir Muhammad; Fateh Chand.
Sarin Sabha	Lahore	Organ for the Sarin Khattris. Press: Khatri Press. Publishers: Lala Ganesh Das; Dev Raj.
Sat Dharm Pracharak	Jalandhar	Organ of the vegetarian section of Arya Samaj. Press: Sat Dharm Parcharak Press. Publisher: Munshi Ram. Editors: Lala Munshi Ram, Som Nath, Dev Raj, Badri Das.
Sayad-ul-Akhbar/ Saiyidu-i Akhbar	Delhi	Proprietor: Wazi Ali.
Shafiq-i-Hind	Lahore	Press: Victoria Press. Publisher and editor: Saif-ul-Haq (formerly editor of the Koh-i-Nur).
Shahid	Amritsar	A Sikh paper working for Indian nationalism. Started in 1924. Publisher and printer: Thakar Singh.
Shakti	Rawalpindi	A paper advocating Hindu-Muslim unity. Started in 1924. Publisher and editor: Fateh Chand.
Shamsher-i-Khalsa	Amritsar	Press: Gobind Har Press, Amritsar. Editor: Atma Singh, Pardesi.
Shanti	Rawalpindi	An Arya Samaj paper. Press: Shanti Steam Press, Rawalpindi. Publisher and editor: Kishan Chand Mohan.

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Urdu

Sher-i-Babar	Lahore	A reform paper to defend Sikh symbols and <i>jhatka</i> . Proprietor: Bishan Singh.
Sher-i-Punjab	Lahore	A radical Sikh paper. Started in 1911. Editor: S. Amar Singh.
Shola-i-Tur	Kanpur	Publishers: Haidar Ali; Muhammad Ibrahim.
Shumali	Sialkot	Publisher: Pandit Salig Ram.
Sialkot Paper	Sialkot	A Hindu paper on social and moral subjects. Press: Mufid-i-Am Press; Sialkot Press; Indar Press, Sialkot. Publisher and editor: Todar Mal.
Sidaqat	Lahore	Press: Islamia Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Ghulam Haidar Khan.
Sikh Sudhar	Amritsar	A paper of the provincial Sikh Sudhar Committee, opposing the Akali Dal.
Singh Sahai Punjab Gazette	Amritsar	A paper for advancement of the Sikhs. Press: Singh Sahai Press. Proprietor and editor: Arjan Singh.
Singh Sahai	Amritsar	A paper advocating the cause of the Sikhs. Started in 1890. Press: Qanun-i-Hind Press. Proprietors: Bawa Narain Singh, Bawa Arjan Singh. Editors: Daulat Ram, Arjan Singh.
Siraj-ul-Akhbar	Jhelum	Publisher and editor: Maulvi Fakir Muhammad.
Siri Nursingjee Sahoy		---
Sirmur Gazette	Nahan	A Muslim paper supporting the Aligarh Muhammadan College and Muslim institutions. Press: State Press. Editor: Siraj-ud-Din Ahmad. Proprietor and editor: Munshi Saraj-ud-Din Ahmad.

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Urdu

Sitarah-i-Subah	Lahore	---
Siyasat	Lahore	Press: Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; Naqqash Press, Lahore. Editors: Habib Shah; Nur Muhammad Ishrat.
Subah	Lahore	Publisher: Hari Lal.
Swaraj	Lahore	Press: Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Shifat Ullah.
Tahzib-i-Niswan	Lahore	A Muslim journal for female education. Press: Rifah-i-Am Press; Panjabee Press, Lahore. Proprietor: Syad Mumtaz Ali. Publisher: Mrs. Mumtaz Ali. Editors: Mumtaz Ali; Saiyid Mumtaz Ali's daughter; Araf Jahan Begum.
Taj-ul-Akhbar	Rawalpindi	Press: Edgerton Press. Publishers: Narain Das; Jiwa Ram. Editors: Munshi Ram Sabhai; Kirpan Ram.
Tanzim	Amritsar	A paper for the Tanzim movement to organise Muslims in the propagation of Islam. Started in 1924 by Saifuddin Kitchlew.
Tohfa-i-Delhi	Delhi	---
Tuti-i-Hind	Meerut	Publisher: Sajjad Hussain.
Umballa Gazette/ Ambala Gazette	Ambala	Started in 1887. Press: Hari Prakash Press. Editors: Jaswant Singh; Harbans Rai.
Updeshak	Lahore	Press: Khabardar Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: Munshi Ram Sewak.
Urdu Bulletin	Lahore	A Hindu paper. Editor: Pandit Dina Nath.
Urdu/Oordoo Delhi Gazette	Agra	---

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Urdu

Vakil	Amritsar	Started in 1895 by Khan Ata Muhammad Khan. Press: Hamdard-i-Hind Press; Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar. Publishers: Ghulam Ahmad; Ghulam Muhammad; Abdul Aziz; Maulvi Abdulla; Muhammad Abdulla Minha. Editors: Maulvi Insha Alla Khan; Ghulam Muhammad; Maulvi Abdulla; Abdulla Minhas; Abdul Karim; Sharif Ahmad.
Vakil-i-Hindustan	Amritsar	---
Vedic Magazine	Lahore Urdu and English	A paper of Arya Samaj, Gurukul section. Press: Bombay Machine Press, Lahore. Publisher: Devi Chand. Editor: Ram Dev.
Victoria Paper	Sialkot	A Hindu paper. Press: Victoria Paper Press, Sialkot. Publishers: Gyan Chand; L. Brij Lal. Editors: R.B. Gyan Chand Puri; Brij Lal; Ganesh Das.
Vidya Vilas	Jammu	---
Virat	Gujranwala	A Hindu Paper. Press: Virat Press, Gujranwala. Editor: Barike Dial.
Wafadar/Akhbar	Lahore	Mouthpiece of the opponents to Sir Syad Ahmad Khan of Aligarh. Started in Delhi in 1880 and moved to Lahore. Press: Delhi Punch Press; Islamia Press. Publishers and editors: Maulvi Fazl-ud-Din; Karm Bakhsh.
Watan	Lahore	A Shia Muslim paper. Press: Hamdia Press; Islamia Steam Press; Cooperative Printing Press, Lahore. Publisher and editor: Muhammad Inshu-ullah.

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Urdu

Wazir-i-Hind	Sialkot	A paper supporting the administration of the Jammu State. Press: Wazir-i-Hind Press. Publisher and editor: Mirza Muwahid.
Wazir-ul-Mulk	Sialkot	Started in 1886. Proprietor and editor: Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.
Zamindar	Lahore; Karmabad, Gujranwala district	Organ of Muslim nationalism and the agricultural classes. Press: Hamdard-i-Hind Press, Lahore; Islamia Steam Press, Zamindar Press. Publishers: Siraj ud-Din Ahmad; Zafar Ali Khan; Raja Ghulam Qadir Khan. Editors: Siraj ud-Din; Zafar Ali Khan; Abdulla Amadi; Muhammad Ahmed Khan; Sharif Ahmad; Ghulam Rasmi.
Zarif-ul-Hind	Meerut	Press: Shagufa-i-Fais Press. Publishers: Sabit Ali and Amir Ali.
Ziafat Punch	Amritsar	Press: Matbakh Press, Amritsar. Editor: Husain Mir Kashmiri.
Zinda Dil	Jalandhar	Publisher: Mubarak Ali.
Zulfiqar	Lahore	A Shia Muslim paper. Press: Shamal Press, Lahore. Editor: S. Ahmad Shah Samahi.

English

Al-Bushra	Qadian, Gurdaspur	Press: Al-Bushra Press, Qadian. Editor: M.H. Khan.
Arya Messenger	Lahore	An organ of the Arya Samaj, Lahore. Publisher: Arya Samaj Anarkali. Editors: Bawa Chajju Singh; Gokal Chand; Kirpa Sagar.

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English

Arya Patrika	Lahore	A paper of vegetarian section of the Arya Samaj. Press: Punjab Printing Works. Publisher: Devi Chand. Editors: Arjan Singh; Lala Radha Kishan; R.P. Chatterji; Sudarshan.
Bulletin	Lahore	Publisher: K.R. Khosla. Editor: A.L. Roy.
Khalsa Advocate	Amritsar	Voice of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Started in 1903. Merged with <i>Khalsa</i> in 1923 and became <i>Khalsa te Khalsa Advocate</i> in Punjabi. Press: Wazir Hind Press; Tribune Press; Khalsa Press; Panthic Press, Amritsar. Publisher: Khalsa Advocate Committee. Editors: Bhal Hukam Singh; Dewa Singh; Bahadar Singh; Jodh Singh; Sundar Singh.
Lahore Chronicle	Lahore	Started in 1849. Editors: Munshi Muhammad Azim and Henry Cope.
Liberal	Lahore	Press: Liberal Press, Lahore. Editor: Jai Gopal Tandan.
Muslim Outlook	Lahore	Press: Rifah-i-Am Steam Press, Lahore. Editor: D.S. Bukhary.
Nation	Lahore	Press: Nation Newspapers Ltd. Press, Lahore. Editors: G. Singh; S. Mohinder Singh.
New Herald	Lahore	A paper opposing the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Editor: Sardul Singh.
Observer	Lahore	Started by Khwajah Ahad Shah. Press: Observer Press. Publishers: Khwaja Ahad Shah; Maula Bakhsh. Editors: Shaikh Abdul Kadir; Barkat Ali; Sheikh Abdul Aziz; Abdul Rashid; Nizam-ud-din.

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English

Panjabee	Lahore	A Hindu nationalist paper. Press: Diwan Printing Works, Lahore. Publishers: Jaswant Rai; Ratan Chand; Mul Chand; R.S. Lachhman Parshad. Editors: K.N. Roy; S.K Lahiri.
Punjab Chronicle	Gujranwala; Multan, Lahore	Press: Silver Printing Press, Lahore. Editor: J.A. Gillan. Publisher: M. Bakal & Sons.
Punjab Observer	Lahore	Started by Khawaja Ahmad Shah. Press: Punjab Observer Press. Editor: Sheikh Abdul Qadir.
Sikh	Lahore	Press: Caxton Printing Press, Lahore. Editor: Bakhshish Singh.
Sikh Review	Delhi	A Sikh paper started by Sardul Singh Kavishar in Delhi in 1914. Editor: Sardul Singh Kavishar
Sikhs and Sikhism	Gujranwala, Lahore	A Sikh paper opposing Arya Samaj. Started in 1903. Press: Mercantile Press, Lahore; Union Steam Press. Proprietor and editor: Bhai Sohan Singh.
Tribune	Lahore	Started in 1880 by Dyal Singh Majithia. Press: Tribune Printing Works, Lahore. Publishers: Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia; Trustees J.C. Bose, Charles Golak Nath, and Har Kishan Lal. Editors: Sital Kanta Chatterji, A.N. Gupta, Babu Nand Gopal, Babu Amrita Lal; Mal Chand; Bihari Lal; Kalinath Ray.

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Punjabi

Akali	Lahore	A Sikh paper. Started in 1920 by Mangal Singh and Teja Singh. Merged with <i>Pardesi</i> in 1922. Press: People's Press, Lahore. Editor: Mangal Singh.
Akali-te-Pardesi	Amritsar	An organ of the Akali movement, merging the paper <i>Akali</i> and <i>Pardesi</i> . Press: Onkar Press, Amritsar. Editors: Kartar Singh Akali; Hari Singh Akali; Sardar Singh Akali.
Azad Bhain	Rawalpindi	A periodical for women with political news. Started in 1923. Press: Lakshmi Art Steam Press, Rawalpindi. Editor: Sundar Singh.
Babar Sher	Amritsar	A Sikh paper supporting the gurdwara reform movement. Started in 1923. Press: Azad Khalsa Pardesi Press; Akali Press, Amritsar; Punjab Khalsa Press, Amritsar. Editors: Lakshman Singh; Gurbachan Singh Akali.
Bar	Lyalpur	A paper for agrarian news and the Sikh religion. Operated in 1907. Editor: Kirpal Singh.
Bir/Vir	Amritsar	A paper supporting the Sikh reform movement. Started in 1910. Press: Sri Gurmat Press, Amritsar; Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar. Publisher: Mahtab Singh. Editors: Lakhbir Singh; Mahtab Singh; Budh Singh.
Chakravarti	Lahore	---
Civil and Military Akhbar	Quetta	---

*(cont.)***Punjabi**

Daler Akali	Amritsar	Press: Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar. Editor: Budha Singh
Desh Sewak	Jullundur	A paper supporting the congress, the Sikh League, and the SGPC. Started in 1923. Press: Khalsa National Press, Jalandhar. Editors: Prem Singh; Jawala Singh.
Gargaj Akali	Amritsar	An Akali paper advocating the cause of Gurdwara reform movement. Started in 1922. Press: Akal Press, Amritsar. Editor: Sardara Singh.
Gurmukhi Akhbar	Amritsar	Organ of the Sikh Singh Sabha Lahore. Started in 1880. Publishers: Gurmukh Singh; Harsa Singh; Dharm Singh; Lahna Singh; Antar Singh; Jhanda Singh; Diwan Buta Singh. Editors: Gurmukh Singh; Harsa Singh; Antar Singh.
Guru Nanak Darshan	Amritsar	Press: Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar. Editor: Sant Sumer Singh.
Gyan	Amritsar	A Sikh paper focusing on religious and cultural issues. Editor: Jewan Singh.
Gyani	Lahore	An organ of the Sikhs. Press: Law Printing Press, Lahore. Editor: Satnam Singh.
Jathedar	Amritsar	Started to espouse the cause of Akalis. Press: Guru Khalsa Press, Amritsar. Editor: S.S. Charan Singh.
Khalsa	Amritsar/ Lahore	A moderate organ of the Sikhs. Press: Panthic Press, Amritsar. Editors: Jodh Singh; Bagh Singh.

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Punjabi

Khalsa Akhbar	Lahore	Organ of the Lahore Singh Sabha. Started in 1886. Press: Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Press; Khalsa Press. Publisher: Lahore Singh Sabha, Lahore Khalsa Diwan. Editors: Bhai Jhanda Singh; Bhai Gurmukh Singh; Bhai Ditt Singh; Bhai Maya Singh.
Khalsa Gazette	Lahore Urdu, later Panjabi	A Sikh paper. Started in 1884. Press: Sri Akal Press. Editors: Bhai Maya Singh; Dyal Singh; Basant Singh.
Khalsa Samachar	Amritsar	A Sikh paper supporting the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Started in 1899. Press: Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar. Publishers: Wazir Singh; Bhai Vir Singh; Bahadur Singh. Editors: Bahadur Singh; Bhai Vir Singh, Sewa Singh.
Khalsa Sewak	Amritsar	A Sikh paper reporting of Singh Sabhas and the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Started in 1903. Press: Amar Press; Chasma-i-Nur Press; Khalsa Sewak Press. Publisher and editor: Jiwan Singh.
Khalsa Te Khalsa Advocate	Amritsar	A Sikh paper. Started in 1923 when <i>Khalsa</i> and <i>Khalsa Advocate</i> merged.
Kirpan Bahadur	Amritsar	An organ for Sikh Akalis. Started in 1922. Press: Sri Gurmat Press, Amritsar; Punjab Khalsa Press, Amritsar; Akali Press, Amritsar. Editors: Jiwan Singh Sewak; Brahm Singh; Harnam Singh; Gurbachan Singh Akali.
Kuka	Lahore	Press: Partap Hari Press, Lahore. Editor: Nirankar Singh Chetan

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Punjabi

Namdev pattar	Lahore	Publisher: Khushal Singh. Editor: Khazan Singh.
Nau Ratan/ Naurattan	Amritsar	A Sikh paper on medical news. Started in 1908. Press: Sri Gurmat Press, Amritsar. Proprietor: Lahore Singh. Editor: Teja Singh.
Nirol Khalsa		A Sikh paper with radical political views. Editor: Lakha Singh.
Panch	Lahore, Amritsar	Press: Model Electric Press, Lahore; Lakhbir Hari Press, Amritsar; People's Press, Lahore. Editors: Ram Singh; Matab Singh Bir.
Panth Sewak	Lahore	An organ of the Young Sikh Party, opposing the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Started in 1913. Press: Universal Printing press, Lahore; Sardar Press, Amritsar. Publisher and editor: Chanda Singh.
Pardesi Khalsa	Amritsar	Started in 1922 by Master Tara Singh and merged with <i>Akali</i> the same year to become <i>Akali Te Pardesi</i> . Press: Onkar Press, Amritsar. Editor: Sher Singh.
Prem Pritam	Ferozepur Montgomery	Publisher: Prem Singh. A Sikh paper advocating national freedom. Started in 1923. Press: Guru Khalsa Press, Amritsar. Publisher: Gurbakhsh Singh.
Punjab Darpan	Amritsar	A moderate Sikh paper addressing broader readership. Started in 1885. Press: Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar. Publisher: Sucha Singh. Editors: Sucha Singh; Rattan Singh Azad; Harnam Singh Akali; Rattan Singh Azad.
Panjabi Surma	Lahore	Publisher: Dharm Dev. Editor: P. Munshi Ram.

*(cont.)***Punjabi**

Quami Dard		A Sikh paper with political views. Editor: Jabarjang Singh.
Ranjit	Lahore	A paper against the Akali movement. Started in 1920. Press: Caxton Printing Works, Lahore. Editors: Sohan Singh; Gurbakhsh Singh Kesari.
Sachcha/Sacha Dhandora	Lyallpur	A Sikh paper dealing with politics. Publisher: Hardit Singh
Sansar	Amritsar	Press: Panth Sevak Press, Amritsar. Editor: Thakar Singh.
Sant Samachar	Amritsar	Press: Sri Chandar Press, Amritsar. Editor: Ram Sarup.
Satjog	Lahore	An organ of the Namdhari Sikhs. Started in 1920. Press: Partap Hari Press, Lahore. Editors: Nidhan Singh Alam; Nirankar Singh Chetan.
Shahid	Amritsar, Lahore	Started in 1914. Press: Sewak Steam Press. Editor and publisher: Charan Singh.
Sikh Sepoy/Sikh Sipahi	Ferozepur	A journal with military recruitment news. Started in 1917. Press: Upper India Printing Works, Ferozepur. Publisher: Sikh Recruiting Committee, Ferozepur. Editor: Tek Singh.
Singh Sabha Gazette	Amritsar	A paper supporting the Singh Sabha movement. Operated in 1893. Press: Chasma-i-Nur Press. Publishers: Lahora Singh; Natha Singh; Nar Singh Das; Darbara Singh. Editor: Lahora Singh.
Vidya	Amritsar	A Sikh paper. Press: Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar. Editor: Naurang Singh.

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Punjabi

Vishkarma	Amritsar	A paper urging technical education among young Sikhs. Press: Gurmat Press, Amritsar. Publisher: Viskarma Committee of Ashraf Husen; Lal Singh: Gul Muhammad the Ramgarhia Sabha, Amritsar.
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Urdu and Punjabi

Khalsa College Gazette	Amritsar	---
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Hindi

Akash Vani/Akash Bani	Lahore	Press: Virjanand Press, Lahore. Editor: Jagat Narain.
Almora Akhbar	Almora	Publisher: Sada Nand.
Arya Darpan	Shahjahanpur	Press: Arya Darpan Press. Editor: Munshi Bhaktawar Singh.
Arya Mitra	Benares	Publisher: Babu Bhut Nath.
Bharat Jivan	Benares	Publisher: Ram Krishn Varma.
Darpan	Lahore	Press: Bande Materam Steam Press, Lahore; Public Printing Press, Lahore; Law Printing Press, Lahore; Darpan Printing Press, Lahore. Editors: Mulk Raj; Mohan Lal Bhatnagar.
Hindi Pradip	Allahabad	A paper for Hindu reform. Editor: Balkrishna Batta.
Jaipur Gazette	Jaipur	Publishers: D. Benjamin; Mohendar Nath Sen; Mahabir Prasad. Hindi-Urdu and Hindi-English from 1880.
Kashi Patrika	Benares	Publishers: Baleshwar Prasad; Lakshmi Shankar.
Kavi Vachan Sudha	Benares	A paper for Hindu revivalism. Publisher: Chintamani Rao.
Marwar Gazette	Jodhpur	Publisher: Gobardhan Das.

(cont.)

Hindi

Mitra/Mitr Vilas	Lahore	A paper for affairs of Kashmir. Press: Mitra Vilas Press. Publishers: Mukund Ram; Govind Sahai. Editors: Mokand Ram; Pandit Kanhya Lal; Gobind Sahai.
Prabhat	Lahore	Editor: Yagya Dat. Publisher: Charan Das.

Marathi

Malwa Akhbar	Indore	Started in 1849. Publisher: Ram Krishna Hari.
Nyaya Sudha	Harda	Press: Nyaya Sudha Press, Harda.
Subodh Sindhu	Khandwa	Press: Subodh Sindhu. Publisher: Lakshman Anant.
Vrit-Dhara/ Vritta Dhara	Dhar	Publisher: Hari Bhaskar.

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After the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the colonial administration in British India introduced stricter control over Indian publishers and the press printed in various indigenous languages. Newspapers in the Punjab were monitored and scrutinized from 1864 to understand “native opinions” and identify seditious tendencies. The surveillance resulted in extensive weekly press reports that were considered politically significant for British governance. This book, divided into four volumes, presents the first English translations of newspaper articles about the Sikhs published in the weekly press reports for Punjab between 1864 and 1924. Covering press material from over 300 newspapers, the book provides insights into the broader landscape of print media in Indian languages and how discussions on the Sikhs in the press evolved in response to changing imperial policies and politics. In a growing field of research on print cultures and publics in colonial India, the book offers unique source material for a nuanced and localized understanding of the history of the Sikhs in Punjab. The book is invaluable to scholars and students of history, Punjabi society, religion, and politics. This is volume 4 of a 4-volume set.

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