

A Critical Study Of Sikh Journalism
Before Independence

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Submitted by :
AJIT KANWAL SINGH



Department of Guru Nanak Sikh Studies
Panjab University, Chandigarh

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Ajit Kanwal Singh

(Ajit Kanwal Singh)

Introduction

In this thesis, efforts have been made to have a critical assessment of the Sikh journalism. The Sikh news papers, periodicals published up to 1947 have been duly taken into consideration to achieve the desired end. This study spans over about 70 years of the Sikh journalism. The news papers published exclusively in Punjabi alone have been taken up. The journalism of this phase, which has to-date been known as the Panjabi Journalism has, in fact, proved to be Sikh journalism. Sincere efforts have been made not only to ascertain the influence of various religious, social and political movements on the Sikh journalism, but also the impact of this journalism on the furtherance of these movements.

Efforts have been made to complete this research work by making references to the useful material available in various contemporary Punjabi papers. It is matter of regret that many newspapers and magazines got lost to us since no serious efforts were ever made to preserve them. Even then, the requisite material was collected depending upon its availability. There is every likelihood that, while discussing some events or situations, there might be observed the absence of references

to certain events that occurred during this period, since the required newspapers touching upon those events could not be traced. In order to compensate for this loss the researcher has tried to dwell upon other newspapers which were published a bit later, but took due cognizance of those events. This was the major difficulty which was faced at several stages in accomplishing this task.

Under the influence of different contemporary movements, several ideological transformations took place in the Sikh journalism. If it took up the cause of preaching religion under the influence of various Sikh religious movements, then at later stage, it predominantly talked about political reforms, under the influence of political movement. However, the Sikh press ever remained alive to its sacred duty to preach the Sikh tenents and to work for the much needed social reform.

Keeping in view the religious, social and political aspects, this research work has been divided into four main chapters. The first chapter deals with the aims and scope of journalism. Side by side, the Sikh journalism and the various movements rooted in Punjab have also been taken up for discussion. In this chapter, the papers published in Gurmukhi script, which were invariably active in the propagation of the Sikh faith have also been dealt with. However this chapter only touches upon the history of the Sikh journalism of this period. While talking about the religious movements

in Punjab, reference has been made to all the Hindu, the Muslim, and the Sikh movements, which sprang up during this period, in order to propagate their respective faiths. An attempt has also been made to assess the influence of these movements on the Sikh journalism.

In the second chapter, the efforts made by the Sikh press to propagate the Sikh faith is the subject matter of the study. The steps taken by the Sikh press for this purpose have further been divided into four sections. The first section deals with the attitude of the Sikh press towards religious evils. The second section refers to the role of the Sikh journalism in the polemics between Sikhism and other religions. The third section tries to spotlight various other efforts made by it (the Sikh press) for the propagation of the faith. The fourth section of this chapter exhaustively deals with the awareness and active participation of the Sikh press in the religious affairs of the Sikhs. An assessment of the contribution made by the Sikh journalism towards different agitations started under the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement' has also been made in this chapter.

The third chapter deals with the work done by the Sikh press for bringing about Social Reforms. The movement it launched for the eradication of caste system, for the upliftment of the status of women, for the reforms in marriage system and against the use of intoxicants in the society,

etc., has also been commented upon; especially because these evils were mainly responsible for social degeneration. The Sikh journalism propagated for the establishment of a social order in which the values of human quality and brotherhood would prevail. The press successfully brought into limelight the loss the community had to suffer as a result of these evils. All this has been treated in this third chapter.

The fourth and the final chapter makes a critical study of the contribution made by Sikh journalism in the political sphere. The 'Akali' and the 'Babbar Akali' were two prominent movements of the Sikhs. Similarly, the 'Ghadr Movement' has also been proved and discussed as a Sikh movement. The journalism founded or established under the impact of this movement has also been proved to be the Sikh journalism. It also deals with the Nehru Report and the communal phase that followed, which brought about certain changes in the attitude of the Sikh journalism. The conditions under which the freedom struggle was launched by the Sikh community and the circumstances which later obliged the Sikhs to become communal like other communities, also forms the subject matter of this chapter. Mutual rivalry and the disunity of the Sikh news papers and the consequent harmful effects on the community are also underlined in this chapter.

The research works done so far in the field of Punjabi journalism are mainly related to the origin and history of newspapers. But in this study, the Punjabi journalism before 1947 has been proved for the first time to be Sikh journalism. Moreover, a study has been made to show its contribution in the social, religious and political fields. While translating excerpts from newspapers and magazines in Punjabi, an attempt has been made to remain, as far as possible, closer to the spirit of the original text. In the references given at the end of each chapter, the extract of news, articles and other essays in newspapers have been presented as originally they were.

Ajit Kanwal Singh.

Chapter I

Journalism and Sikh Journalism

Journalism: Definition, Area and Possibilities

Religion and Journalism

Sikh Journalism : Principles and Survey

Sikh Journalism and Religious Movements of the Punjab

- i) Brahma Samaj
- ii) Arya Samaj
- iii) Dev Samaj
- iv) Jamait-i-Ahmiadiya
- v) Nirankari Movement
- vi) Kuka Movement
- vii) Singh Sabha Movement
- viii) Gurdwara Reforms Movement

Journalism and Sikh Journalism

Journalism: Definition, Area and Possibilities

The art of communicating news and their reviews to a wider section of people is called Journalism.¹ In fact, this art is inherent in every man. 'The art of journalism is the result of natural curiosity and social awareness of man.'² That is why man cannot retain his existence apart from his surroundings. The secret of his existence lies in the surroundings, in which he acts and reacts. Since time immemorial, man has been keen to know about the happenings taking place around him. As soon as man becomes aware of his own self, he feels interested in the people around him.

The story of journalism is rather long. If one end of it is in our hands today, then the other will be in the hands of those people who had not yet learnt how to speak and even how to walk on this earth. This other end connects the story of journalism to those shrieks and cries which might have come from these people as an expression of their feelings of joy and sorrow. The journalism, in one way, evolved itself from mere gestures to convey ideas and stories in language. This obliged man to come out with certain new and novel devices

to keep alive those ideas, thoughts and stories. Since oral tradition could not afford to live long, and sometimes there very nature underwent a drastic change with the passage of time, the Emperors started the tradition of inscriptions on stones with a view to convey their decrees to the people, in every nook and corner of their regime. The written language took the art of journalism much ahead. With the invention of paper, there came a new turn in the history of journalism. The invention of lithography brought a sea-change in the communication of news and in the field of journalism. Earlier, certain news took weeks or even months together to reach its destination. It is because it was to be conveyed through pigeons, horses or carries but with its advent news began to reach the people daily and even many times a day.³ In this way journalism is closely related to human life, and later earned the position of being called the fourth estate. In the modern age of democracy, journalism (new papers) has played a very significant role in making the power of the people forceful and pervasive.⁴

The domain of journalism has always been the welfare of the masses. Journalism took the support of truth for the realization of this aim. Journalism has always demanded right thinking from the people working in this field, because this is the sole medium to spread the light of truth, after winning the hearts of the people. With the development of science today, the field of journalism has become so wide

that sky seems the limit.⁵ That is why the means adopted today for acquiring knowledge are mainly the newspapers. So the first priority of journalism is to inform the society about what the other do, think and feel. In this context, Nelson Crowford says:

"The primary function of Newspaper (Journalism) is to communicate to the human race. What its member do, feel and think."⁶

Another scholar also says in this context:

"The first function of the newspaper is to inform to tell its public what people see, feel, think, do to spread the truth about what has happened or may hapen."⁷

In this way, one thing becomes clear that journalism dedicated itself to the cause of social welfare and to bind the mankind as a whole in one thread. In other words, we can say that the aims of newspapers are to convey news from different places and regions, comment on those items of news and to guide the public opinion on important matters. About the nature and formation of news, which enjoys a place of prominence in journalism, M.V. Kamath says:

"News has no geographic boundaries,
News is always revealing,
News is what interests people."⁸

News papers not only bring to us new knowledge but they have also been increasing their hold on our life. They have also an important role to play in moulding our ideas.

Thus, they influence our thinking unconsciously.

Another important aspect of Journalism is editorial, which has been acknowledged as the mirror of the editor's intellect and vision. Editorial means commenting on any important news, or some important policy or programme. The point of importance is how the editor takes the news, which he selects for his comment. Ordinary man accepts the editorial comment in the newspaper, and makes it the basis of his own way of thinking. That means, the editor's bent of mind proves to be a milestone in the development of the society. The editor can mould the society in a better or worse manner, in accordance with his line of thinking. Good journalism demands competent editorial or the constructive approach of the editor. According to Nelson Antrin Crawford:

"Journalism demands of its practitioners the widest range of intelligence of knowledge, and of experience as well as natural and trained power of observation and reasoning."⁹

Truth is the basis of journalism.¹⁰ Falsehood misleads man and takes him astray. Journalism is an art which reflects all evils in the society. It also tries to root out such evils and build a new social order. Therefore, falsehood, treachery and fraud, in journalism make it muddy. In fact, "the five elements of sincerity, truth, correctness, harmony and decency act as a code of conduct for it."¹¹ Its object has to be the representation of truth and correctness.

Talking about the element of truth among the journalists, Nelson Antrin Crawford says:

"The foundation stone of the profession of journalism is truth. Unwavering adherence to what so ever things are true, what so ever things are honest, must be the constant aim of men and women who publish news paper."¹²

It is a hard fact that journalism plays a more important role than any other social institution in the making or moulding of humanity. Thus, a journalist does a very constructive work, keeping in view the social interests. A true and correct presentation of matters is real journalism. Rajagopala Ayyangar who served as a Judge of the Supreme Court and as the Chairman of the Press Council remarks:

"I conceive it (Journalism) as a medium for dissemination of correct news on every topic of public interest, without any suppression, distortion, or slant, without exaggeration and without vulgar sensationalism in presentation, in which selection of news and featuring will be governed by consideration not merely of conveying information of importance but of news at once educative and conducive to promoting national solidarity and cohesion, acting with a sense of proportion, not dramatising little events particularly emphasis on those possess such values."¹³

Journalism succeeds in winning over the confidence of the people, only when it keeps the general interest of the masses in view. It can never establish a stable rapport with the reader nor can it win the confidence of the reader, if self-interest gains precedence in it. Winning the confidence of the reader is indicative of good journalism, and this is

possible only if the general interests of the masses are kept in view,

"The right of the newspaper to attract and hold readers is restricted by nothing but consideration of public welfare. The use a newspaper makes of the share of public attention it gains serves to determine its sense of responsibility with it shares with every member of its staff. A Journalist who use his power for any selfish or otherwise unworth purpose is faithless to a high trust."¹⁴

The more popular a newspaper or periodical becomes, the more is its responsibility. That is why a paper or journalist who uses his power for his own selfish interest or any other anti-social or unfair purpose commits treachery towards this high ideal. Such journalism cannot be called good journalism.

Rajgopala Ayyangar says:

"My conception of a healthy press (journalism) is one which is not tool of propoganda but a medium for conveying correct information and offers guidance imparted through education."¹⁵

In the field of journalism, it is necessary that a journalist should endeavour to repay the debt he owes to good journalism. A journalist must be a man of vision and good cultural background so as to efficiently discharge his duties. Among the qualities needed in a competent editor are multi-dimensional knowledge, sharp intellect, sobriety and consciousness of his own responsibilities. He must be able to form a correct opinion and then to express that opinion without any fear or favour.

'Today, press is the most powerful and dynamic weapon

to effect any social or political change. It is a part of the public opinion and a protector of the rights and freedom of the people. Newspapers are the most sensitive and latest bombs of the modern age. They are also the angels of peace, progress and human welfare.¹⁶ That is why journalism has so widened its field that there is no aspect in the world which might not have been commented upon by it. It is the intellectual development of the masses that has helped it to reach this stage of development. Today, there are 32 countries in the world where 300-350 people after every 1000 subscribe to newspapers, and newspaper reaches every home.¹⁷ In a country like Japan, journalism has so widened its sphere that every member of a family in that country buys a newspaper of his or her own choice.

Asia has the highest number of daily newspapers, amounting to 4128. It is followed by North America (2200) and Europe (1825). Among the countries, the first place is that of China (1908), followed by America (1761), West Germany (1093) and India (793). North America tops in the publication of weekly, fortnightly and monthly papers (11799). These figures are only meant to convey the idea that journalism has taken every individual of the world today in its grip. Today, newspaper has become a part and parcel of the daily life of the common man in every country.

In the modern context, the meaning of journalism has drastically changed. As a result of the new inventions in

the word today, journalism has also been industrialized. New subjects have, no doubt, widened its sphere and area of work, but its fundamental principle--truth still stands intact. It is equally correct that individual interests and political modes sometimes put it on the wrong track, but it never implies that, in modern times its meaning has conveniently been changed to falsehood and treachery.

There can be found many examples in the world to impress upon the fact that journalism has brought about several social, religious and political changes, keeping in view the general interests of the masses of that period.

Religion and Journalism:

The word religion means faith, religiosity, human interest, ultimate truth, individual experience of the existence of God, faith in the Divine entity etc.¹⁸ This meaning of the word 'religion' is God-oriented. Most of the religions of the world, including Hinduism, Christianity, Islam and Sikhism believe in the existence of God.

The natural inclination in man to know himself and his surroundings and to establish a rapport with it, gave birth to several questions. Religion was born out of the efforts to find answers to these questions. Everything in this temporal world was imagined to be transient, and God was accepted as an everlasting truth. These views expressed with the help of different concepts took the shape of

different religions. Man had certainly imagined such a Great Being in whose presence man is totally weak and helpless. Man sought the support of this Being in every hour of his crisis and in anticipation of this support, he felt the agony of worldly ills slightly less. In this way, religion was born of a concept which prompted man to consider some Super-power guiding and controlling his destiny. He considered himself before that power very weak and sought its help.

The sphere of religion comprises of the discovery/realization of the truth about the Ultimate Reality, anxiety to establish its relationship with man and the universe, and the wish to realize it or to merge with it.¹⁹ When the ideas pertaining to the realization of God and to merge with Him were established, it was absolutely natural to communicate this knowledge to the maximum number of people and, thereby, try to work for the welfare of mankind. 'We acknowledge that the art of journalism is the result of man's natural anxiety and social awareness.'²⁰ Therefore, it will not be out of place to mention here that journalism also developed alongwith the development of man's idea of religion, of course, the nature of journalism then was not as it is today. This art lay in man in its dormant form. Religious discourses by rishis and munis in their congregations gives a clear indication of this fact. The production of the Vedas was also a step in this direction. The inscription of ethical code, with religious sanction behind, on stone, copper, etc.,

also reflects the entry of journalism in the domain of religion. It was a result of these efforts that the ideas of the Buddhism were accepted throughout Asia, and that this cult had its full sway for more than 1000 years in this region. Thus, it becomes evident that journalism can play a vital role in spreading religion and religious ideas.

Science made a lot of progress and invented things like paper, printing press, etc. These things were made use of in the field of religion as in other fields. In the history of Indian Journalism, we get the impression that the English missionaries brought out newspapers for spreading Christianity. During this period, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all brought out newspaper for the propagation of their respective faiths. 'The publication of a Punjabi translation of the Bible by English missionaries in 1811, marked the beginning of Punjabi Press.'²¹ The Singh Sabha movement started in 1873 also sponsored a paper named 'Gurmukhi' (1880), with the aim of reviving faith and devotion of the Sikhs in Sikhism and making them aware of their proud heritage, so that the values the Sikhism stood for, could be reinstated and the evils that had crept in the Sikh way of life be eliminated. These papers did succeed, to some extent, in their objective.²² This leaves us in no doubt about the contribution and success of journalism in the religious sphere.

It is pertinent to say that journalism has deeply

affected the field of religion. It is journalism that communicate essays, stories and other writings about religion to the masses. The aim of all religions the world over is to improve upon human life. All of them preach peace and harmony. Love, pity, friendship, purity and justice are among the common qualities of all religions. They all want man's freedom from all agony after the realization of God. All religions are one on the point that the Ultimate Reality is One and that is indescribable. 'The existence or non-existence of God are human concepts, but there are no different conjectures about the Ultimate Reality.'²³ This Reality is the base of religion and progress of the religion is linked with the spread of this truth. 'When man assimilates truth in himself, only then he gets the knowledge of religion.'²⁴ Journalism has also acquired these very qualities and taken upon itself the task of human welfare by regarding Truth as its fundamental principle. In the field of journalism truth has come out as an element which links it directly with religion. It is also true that journalism was also misused by some selfish people for their vested interests, just as religion had at times been exploited by some selfish people for their ends. Since it was contrary to the path shown by truth. Such greedy monsters could not be fool the masses for long, and they were unceremoniously discarded sooner or later.

To grant man the ability to distinguish between good

and evil is the contribution that religion made. Although much development has taken place in the field of journalism, yet the journalist test every idea against the ethical code and then makes a distinction between good and evil. These ethical values of the journalist are the result of his religious training. The idea successfully tested against such an ethical code always proves helpful for human welfare. For journalism, society does not constitute only the rich and the high, but it also comprises the low and the poor. Therefore, journalism, does not follow an ideology which might lead to the happiness of the selected few and cause agony to the helpless poor masses. Journalism makes every anti-social idea or policy the butt of its sharp criticism and reveals all aspects of it to the people so that the truth comes out. Religion also stands by this line of thinking. Religion not only gives man truthful thinking but also enables man to fight bravely against every possible atrocity. Journalism also expects the same truthful thinking and boldness from the adherents of this profession, so that it could also stand against the wrong policies of the powerful feudal and capitalist forces.

Many new subjects have become a part and parcel of journalism today. Therefore, when we talk of religion and journalism, it seems only appropriate to use the word 'religious journalism'. However it was not so, earlier. The sphere of journalism was limited then. The subjects it

dealt with were also few. Journalism was more used for the development of religion. For example, the English brought out papers and pamphlets for the spread of their religion. Similarly, some other communities also adopted journalism with the aim of propagating their respective religions. As we have already said, the Sikh journalism began as a means of propagating religion. In fact, both religion and journalism had become so intertwined with each other that it became impossible to think of one without of the other. Religion makes certain rules for man. Following those rules, a journalist so directs journalism that where ever and whenever he finds something wrong or not righteous, he tries to give the right direction according to his religious ideas. In this way, the religion and righteousness spread. Another point that needs clarification here is that the definition of journalism has changed today. The main object of the papers today, like any other industry, is to survive, and for this purpose they are adopting many unfair means.

If we consider religion and journalism from the perspective of their obligation towards society, we can define their relations better. What does religion give to the society ? What is it that journalism shares with the society ? The answers to these questions determine their inter-relationship. We can easily establish the mutual relationship between religion and society, and can say easily

that religion determines its field of activity for the development of society. It is also not very difficult to show the mutual relationship between the society and journalism. Newspaper bind the entire mankind with one another, serve as the mouthpic of humanity and also make it aware of its real power. Journalism makes different social, political and religious movements aware of reality and makes them march ahead on the path of progress. Thus, both religion and journalism begin with the aim of human welfare. So the sphere of work is the same for both. Religion establishes human values and rights. Journalism defends these values and rights. In both the cases, the spirit of human welfare is quite obvious.

Sikh Journalism: Principles and Survey:

From Sikh Journalism we mean that journalism which took up the cudgels for spread Sikhism and to protect the rights of the Sikhs. Asking for the betterment of all and working the welfare of entire humanity are two such elements in Sikhism as uplift the Sikh Journalism from any communal or periodical level to the level where it seeks the universal welfare.²⁵ 'The origin of Punjabi Journalism lies in the Singh Sabha movement.'²⁶ It was essentially a religious movement which adopted journalism only for the purpose of propagating their faith. So the journalism started in Punjabi, in this era, was the Sikh journalism. In Punjabi newspapers, the aim of propagating Sikh tenets

was ever kept in forefront. So much so that every newspaper in Punjabi bore at the top of its front page the sacred words 'Ik Oankar Sategur Prasad:'²⁷ (God is one: the True the Creator, can be realized with the grace of Guru). Verses from 'Shri Guru Granth Sahib' were often quoted to illustrate the aim of a newspaper. For example, the 'Khalsa Samachar' began with the words:

"Ik Oankar Sri Wahiguru Ji Ki Fateh."

"Ham Ih Kaj Ga-Jat Mo Ae Dharam Het Gurdev Pathae."²⁸
(God is one: Victory be to the supreme Lord
I came into this world for promoting righteousness)

The 'Kaumi Kirpan Bahadur' used to have the following words at its top:

"Ik oankar, wahiguru ji ki fateh
hasti Sehe jiu anksu hai ahiran jiu Siru dei,
tan-man oage rakh-kai ubhi sev karei."²⁹

Similarly, the 'Panth Sevak' reiterated its social concern in the following words:

"Vich dunia sev kamaiai ta dargah baisan paiai"³⁰
(Serve mankind in this world, only then can
you deserve a place in the Divine Court)

Although the non-Sikh Punjabi might term it communal yet it can be said that the Punjabi Journalism in its nascent days can well be called the Sikh journalism. This acknowledgement is also true because all those journalists who endeavoured for the flourishing of that journalism were all Sikhs.

All of them had full faith in the Sikh tenets, and acknowledged the scripture as their Guru Eternal. Among them can be mentioned, especially, the names of Bhai Gurmukh Singh (Oriental College), Giani Jhanda Singh (Faridkut), Baba Khem Singh Bedi, Bhai Lahina Singh, Giani Dit Singh, Bhai Avtar Singh, Sardar Basant Singh, Dr. Charan Singh, Babu Rajinder Singh, Bhai Lahora Singh and Bhai Mayya Singh. The newspaper were also so named that their link with Sikhism became rather obvious. Among the papers started in Punjabi, during this period, can be counted Gurmukhi Akhbar, Khalsa Akhbar, Khalsa Prakashak, Gurmat Prakash, Singh Sabha Gazette, Lyall Khalsa Gazette, Sat Dharam Gazttte, Khalsa Samachar, Dharam Prachar, Khalsa Naujawan Bahadur etc. All these papers aimed at the propogatoon of Sikhism. Propounding of Sikh tenets, religious discussions and polemics were the prominent topics in these papers.

Lala Dhani Ram Chatrik was the only non-Sikh who happened to edite a Panjabi newspaper 'Khalsa Samachar,' for a short while after the death (in 1910) of Dr. Charan Singh.³¹ There was no other example available before that. Also we fail to find any evidence to suggest the name of a non-Sikh Punjabi who might have made some contribution to the Punjabi papers, in their social and religious cause. It becomes obvious, therefore, that journalism in Punjabi was the out come of endeavour only made by the Sikhs, and the propagation of Sikh tenets was its sole aim. To call

it Sikh journalism is a hard fact and it is, in fact, an honour for the Sikh world. Another important point is that Panjabi was then considered the language of the uncivilized rustics. These sikh papers struggled for Punjabi language and the Gurmukhi script. They earned for Punjabi a place which we now so feel proud of.

The Hindus have always opposed the Gurmukhi script. Even after the achievement of independence, when Hindi became the link-language and Punjabi in Gurmukhi script became the official language of Pepsu, the Arya Samajists protested against it. 'Hindi is endangered if the teaching of Punjabi becomes compulsory,'-- this served as a pretext to launch a 'morcha' for the protection of Hindi. In this connection, an organization by the name of 'Hindi Raksha Samiti' was formed which incited the Hindus to boycott the study of Gurmukhi.³² The Sikhs were thus compelled to seek a separate region within the Indian state, on the basis of language and religion. The demand for 'Punjabi Suba' was an effort at keeping the Punjabi language alive because there cropped up a fear that the Hindus would assimilate Punjabi in Hindi.³³ Almost the same kind of thinking had prevailed before independence. 'By the end of nineteenth century, as a result of the mutual bickering between the 'Singh Sabha' and the 'Arya Samaj', Punjabi journalism had come to be identified with Sikhs and Hindi journalism with Hindus.³⁴ At the time of Census, Punjabi Hindus who lived in Punjab and spoke

Punjabi at home were impressed upon to give 'Hindi' -- instead of 'Punjabi', as their mother tongue. For this purpose, various organisations of Hindus in Punjab formed volunteer groups in large number. These volunteers impressed upon Punjabis to register themselves as Hindus and record 'Hindi' their mother tongue.³⁵ Even Sahijdhari Sikhs were also taken in for same time. The Panjabi papers deeply resented this move. It was natural under these circumstances that Punjabi language became as much alienated from the Hindus as it became attached to the Sikhs. Generally, Punjabi papers propagated the adoption of Gurmukhi script and Punjabi language, asserting that it is an essential pre-requisite for the spread of Sikhism, for example,

"O Panth! if you lose your Punjabi language and Gurmukhi Script the result will be that after some centuries people will see their traces alone."³⁶

Inspite of all this, the Sikh journalism never moulded itself in a communal or parochial manner. They always identified communal gain or loss with the national gain or loss. The 'Fateh,' while writing about its own birth, says "The 'Fateh' will take the nation from low spirits to high spirits. It will cultivate in the youth the feeling of love and devotion for their faith. It will also bring to the right track the people inimical to the country and those who do not wish the nation well."³⁷

It becomes obvious from this that the sphere of Sikh

journalism does not limit itself only to speaking for the rights of the Sikhs alone, on the other hand it also addresses itself to the cause of human welfare as a whole. This is also true that alongwith the feeling of human welfare, the sincerity towards its own community and struggle for the Sikhs rights has also remained its established goal. No doubt, it indicates a progressive thinking.

The first Panjabi newspaper of the Sikhs came out in June 1876: it was named 'Akal Prakash.'³⁸ 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' was the second newspaper which was brought out from Lahore in November 1880. It was the result of the efforts of Gurmukh Singh. For three years, this paper continued to propagate forcefully the ideology of the 'Lahore Singh Sabha'. The style of Gurmukh Singh was very balanced and pleasing. So, this paper had a deep effect on the people. But in 1883, this paper went into the hands of 'Amritsar Singh Sabha'. Then the editorship also went into the hands of Kartar Singh Vahir. The paper continued its publication till the end of 1888. An estimate of the influence of this paper can be made from the fact that at the time of its launching there were only two Singh Sabhas at Amritsar and Lahore, but with its efforts a chain of Singh Sabhas started through out Punjab.

'Khalsa Akhbar' was the second important Sikh paper started in Lahore on 12th June, 1886, with the efforts of Bhai Gurmukh Singh. It was a weekly paper sponsored by the Singh Sabha, Lahore. Its first editors were Jhanda Singh

Faridkoti and Basant Singh. Later on, it was handed over to Giani Ditt Singh. This paper continued to be published till mid-1889, but it had to close publication for some time as a result of legal persecution by the Amritsar group. It restarted publication from 1st May 1892. Giani Ditt Singh, the editor, was very proficient in polemics. He often found himself in polemical arguments with the Arya Samajists. After the death of Giani Ditt Singh in 1901, the editorship went to Mayya Singh Ahluwalia. The paper ceased its publication in 1905.

The third important Sikh newspaper was 'Khalsa Samachar'. It began in 1899, but before that several other newspapers had come out for a brief while. Among them were 'Gurmat Prakashan', 'Khalsa Prakash', 'Singh Sabha Gazette', 'Lyall Khalsa Gazette', 'Khalsa Gazette', 'Sat Dharam Gazette', etc. The 'Khalsa Samachar' come out under the editorship of Dr. Charan Singh who was one of the founding member of the 'Amritsar Singh Sabha' and the 'Chief Khalsa Diwan' which came into being in 1901. He was also a well known writer of Punjabi. He was the father of Bhai Vir Singh, a great Punjabi scholar, who shared the burden of his father in the editorial chamber. The poems of Bhai Vir Singh were also published in this paper. After the death of Dr. Charan Singh, Lala Dhani Ram 'Chatrik' also edited this paper for a short while. Bhai Vir Singh was the chief manager of the paper. The 'Gurpurb editions' of the paper were invariably from

his pen. These scholarly writings were read with interest in the Sikh world. In the history of Sikh journalism, 'Khalsa Samachar' has the distinction of being the oldest and its publication still continues.

'Sudharak', 'Sudhar Patrika', 'Sudha Sagar', 'Nirguniara', 'Bharat Sudhar', 'Khalsa Dharam Pracharak', 'Khalsa Dharam Pracharak Sudhi Pattar', 'Amar Paterka', 'Amar Kund' and 'Khalsa Naujawan Bahadur' were among those monthly papers of the last two decades of the nineteenth century which made their contribution to social and religious reforms and to enrich Punjabi language.

The fortnightly 'Khalsa Dharam Dipak' which started on 1st January 1903 from Batala was purely religious. Being close to the Lahore Singh Sabha, it stood in opposition to the 'Chief Khalsa Diwan'. The Khalsa young men's Association, Amritsar, started in the form of a quarterly journal from 13 April 1905 named 'Khalsa Young Men's Magazine'. It was made a monthly journal later on. Its object was to propagate Sikh history and its Scripture. On 1st November 1906 Bhai Lal Singh started from Gujrawala 'The Panth,' a monthly periodical, which was edited by Sohan Singh. This paper was owned by the old Khalsa Diwan of Gujranwala. Bhai Lahore Singh, editor of the Singh Sabha Gazette, started 'Naurat,' a monthly journal, on 15th June 1909. It published Ayurvedic remedies along with some enlightening essays on the Sikh tenets.

'Bir' was a weekly paper started in 1909 from Amritsar with the efforts of S.S. Charan Singh. It became a fortnightly in 1910. Later on it came to be published thrice in a month in 1911, and turned again a weekly in 1912. In 1913-14 it became a daily for some time. It was published even twice daily for a little while. Then it once again turned into a weekly. 'Shahid'--a daily, started coming out on 4th December 1914. With the turning of the 'Bir' into a weekly the 'Shahid' got the distinction of being the first daily paper in Punjabi, especially because it never saw such a rise and fall in its publication as the 'Bir' did. This paper was started by an eminent writer, S.S. Charan Singh 'Shahid', after his editorship of 'Bir'. To produce quality literature and to propagate Sikhism were the main objects of the 'Shahid'. Charan Singh stood next only to Giani Ditt Singh in the matter of religious discussions and polemics. The essays written by him were always very interesting and illuminating. The publication of the 'Shahid' had not been too long when its editor, Charan Singh was fined a sum of Rs.4,000/- for having written an essay on the Arya Samajists. As a result of it, the printers of Amritsar refused to print the paper. After some days when Charan Singh shifted the paper to Lahore, he was asked to furnish more surety, for another essay that he wrote was also seriously objected to. Consequently, this ceased its publication for ever.

In 1913 the 'Ghadr Party,' a revolutionary party in

the U.S., brought out paper named 'Ghadr'. This movement was the result of the joint efforts of all communities. This paper continued its publication for about 39 years. It was published in seven other languages besides Punjabi. Its sole object was to fight for India's independence. Its contribution to Sikh journalism is that it showed the latter a new vista in the political field. It was this influence which made 'Akali' (1920) achieve unparalleled goals. The idea of independence as espoused by the 'Ghadr' was made by the 'Akali' a new subject of Sikh journalism. Some newspapers before the 'Akali' also talked of independence but they did so in an indirect and oblique manner. However, the 'Akali' waged an open war against the British Government.

On 22nd August 1914, weekly Panth Sewak, was started at Amritsar as Master Chanda Singh was its editor. It continued its publication till the end of 1922. It carried strong comments on religious issues. It made a significant contribution in eradicating corrupt practices from the Gurdwaras. In January 1915 Giani Sucha Singh started at Amritsar another weekly, the 'Panjab Darpan'. Its management later went in the hands of Master Tara Singh, with S. Avtar Singh 'Azad' as its editor. The paper continued to be published till 1930, but had to cease publication when it was required to provide surety for having published an objectionable essay during the Gurdwara Shahidganj Agitation.

The 'Akali' was the second Sikh daily newspaper to come

out from Lahore in May 1920 under the editorship of S. Mangal Singh. Master Sunder Singh Lyallpuri, a known Akali leader, was its chief manager (or organizer). It was during this period that the Akali movement was launched for bringing about reforms in Gurdwaras. The 'Akali' was the leader of this movement. After some time it was merged with the 'Pardesi Khalsa', a daily started by Master Tara Singh in February 1922: the new paper came out under the name of 'Akali te Pardesi'. The 'Akali' generated a new feeling among the Sikhs, and became a power to reckon with in the political arena. The Sikhs had by then waged a war for securing their rights. Emulating the 'Akali', several new papers sprang up in Punjab, but none of them was destined either to live as long as or to be as popular as the 'Akali'. The daily 'Ranjeet' was started, in competition with the 'Akali', by Sohan Singh in December 1920. It opposed both the Akali and the congress movements. Therefore, it could not win a favourable audience even in Lahore from where it was published. Stiff opposition of it by the people caused its ultimate downfall. The 'Sansar', a paper that was started its publication at Amritsar in May 1921, was a supporter of the Akali Movement. Among those who managed it were S. Santokh Singh Vidyarthi, S. Roghubir Singh Vogacharya, S. Thakur Singh etc.

'Bir Khalsa', 'Khalsa', 'Khalsa Advocate', 'Jathedar', etc. were some of the papers which could not survive the crisis for long. Apart from them, a paper that deserves mention is 'Gargaj Akali', started by 'Gargaj Akali Diwan' in February

1922. ('Gargaj Akali Diwan' was formed in 1910 at Tarn Taran and Amritsar.) Giani Sardara Singh Yutham was appointed as the editor of this paper. It was hardly a few months old when the government sought from it surety because of its extremist posture. Consequently, the paper ceased its publication. However, the people belonging to this Diwan did not lose heart and started another daily newspaper, 'Babbar Sher' on 15th June 1922. Gurbachan Singh Akali, Baba Sant Singh and Sardar Lachhman Singh were on its editorial board. One can gauge the extreme posture, the paper might have taken from, the fact that within a few days, as many as 15 of its editors were sent to jail and fined.

The daily 'Quami Dard,' started on 24th November 1924 from Amritsar, was the supporter of the Akali movement. Its editors also had to suffer the hardships of imprisonment, like all other journalists supporting the Akali movement. This paper had had the co-operation of such writers as Jabar Jang Singh, Ripudaman Singh, Kapur Singh Kesar, Master Tara Singh, Giani Hira Singh Dard, Giani Nahar Singh and Giani Hari Singh Mrigind. However, as a result of groupism in the managing committee, the paper ceased publication in 1930.

'Kirpan Bahadur' was started in October 1922 from Amritsar. It came out after every five days. It was supported by the 'Panch Khalsa Diwan' Bhathour. Sewa Singh Kirpan Bahadur was its editor. This paper also published reformatory articles, and the people read with keen interest.

However, mutual bickering in the management resulted in its closure within about two years. On 15th December 1927 the 'Panch Khalsa Diwan' started the 'Malwa Gazette'. Its duration was also just five days. It was started with the aim of inspiring the people of Malwa to work for their social, religious, political and economic development. However, the non-Malwai members of the Diwan began to express themselves against its objectives very strongly. So, it led to closure. After this, the 'Panch Khalsa Diwan' brought out a new paper, under the name 'Khalsa Panchayan' on 8th July 1928, under the editorship of Dr. R.S. Vidyaratana. With a view to bring about awakening among women, the Diwan came out with another publication the 'Khalsa Suani,' under the editorship of Bibi Niranjana Kaur, on 15th December 1927. Another journal for the women was started in 1929: It was named 'Upkari Mate'. Both these papers continued to be published till 1931.

In September 1927, Labh Singh Narang started another magazine 'Pritam' from Lahore. In this paper, the writers usually took militant postures and frankly talked about the behaviour of the Congress with the Sikhs. It always served as a watch-dog of the Sikh interests. This magazine has survived to date, but now its interests are solely literary.

'Desh Darpan' was started in 1930 from Lahore by Niranjana Singh Talib. It enjoys a significant place in the development of journalism. Although it was published outside Punjab yet it remained ever watchful of the social, religious

and political situation in the Punjab. It was also known for its fiery write-ups. Several new papers such as weekly 'Qaumi Sher' (1925), 'Bir Akali' (1926), 'Desh Dardi,' 'Qaumi Puj' (1927), 'Qaumi Sewak' (1930) were also started in the third decade of this century. All of them aimed at propagating religion and watching the interests of the Sikh community. 'Parja Mittar,' the weekly that was started in July 1931, also aimed at preaching religious and patriotic values. S. Dalip Singh and S. Kartar Singh were among its editors.

In November 1924, the monthly 'Phulwari' was started under the editorship of Hira Singh 'Dard'. It reflected the social and political struggles going on in the country. It was closely connected with the Akali movement, the Congress, the Sikh League, the Kirti Party, the Babbar Akali movement and the Communist Party. Alongwith it, the paper continued to make its singular contribution in the field of religion. It always endeavoured to lead the people in their struggle for their rights and in maintaining social integration and harmony. Being a seasoned journalist, Hira Singh 'Dard' rightly felt the pulse of his times and used his pen accordingly. The headquarters of this paper changed from Amritsar to Lahore and then in 1950 to Jalandhar. Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Nankana Sahib, also brought out in 1932 a weekly paper 'Guru Nanak Darshan'. Its main aim was to preach Sikh faith. This paper continued its publication for three years. In 1933 a monthly periodical the 'Updeshak' was started at Amritsar

with Mangal Singh Mrigind, Giani Labh Singh Barak as its editors and Giani Sunder Singh Rang as its Chief Editor. It aimed at preaching the Sikh faith, and it continued its publication till 1937.

In 1936-37, general elections were held in the country under the new Government of India Act. It put new responsibility on the newspapers. Several new political parties came into the field and several newspapers also came into being to lead the people. The World War II began in 1939, and it brought in its wake several restriction on newspapers. These restrictions were further tightened during the Congress Movement of 1942. Even in such unfavourable times, the Sikh journalism did not give up its primary objective. The daily 'Sewadar' was started at Lahore in November 1936 with the efforts of Mangal Singh, and Sardar Harbans Singh served as editor. This paper entered the election arena, using strong language for its opponents. In 1936 their was started another weekly 'Jagat Sudhar,' but it survived only for about three years. In April 1936, another weekly 'Guru Khalsa,' came out with its publication. It was edited by Giani Sundar Singh and managed by Master Sunder Singh Lyallpur. This paper continued till 1939. 'Ruhani Dhandora,' a monthly was started in May 1937, with a view to preaching the Sikh faith. Santokh Singh Vidyarthi was its editor. It survived for about six months only. 'Guru Nanak Sandesh' was started in June 1937 under the editorship of S. Gopal Singh. The

following few years saw the birth of no significant papers.

'Sant Sipahi' started its publication in 1945 at Amritsar under the editorship of Master Tara Singh. It gained prominence as a religious journal, but Master Tara Singh used to air his political views in its columns. In the religious field, essays and stories published in it were quite effective. The paper has survived to-date.

The following facts about the Sikh journalism till 1947, have come out from our survey of the Punjabi Papers (or journals). The origin of Sikh journalism was a contribution of the Singh Sabha movement. Keeping in view the need of that time, these papers were mainly religious and reformatory in content. They could not be called perfect from the political perspective. If ever these papers took up some political cause, it was not in a direct but round-about manner. This was true in almost all the cases before the beginning of the 'Akali Movement' which brought about a new turn in Sikh journalism. As a result, many fiery and effervescent articles began to be published. This was a new trend in Sikh journalism. Consequently, the attitude of these papers towards the Government hardened further. All such papers then fell prey to the Government's wrath. Even when these papers raised their voice against the wrong and oppressive policies of the Government, they never lost sight of their original objectives of preaching of religious values and taking up the cause of social reformation. It is because of these reasons that

these ten years of the 'Akali movement' are known as the dominant phase of the development of Sikh journalism. It was during this period that these papers waged a war, on the one hand, against the British imperialism and, on the other hand, raised their voice against the injustice against the Sikh community.

The deadly blow that the partition of the country dealt to the Sikh journalism was gradually overcome and it established its goals and objectives anew keeping in view the interests of the community at large. The demand for the 'Punjabi Suba' was a symbol of this voice. It is also the result of the efforts put in by Sikh journalism that Punjabi (language) has reached its present stage.

In the Independent India, journalism is seen as an industry so that maximum profit gains can be achieved by it. That is why journalism has undergone a great change. To some extent, the Sikh journalism has also fallen prey to this denigrated thinking. Sikh journalism today is not what it used to be. It is primarily because the newspapers today are not the only means of communication. There are also several other means of communication such as T.V., radio. It is also because of the wrong policies being followed by the Sikh journalists, which are proving harmful to the community. There are several Sikh newspapers in language other than Punjabi but here we have to discuss only the

papers published in Punjabi language. There are several weekly and monthly publications, in which ill-will against the other community is quite obvious. And, this is very harmful to journalism.

Sikh Journalism and Religious Movements of the Punjab:

By 1845 the Britishers had brought entire India except Punjab under their sway. Missionary centres for the propagation of Christianity had been opened at several places. Under their influence, the Indians were adopting Christianity in a very large number. In 1849, Punjab also came fully under the British rule and vigorous efforts were made to spread Christianity in Punjab. The Sikhs soon became alive to this danger to their faith as the Hindus and the Muslims did; Like the Hindus and the Muslims, the Sikhs also could not oppose christianity openly because it was the faith of the ruling class. But in an indirect way, the Sikhs started reformatory movements to eradicate the evils that had crept in their respective faiths. Among these movements can be included Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Jamait-i-Ahmadiya, Dev Samaj, etc. The reformatory and renaissance movement started in Sikhism was the 'Singh Sabha'. Prior to it, 'Namdhari movement' was also one such movement. This had been started as a religious movement, but the militants in it took it to its logical conclusion. As against the 'Namdhari movement', 'Singh Sabha' was much more successful.

(i) Brahmo Samaj:

This movement aimed at religious and social reforms which were started in the fourth decade of the 19th century, in Bengal. Raja Rammohun Roy was the founder of this movement. It originated with an opposition to the idol-worshi, and soon spread to all the major cities of India as a universal faith. As a result of the efforts of Raja Rammohun Roy, the 'Sati Act' was passed, making the evil of 'Sati' a cognizable offence. Raja Rammohun Roy was a great supporter of journalism. He was of the view that freedom of press was an important means of social reform. 'He also published some papers/pamphlets for the achievement of his objectives.'³⁹ He died in 1933.

Devender Babu, as a result of whose efforts the movement widely spread throughout Bengal, was a man of 'Sana-tanist' ideology. He did not want to let 'Brahmo Samaj' go outside the area of Hinduism. But Babu Keshab Chander, who was appointed 'acharya' of 'Brahmo Samaj' in 1862, wanted to take it out of the narrow domain of Hinduism. Therefore he adopted his own course. However Devender Nath did not put any obstacle in his way and let him have his own way. Devendernath rechristened the Calcutta Samaj as 'Adi Brahmo Samaj,' and Keshab Babu named his group as 'Bharati Varshi Brahmo Samaj.' Keshab Babu was the first leader who tried to take 'Brahmo Samaj' out-side the field of the Hinduism and of Bengal, and preached it in other Indian states. In 1866-67 Keshab Chandre toured through out Western India and Punjab,

preaching 'Brahmo Samaj' teachings. He lectured at Lahore, Amritsar and Delhi. He held prayer and Kirtan congregations and established the branches of the Samaj at those places. In this way, several centers of 'Brahmo Samaj' were established in Punjab. 'This was the first outside movement to take roots in Punjab'.⁴⁰ However, the 'Singh Sabha' and the 'Arya Samaj' soon after took upon themselves the responsibility of bringing about social reform and spreading education in Punjab, in a big way. Consequently, 'Brahmo Samaj' could not become a powerful force in Punjab.⁴¹

It was under inspiration from Surindernath Banerjee, a devotee of 'Brahmo Samaj', that Dyal Singh Majithia--a prominent public figure of the Punjab, founded an English newspaper, the 'Tribune', on 2nd February 1889. Dyal Singh was deeply influenced by this movement. This newspaper has survived to-date. (Its management started some time back another daily, the 'Punjabi Tribune') This English paper first came out as a weekly and then in 1886 it became a bi-weekly, but in 1898 it was published thrice a week. However, in 1906 it became a daily newspaper. The contemporary Sikh newspapers did not hold a very good opinion of the 'Tribune,' because it virtually did nothing for the development of the Sikh faith. In this connection, the 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote,

Although the Tribune was started with the money from Dyal Singh Majithia who has left behind a sufficient amount for the paper, yet its editorial command has always remained in the hands of the Bengalis. As a result,

the English-knowing Sikhs who read this paper know more about saints and scholars of Bengal than they know about their own⁴² history, religious achievements. . . .

(ii) Arya Samaj:

The way the Hindus were being proselytised by the Christian and the Muslim missionaries, it became necessary for the Hindus to counter somehow the influence of these faiths. Moreover, it was felt that the Hinduism may be reformed and a new path may be adopted for it. The formation of the 'Arya Samaj' was a step in this direction. Thus it can be said that this movement was an attempt to resurrect their own faith and a reaction against the foreign missionaries. At that time, the Hinduism was undoubtedly, badly in the web of worthless rituals and superstitious.

Mul Shankar was the founder of the 'Arya Samaj'. He later on became famous as Swami Daya Nand Saraswati. It was founded in 1875 at Bombay, but it achieved success in Punjab, as nowhere else. Lala Lajpat Rai saw these firm roots of 'Arya Samaj' in the Punjab and said "It is surprising that Dayanand preached through the north-Western states for about 12-13 years before coming over to Punjab, but he did not leave much impact on the minds of the people over there. However, it got its roots firmly established in Punjab within just two years. The founding of 'Arya Samaj' in Bombay was only nominal: its real foundation was laid in Lahore."⁴³

The 'Arya Samaj' tried to win those Hindus back into its fold who had given up their faith. It also endeavoured to accept people of other faiths into Hinduism if they so desired. Its attitude towards the backward and oppressed classes was also sympathetic. 'Shudhi Movement' was started with this aim in view. The 'Arya Samaj' also started some journals for the fulfilment of its goal, they were: the 'Arya Musafir and Dharam Pracharak' at Jalandhar, the 'Arya Gazette' at Lahore.

In 1892 the 'Arya Samaj' split into two groups. The main reason behind this split was the controversy as to how the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, established in 1886 in the memory of Swamiji, should be run. Of these two groups, one was named 'Guru-Kul party' and the other the 'College Party'. The leader of the Gurukul party, Swami Shardhanand, was an advocate of ancient Hindu educational system, vegetarian food and pure Hinduism: whereas the 'College Party' advocated new educational system and no taboos in food.

In the beginning, the 'Arya Samaj' enjoyed the support of the Sikhs. Swamiji got a very good response from the Sikhs in the Punjab.⁴⁴ Many educated Sikhs joined the Samaj. Among them, the names of Sardar Bhagat Singh (Sub. Engg), Giani Ditt Singh and Sardar Jawahar Singh Kapur S. Ishar Singh, S. Bikrama Singh, S. Atar Singh are worth mentioning. The presidents of several 'Arya Samaj' Sabhas were the Sikhs and in the diwans of 'Arya Samaj' the presence of the 'Sikh Scripture' and recitation of 'Asa di Var' were regular features.⁴⁵ In 1875 Swamiji's

book the 'Satyarth Prakash' was published. It contained some derogatory remarks that injured the sentiments of people belonging to orthodox Hinduism, Vaisnavites, Kabir panthi, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and Islam, besides Sikhism, 'In the beginning, the Sikhs did not take up seriously the rude language used against their Gurus.'⁴⁶ However, the matter soon became public and the Sikh protest grew stronger. Lala Amolak Ram who himself was an Arya Samajist wrote a letter (dated 30th Sept. 1887) to the editor of 'Akhbar-i-Aam' explaining the fact that such remarks by Dayanand without deeply comprehending and analysing the Punjab situation was not the right thing to do. He (Swamiji) might have rectified this error after acquainting himself with the facts; but, unfortunately, death did not provide him this much time. The Sikh brothers were also requested to forgive this lapse.⁴⁷ However, an open denigration of the Sikh Gurus at the 11th annual conference of the 'Arya Samaj' at Lahore on 25th November 1888 resulted in the complete alienation of the Sikhs from it. 'In the second edition of 'Satyarth Parkash' also, the reverence shown to the Sikh Scripture was termed idol-worship.'⁴⁸ Derogatory words were used for Shri Guru Nanak Dev Ji.⁴⁹ As a result of these incidents, tension between 'Arya Samaj' and 'Singh Sabha' grew. The 'Arya Samachar' was used the most for this purpose. Numerous essay against the Sikh Gurus were published in it. In one of its issues, it said:

Nanak the faquir, established a new panth;
 He wrote a Granth taking line from here and there;
 First he took some followers and changed his robes;
 Wore a headgear and kept long hair.⁵⁰

Like 'Arya Musafir' and 'Sat Dharam Pracharak,' there were several other Arya Samaj papers which attacked the Singh Sabha, and the Sikh papers also adopted a sharp tone in reaction.

(iii) Dev Samaj:

On 16th February 1887 'Dev Samaj' (a faith) was formed by Shri Anand Agnihotri— known as Devatma. It was founded with a view to propagate his teachings. Dev Samaj also started some papers such as 'Sat Dev Samvad' (Urdu) 'Jiwan Path' (Hindi), 'Science Grounded Religion' (English) and 'Sindh Upkarak' (Sindhi). The spiritual thought of the 'Dev Samaj' can be found in 'Dev Shastra' written by Devatma. This representative book of the 'Dev Samaj' is in four parts. Several other books were also written. 'Dev Samaj' raised the slogan of making human life noble and pious. With an eye to achieve the desired end they laid stress on observing 16 kinds of relations in an ideal way. Among them are the relationship between parents and children, brothers and sisters, husband and wife, the individual and his family the individual and the guru at large. Like 'Brahmo Samaj,' 'Dev Samaj' also could not become a powerful force in Punjab due to the same reasons.

(iv) Jamait-i-Ahmiadiya:

Jam ait-i-Ahmiadiya a religious organization of the Muslims, came into being towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was founded in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Sahib Qadiani (1835-1908). He declared, "God has ordered me to turn, with humility and love, people's attention towards God, who is true and who never changes. He has complete purity complete knowledge, complete pity and complete justice. In this age of darkness, I am the only light and he who follows me will save himself from falling in a pit dug by the devil for those who tread in darkness. God has sent me to this world so that I might teach with love and humility the teachings of God and improve the moral standard of Muslims. He has also revealed to me many divine secrets."

The Ahmadya movement was also a renaissance and reformation movement in Islam. It differed from others at least, in one respect: it was a reaction against the Christian missionaries who had tried to bring about conversions on a large scale, so as to convert as many people into Christians as possible.⁵¹ Mirza Sahib wrote 40 books to prove the fidelity of his mission. In these books, hundreds of miracles and several other things are found. After the death of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1908, the movement had Maulvi Nur-ud-din as its leader, ~~he was~~ succeeded by Ghulam Ahmad's son, Mirza Bashir-ud-din Mahmood Ahmad. This movement established more than 300 branches abroad, for the purpose of propagating its cult. For the religious and academic education of the children, it

established 68 schools and colleges in different countries. No doubt, this movement opposed the Western civilization, but 'it also advocated certain unorthodox ideas and reforms which were opposed by the orthodox Muslims.'⁵²

The movement was thus born and brought up in the teeth of stiff opposition from certain Muslims themselves. The British considered the Mirza an opponent of their Government and opposed him. The Hindus also considered it a danger to their faith. Ideologically, Mirza earned so much wrath of the orthodox Mullahs that decrees of his death were passed by many of them. He was dubbed as an atheist. In this way, this movement did not leave much impact.

Sikh Reformatory Movement:

Before trying to learn about the Sikh reformatory movements, we will have to have a glance at the 19th century history of the Sikhs. This will make it easier for us to understand how and why these movements were needed and what goals did they achieve.

Although the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is called the Sikh rule, yet the Sikhs at that time were not very particular in the observance of the Sikh code of conduct. Even in the sacred precincts of historical shrines such as the 'Golden Temple' at Amritsar and 'Darbar Sahib' at Tarn Taran, there could be found the idols of various Hindu gods and goddesses. The recitation of 'Gurbani' was not much different from the Hindu

mantras. The Brahmanas had come to occupy a place of importance in the ceremonies connected with birth, death and marriage.⁵³ Besides, the tradition of saying arti with lamp in a salver had also come into vogue in the 'Golden Temple'.⁵⁴ There is no doubt about the fact that the Sikhs numerically increased substantially, during the Sikh rule. Many people embraced the Sikh faith. But it was primarily because anybody who wanted to be near the Maharaja, preferred to be initiated into Sikhism.⁵⁵ In this way, there were found many Sikhs who observed the outward Sikh symbols such as the five K's, but this outward observance could not be a substitute for observing the Sikh code. They adopted certain non-Sikh customs like idol-worship, belief in superstitions, arti, etc.

With the defeat of Sikh army at the hands of the British and the consequent annexation of the Punjab, a sense of inferiority overpowered the Sikh psyche. The Sikhs had already suffered a huge loss in terms of men and material. The British officers gave priority to the task of strengthening their foothold on the newly annexed lands. 'The Christian missionaries also became more active and started the process of proselytization more vigorously.'⁵⁶ Hundreds of Sikhs got their beards shaved off and become Christians. For the Sikhs this process of proselytization was a big danger. Some of the Sikhs had changed their faith simply to prove their loyalty to the British Government, and to please the rulers of the time. It was a period of grave crisis for the Sikhs.

That is why Sikhs did not revolt against the British in a big way during the 1857 ghadar. 'On the other hand, some Sikhs supported the British and earned appreciation for them.'⁵⁷

The management of the Sikh shrines which were then under the complete control of mahants and priests underwent a complete change. The Sikh maryada was not observed.⁵⁸ The Sikhs had to wage a relentless struggle to get their shrines liberated from these mahants. For it, they adopted both moderate and extreme post.

From the time of the Sikh rule till the Indian independence, many religious movements were started in Sikhism, which mainly aimed at propagating the Sikh faith. These included Nirankari, Kuka (Namdhari), Singh Sabha and Akali movements. 'Singh Sabha' is a movement which enjoys a special place of prominence in Sikh history. 'It was the first religious movement which started the tradition of publishing newspaper in Punjabi.'⁵⁹ Although many Sikh movements were started in the Punjab but it is only the 'Singh Sabha Movement' that get the credit for patronising Journalism in Punjabi. 'Singh Sabha' and other Sikh movement used journalism as a means of propagating the Sikh faith. So, 'the earlier history of journalism is, in fact, the history of these movements. The Singh Sabha caused the birth of journalism in Punjabi, and alongwith this movement, journalism saw several ups and downs.'⁶⁰ That is why contemporary Punjabi papers cannot be analysed independent of these movements. The Sikh journalism was in

a way a form of these very movements, and it kept these movements identified with the golden era of Sikh history and also accelerated the pace of propagation.

(V) Nirankari Movement:

'Nirankari movement' was a Sikh renaissance movement which started in the beginning of the 19th century. It was founded by Baba Dyalji. In 1808 the centre of his preaching was at Rawalpindi. As a result of his preaching, people felt inclined towards Sikhism, getting away from the Brahmanic orthodoxy. The Sikhism does not believe in idol-worship, Brahmanic rituals such as saradh, fasting, sutak etc. Babaji denounced these futile rituals. Consequently his orthodox religious fraternity excommunicated him. He was asked to pay a fine, but Babaji refused to do so, saying that, being a true Sikh of the Guru, he acts in accordance with the tenets, expounded in the Sikh Scripture. He said that he served the Formless God, and that there was nothing wrong in it. Therefore, he does not owe any apology. He, however, faced many hardships as a result of the opposition by the orthodox compatriots. Nevertheless, he remained devoted to his mission. He thought that we should believe in one formless Being (Nirankar), remember Him, and give up worshiping human beings and stone-idols. He continued his mission with this objective, and it was because of this that his followers came to be known as 'Nirankaris'. After the death of Baba ji in 1855, his son, Darbara Singh, continued the mission. Then, after the passing away of Darbara Singh in

1870, his younger brother, Rattan Chand (Rattaji) succeeded him as the leader of Nirankari Darbar.

(vi) Kuka (Namdhari) Movement:

'Namdhari movement' was also a purely Sikh renaissance movement.⁶¹ Although, later on, it was given the name of a political and rebellions movement, yet the fact is that it originated in the days of social and religious degradation of the Sikhs, and this movement identified itself with the spirit of religious reforms.⁶² So, it came to be known only as a religious movement. We nowhere find that this movement adopted the policy of opposition to the British so as to establish its own hegemony; but, unfortunately, the British Government in India termed this movement as rebellious instead of being religious and adopted towards it an unduly harsh attitude, which is now a fact of history.

The Sikhs felt depressed having lost their Kingdom. Lack of preaching led to the creeping of old and futile superstitions into Sikhism. Sodhis, Bedis and shrewd men had established their own deras at different places, declaring themselves as gurus, and were thus eating into the vitals of Guru Nanak's Sikhism. In such a situation, Baba Ram Singh started a movement to save the Sikhism. The Sikh leaders had realized that it was not possible to re-establish the lost glory of their rule. This mental state brought about a cultural degeneration among the Punjabis in general and the

Sikhs in particulars. The peace that came after the Ghadar of 1857 ended whatever little enthusiasm was left and there prevailed complete inertia.⁶³ At this juncture of their history, the Sikhs needed Gurbani from which they had been separated, and Baba Ram Singh reunited them with it. Following his efforts at preaching the Sikh precepts, many received the Sikh initiation and in a way a wave of Sikh propagation started. In the beginning, Babaji made Ludhiana the centre of his preaching activities. On the Baisakhi day of 1863, he went to Amritsar, but the authorities did not like this visit. Some opponents of the movement also took this opportunity and made misleading complaints against it to the government. 'It was true that there must be some militants among the 'Kukas', who used the gatherings at the divans held by Baba Ram Singh, to express their anti-government feelings. As a result of it, the people who were already fearful of the government's stern actions, after the 1857 Ghadar, started avoiding the Kukas.'⁶⁴ This created conditions in which government imprisoned Baba Ram Singh. This made the enthusiastic Kukas full of rage against the British government, and they gave vent to this anger by breaking idols and demolishing tombs, etc. Some such incidents took place in Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Hoshiarpur districts as made many Kukas suffer imprisonments and fines. Some years went by in this way. Consequently, a section of people among the Kukas came to be known as hawks. Contrary to it, Baba Ram Singh never gave his approval to such a militant group. In fact, it was this group which caused

the end of the Kuka movement. This group among the Kukas gave the entire movement such a wrong turn that in no time a chain of murders of the butchers by Kukas, started making the Kukas even more orthodox in the matter of cow-slaughter. According to Dr. Ganda Singh, in the matter of cow-slaughter, Kukas outclassed the Hindus in their orthodoxy, and they got easily excited in this matter.⁶⁵ In this way, a chain of loot and murder started. It was in this context that 68 Kukas, including two women, were arrested while going from Malerkotla to Sikandarpur. The Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, Mr. Cowen Malod, tied 49 of them to the cannon mouth, without putting them on trial, they were shot dead on 17th January 1872. It happened at Jamalpur in Ludhiana district. Mr. Malod had done this without government's permission and in violation of the orders of the Commissioner. He however, defended this illegal and rash action by saying that it was feared that the Kuka attacks at Malerkotla and Malaud were likely to take the shape of a regular rebellion. The oppression of Kukas by the government was so horrible that the movement died on the way. On 18-19 January, the dera of Baba Ram Singh was searched out, but no objectionable document was found. However, a police post was established at Bhaini, so that the incoming Kuka devotees and other people could be questioned. Baba Ram Singh was kept in jail for some time, and then sent to Allahabad and from there to Rangoon. This was so great setback to the Kuka movement that it could not survive.

(vii) Singh Sabha Movement:

In 1872, while the 'Kuka movement' had greatly subsided under the oppressive policies of the government, the 'Nirankari movement' also suffered a terrible set back because of the ever-increasing activities of the Christian missionaries. The 'Arya Samaj' too was gaining strength.⁶⁶ It was natural that Punjabis were becoming more inclined towards these religions. Those who felt concerned *with* Sikh faith did not ignore this situation. It was but natural that they reacted in some way. The need for a strong organization was strongly felt to resurrect the spirit of Sikhism and the Sikh way of life.

'A large gathering of the Sikhs met at Amritsar on Asu Shudi 10, 404 Samat Nanakshahi (A.D. 1873). It was attended by Sikh Sardars, Chiefs, priests, gianis, granthis, Udosis and Nrimalas and other representatives of different sections of the Sikh society. On this day, an organization came into existence under the leadership of Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia. It was named 'Sri Guru Singh Sabha'. This started the Singh Sabha Movement.'⁶⁷ This movement is also known to be one such movement which accelerated the process of resurrection. 'The aim of this movement was to preach Sikhism, to eradicate evils that had crept into the faith, to spread education and to organize the Sikhs.'⁶⁸ With this end in view, the leaders of the Singh Sabha movement established Sabhas at different places. To coordinate their work, a central organization 'Khalsa Diwan', was formed. It was around 1883 when schools were opened where education was imparted in Punjabi (Gurmukhi

Script).

In the field of journalism, a series of newspapers had entered India in 1780 through the 'Bengal Gazette' and had spread throughout India by the 19th Century. "The Christians started the first Punjabi newspaper in 1860. This paper was circulated in the form of letters containing communal news. It aimed at preaching the christian faith, and contained some news of interest as well;"⁶⁹ In this way, journalism entered Punjab. In 1867, Munshi Hari Narain and Firaia Lal launched 'Akhbar Sri Darbar Sahib,' the first newspaper in Gurmukhi Script: Its language was Hindi in Gurmukhi Script. Its aim was to preach Hinduism among the Sikhs. Although the name of the newspaper carried the imprint as if it was of the Sikhs, yet its attitude was anti-Sikh simply to show loyalty to the British Government.⁷⁰ During these very days, in 1875, Santokh Singh launched his newspaper in Hindi: 'Sakal Sumbodhin and with this Hindi Journalism was started in Panjab.'⁷¹ Next year in June 1876, there come out 'Akal Prakash' which got the distinction of being the first Punjabi newspaper.⁷² This was the situation of journalism in Punjab before the 'Singh Sabha movement'.

'Singh Sabha' had felt from the very beginning the need to start newspaper in pure Punjabi because the existence of Punjabi papers could prove helpful in the propagation of Sikh faith. It was the result of this thinking that 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' was started in 1880. It advocated the ideology of the 'Singh Sabha', and made a singular contribution to Sikh

journalism in Punjabi. Consequently, the Sikhism entered a new era. 'The leader of the age was Bhai Gurmukh Singh who was the Professor in Oriental College, Lahore.'⁷³ The publication of this paper was made possible because of the efforts of Gurmukh Singh who had taken upon himself the task of the propagation of Singh Sabha ideology. Under the influence of Singh Sabha, printing presses were being established at many places by the end of 19th century. This resulted in the publication of several monthly, weekly and daily newspapers. All these papers published essays on Sikhism, keeping in view the development of 'Punjabi'. The Singh Sabha also made constant efforts in this direction. As a result, the teaching of Punjabi was started in the Lahore Oriental College of the Punjab University.

'Khalsa Diwan' was also formed in 1883 with the aim of preaching religion and Punjabi language.⁷⁴ However, it got split after some time. One of the groups was supported by Gurmukh Singh and his companions who wanted it to function in accordance with the true spirit of Sikhism while keeping it aloof from Hindu rituals casteism, idol-worship, etc. This group formed the Khalsa Diwan. Lahore, in 1886, under the leadership of Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur. The other group was led by Baba Khan Singh Bedi. In 1887 this Amritsar group formed the 'Gurmat Granth Pracharak Sabha'. This Sabha researched the dates of the Gurpurabs, prepared a genealogy of the Gurus and also a code of Sikh conduct. This report paved

way for the publication of Giani Gian Singh's 'Twarikh Guru Khalsa' and 'Panth Prakasht' and Tara Singh Narotam's 'Kosh' of the Sikh Scripture and 'Guru Tirath Singrah' (book). An exegesis of the entire Sikh Scripture (Sri Guru Granth Sahib) was prepared with the efforts of Raja Bikram Singh of Faridkot.⁷⁵

No doubt the division of Singh Sabha dealt a setback to the Panth, but now both the groups worked in their own way for the propagation of Sikh faith. Belief in the common objectives and the polemics started by the 'Arya Samaj' called for Joint actions. When in 1886, D.A.V. College was established in Lahore, the Sikhs also doubled their efforts for the establishment of a 'Khalsa College'. It was the result of these efforts that the foundation of the 'Khalsa College' was laid on 5th March 1892.

Some of the essays written by Bhai Mohan Singh Viad are available in the newspaper of those days about the aims of the 'Singh Sabha'. According to him the 'Singh Sabha' was a means of spreading the Sikh faith and the atmosphere of peace provided by the British rule came in handy for this purpose. He advised the Sikhs to cultivate higher moral values and placed before them the examples of those personages whom the Sikhs remember daily in their prayer.⁷⁶ The Singh Sabha's concern for the spread of education and the teaching of 'Punjabi' created an unprecedented activity in the field of literature and Sikh Scholarship. Baba Khem Singh Bedi was

the pioneer in opening Gurmukhi School in Punjab. He was followed by men like Bhai Takhat Singh, Bhai Nihal Singh, Babu Teja Singh etc., who contributed to the cause of teaching of 'Punjabi' and education of girls. With the donation of Rs.7000/- by Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha, a Khalsa printing press was started at Lahore. The grandson of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Kanwar Jagjot Singh opened a 'Guru Nanak Prakash Press' in his estate at Avadh. Several books in Punjabi also came out. All this made it clear that as far as the aims of Singh Sabha were concerned, both the groups were active in the same direction, though 'mutual rivalry'⁷⁷ still remained and this rivalry came out more pronouncedly in the field of journalism.

The result of this mutual rivalry was that Sikh journalism now had to fight on two fronts instead of the one, as it used to in the past. On the one hand an anti-Sikh tirade was launched openly by the Arya Samaj and on the other hand, there was mutual rivalry between the two opposing groups belonging to the Amritsar and Lahore Singh Sabhas. On the one side there were Jawahar Singh, Ditt Singh, Gurmukh Singh and Kanwar Bikram Singh who did not tolerate at all the influence of orthodox Hinduism on their faith as said earlier. On the other side Khem Singh Bedi group behaved like a self-centred man. Gurmukh Singh was not only a great writer but was also a pious man (i.e. Gurmukh) in the real sense. He published in his 'Sudharark' (Paper) many articles on corrupt practices in Sikhism. He also made a protest against Khem Singh for using a cushion while sitting in the presence of the 'Guru Granth

Sahib'. In papers like 'Khalsa Akhbar' and 'Sudhararak,' this action of Khem Singh Bedi was declared as against the Sikh tenets. Similarly, the prosecution filed by Khem Singh Bedi against Ditt Singh for having published 'Swapan Natak' was also the result of this rivalry. Apart from all this, Sikh journalism had to rebutt the attacks of the Arya Samaj which were gradually becoming bitter and bitter. Giani Ditt Singh used to refute the Arya Samaj polemic raised in their 'Arya Musafir,' Jalandhar, in 'Arya Gazette,' Lahore and in 'Sat Dharam Pracharak,' Jalandhar.⁷⁸ In spite of these internal and external rivalries Sikh journalism under the influence of Singh Sabha achieved very good results.

'Khalsa Samachar,' launched (in 1899) by Dr. Charan Singh can be termed as a great achievement of the Singh Sabha movement. Bhai Vir Singh, the son of Dr. Charan Singh, who was himself a great poet and philosopher played a significant role in spreading Sikhism through the medium of this paper. 'Khalsa Samachar' established a high standard of Punjabi-prose and religious polemic. Under its patronage, the 'Khalsa Tract Society,' Amritsar, published several books and tracts on Sikh religion and tradition.

(viii) Gurdwara Reform Movement:

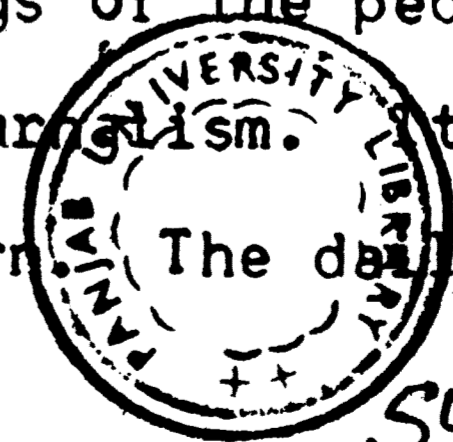
The Singh Sabha people tried to overcome differences of caste, status and creed by initiating all desirous people into Sikhism. They preached Sikhism and taught Sikhs to act according to true Sikh teachings. The mahants and priests

of shrines who managed them did not like this development. They even insulted many preachers of Singh Sabhas. For example the priests of 'Shri Harminder Sahib' once beat the Mai Ram Kaur (a preacher from village Chajal) very badly.⁷⁹ They acted according to their own whims while defining the Sikh tents. However, the Singh Sabha efforts made them either submit, or run away. Till 1914, the Singh Sabha succeeded in the purely religious and educational programmes, but the situation changed in 1914, the 'question of sword'⁸⁰ and the question of demolition of the wall of gurdwara Rakabganj⁸¹ came to the fore. During these very days the World War I also started. The Ghadrates, who had come back from the U.S.A., started their own movement. It is mainly the Sikh Youth who led this. In the month of September the tragedy of 'Kamagatamaru' took place at Bajbaj. Most of the Ghadrates were arrested and hanged. On 13th April 1919, the tragedy of 'Jallianwala Bagh' took place.⁸² As a result of all these happenings, Singh Sabha had to slow down the pace of its activities. The need of the hour was a new movement and this need was fulfilled by the 'Akali movement'. This is also known as the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement'.

On 12 October 1920, the Khalsa Community of Amritsar held its annual diwan in the Jallianwala Bagh. It was declared there that all the desirous persons from the so-called low castes will be given the 'Amrit' to initiate them into Sikhism and thus made them one with the entire Sikh community. It was also said that they will afterwards be taken to the 'Golden

Temple'. Contrary to it, the priests of the Temple proclaimed that no Sikh should attend the Diwan. Those who do will be committing a sin.⁸³ But none paid any heed to the priests. After the initiation ceremony, they proceeded to the Temple in procession. The priests had already run away. On a complaint made by the priests, the Deputy Commissioner invited both the parties, but the priests failed to respond. On this, the Deputy Commissioner appointed a 9 member committee and endowed it with the responsibility of looking after the shrine. After this, the S.G.P.C. came into existence. The first meeting of the committee was held at the 'Akal Takhat' on 12th December 1920. On 24th January 1921, the 'Shiromani Akali Dal' was formed at Amritsar. All Akali Jathas were affiliated to it. The aim of the Akali Dal was to improve the management of Sikh shrines under the instructions of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.). In this way, the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement' spread throughout Punjab. From the perspective of Sikh journalism, the monthly 'Dukh Niwaran' played a great role in initiating this Gurdwara reform movement.⁸⁴

Coming back again to the Sikh journalism, we find that, almost all Punjabi papers, except the 'Shahid' and the 'Ghadr' became silent during the days of the World War I.⁸⁵ It was because the Government had made the press law more strict. During the War and immediately after it, several such incidents took place as roused the suppressed feelings of the people. These incidents gave a new turn to Sikh journalism. It will not be wrong to call it a revolutionary turn. The daily



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'Akali' was the product of this time. Many more newspapers were also born at this juncture. According to S.S. Khahira, 'about 20 papers were launched under the influence of the 'Gurdwara reform movement'.⁸⁶ The first issue of the 'Akali' was scheduled to be brought out on the martyrdom day of Guru Arjan, which fell on 21 May 1920. Giani Hira Singh was one of the members of the editorial board. In this context, he writes in his book 'Meria Ithasak Yadan': "I had full faith in the enthusiasm and efforts of Master Sundar Singh and in the revolutionary tendency rising among the Sikhs. I felt sure that the 'Akali' will definitely stay on. But I could never dream that it will do the miracle of leading the Akali Movement and the Sikh people in their struggle for independence, and that I will also be counted as one of the participants in the historical movement. As far as I remember, there was no daily political paper of the Sikhs at that time. There were some Weeklies in Urdu and Gurmukhi. They dealt with mostly religious and educational matters. Their sphere was limited."⁸⁷

In this way, the 'Akali' came to be considered the leading daily of the Sikhs, in the political field. 'Bir Khalsa' (1921), Chief Khalsa Diwan's 'Khalsa' (1922) Charan Singh Shaheed's 'Jathedar' (1922), Master Tara Singh's 'Pradesi Khalsa' (1922), 'Gargaj Akali' (1922), 'Babbar Sher' (1923), etc. were among the papers which followed the ideology of the Akali Movement. However, they failed to find for themselves, in the field of Sikh politics, the niche the Akali had come to occupy.

In 1922, when Hira Singh Dard, Mangal Singh, Master Sundar Singh and Quami Gopal Singh, the backbone of Akali paper, were arrested, none remained in Lahore to run the paper. Professor Niranjana Singh and Master Tara Singh, in consultation with other Akali members, shifted it to Amritsar. After this, the paper became virtually the spokesman of the Akali Movement. It remained active for the success of different morchas launched during the Movement.

In the fulfilment of the need of the time, the Sikh papers launched under the influence of the Akali movement fearlessly took a firm stand against the British Government, in order to get their shrines freed. The Sikh journalism played a very crucial role during the agitations of gurdwara Rikabganj, Guru Ka Bagh, Nankana Sahib and Panja Sahib. It is really not possible to repay this debt. It was because of the Sikh journalism that the Akali Movement flourished in such a way. It was also because of Sikh journalism that entire India sympathized with the Akali cause. When the Akalis won the 'Key agitation,' Mahatma Gandhi called it the 'first decisive victory of Sawraj'. The whole of India felt stirred during the Guru Ka Bagh agitation. 'The top Indian leadership including Pt. Malviya, Hakim Ajmal Khan, C.F. Andrews and other rushed to Amritsar and expressed their sympathy with the cause.'⁸⁸ It was at this juncture that a group emerged within the Akali leadership which did not favour the non-violent way of protest, but wanted to deal violently with the violence of the state.

The police committed untold atrocities on the peaceful agitators in Guru Ka Bagh. The result was that the 'Babar Akali movement' sprang up in the Doab. Those who joined it solely believed in waging an armed struggle. A newspaper by the name of 'Babbar Akali' was also launched to propagate the ideas of this movement.⁸⁹ The Babbars killed many touts. On the other hand, the government also used its full force to suppress this movement. However, the Sikh journalism was in full sympathy with the Babbars. 'Akali te Pradesi' denounced the oppressive policies of the government. It took exception to the killing of the Babbars in fake police encounters.

During the Akali movement, the 'Phulwari,' launched in November 1924 by Hira Singh Dard, also enjoyed some influence in the Sikh religious and political field. That is why we can say that this paper served as a mirror to the social and political agitations launched in the country. It published news and articles about the Akali movement as well as the Congress, the Sikh League, Kirti, Babbar, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and others. According to Suba Singh, "Like an intelligent journalist, Hira Singh Dard always felt the pulse of his times correctly and used his pen according to need of the hour."⁹⁰

It can be said that the 'Akali movement' made such a singular contribution in the field of journalism that the Sikh journalism, started under its influence later began to guide it. It inspired a large number of Akalis to lay down

their lives to get their shrines liberated. They did finally succeeded in their mission with the effective support provided to it by Sikh journalism. In fact the Sikh journalism never let this movement become slackened.

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 ਇਧਰ ਉਧਰ ਸੇ ਜੋੜਕੇ ਲਿਖ ਮਾਰਾ ਇਕ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ
 ਪਹਿਲੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਕਰ ਲੀਏ, ਪਿਛੇ ਬਦਲਾ ਭੇਸ
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Chapter II

Religious Preaching and Sikh Journalism

- .- The Attitude of Sikh Journalism towards violation of Sikh code.
- .- Sikh Journalism Vis-a-Vis Polemics with other Religions.
- .- Sikh journalism and Religious affairs of Sikhs:
 - (A) The matter of the wall of Gurdwara Rikabganj
 - (B) Affair of Sword
 - (C) Matter of Bringing Reforms in Gurdwaras
 - i) The Tragedy of Nankana Sahib
 - ii) Agitation & struggle for the Keys
 - iii) Morcha Guru Ka Bagh
 - iv) Morcha Jaitu
 - (D) Gurdwara Act and Sikh Journalism

Religious Preaching and Sikh Journalism

The circumstances which caused the origin of Sikh journalism have been discussed in the preceding chapter, but it seems necessary to reiterate that the origins of Sikh journalism has been a distinctive achievement of the Singh Sabha era. It was the age when the 'Sikhs were more active in the field of propagating their faith and the spread of education.'¹ That is why Sikh journalism gave its first priority to the cause of preaching religion, and while working in this direction it used several means which can be directly related to the propagation of faith. In this chapter, we shall discuss those means and the achievements made through them.

It might not seem proper in the modern age to limit journalism to the field of religious preaching alone, but an analysis of the religious and social milieu we are talking of, would reveal that such an attitude of journalism was not then improper. 'The propagation of Christianity, Western education and the influence of European culture were being accepted to such an extent in India that all the religious faiths of Indian origin felt that they were under some fierce attack. Consequently they started making immediate efforts to counter this move.'²

At such a juncture, it was not possible to oppose the foreign power at the political level. The Sikh society also did not consider itself capable of doing so. It was because only a short while ago they had lost their empire, and they also did not possess at the moment the requisite power structure to change the existing political set-up, as the British had established their firm foothold in the whole of India. Under influence of the renaissance movement going on in the entire Indian Sub-continent the Sikh society also adopted it and declared religious reformation as the object of Sikh journalism.

At places, Sikh journalism seems to oppose the official machinery, while apparently taking up matters mostly connected with religion. In a way, the step taken by Sikh journalism for religious reformation was an unconscious opposition of the British policy because 'the British government felt for sure that Gurdwaras were the only source of strength of the Sikhs.'³ And if ever they became able to get any militant guidance (as they later on got, during the 'Akali movement') against the government, it would be possible only from the gurdwaras. Therefore, the first priority with them was to take the management of the Sikh shrines in their hands, or, in other words, they manoeuvred to usurp the management of the Gurdwaras. If the British had been sincere towards the sikhs at that time, they would never taken such a step. 'Under the orders of the 'Governor' the Deputy Commissioner of

Amritsar was appointed the custodian of the Golden Temple.⁴ Apart from this, the Government also reserved with it the right to appoint the Sarbrah. Although a committee was appointed to guide and help the Sarbrah in the management, yet it was only a nominal committee which remained in existence only from 1859 to 1886. After that it was completely ignored. The Sarbrah, a nominee of the government, acted strictly according to the wishes and whims of the government.

The result was that the matters pertaining to accounts rested solely in the hands of the sarbrah, making it impossible for the priests to misuse the money. In turn the priests adopted various underhand methods to exploit the gullible devotees. It generated many evils in the observance of the 'Maryada'. Idols were put at many places in the circumambulatory path. Exegesis of the Hindu Puranas and other scriptures started. Idol-worship, ritualistic worship, fasting, etc., began within the precincts of the Golden Temple. It was reduced to a pure Hindu temple.⁵ Besides, the circumambulatory path gradually turned into a small market place. People gathered there not out of devotion, but with a view to enjoy themselves.

The Sikh journalism was not ignorant of this situation. It was aware of everything and was endeavouring to bring about a reformation. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' always denounced the evil practices that had crept into the Sikh faith. The psychological state of the priestly class has been well

portrayed in the contemporary journalism. When the head Granthi of 'Sri Darbar Sahib', Bhai Jawahar Singh, died in 1886, a large number of people claimed for this post ridiculously. In this context, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 2nd Oct. 1886 writes:

Someone says that I am a relative of the deceased and has been working as a substitute during his absence earlier. The other says, the post remained with his ancestors and thus, his claim to it is justified. Another says that I am a recluse and share my earning with others: after getting this post I will distribute my earnings. Another says that his father or brother is a granthi, or that he himself is also a granthi, thus he deserves to occupy the post. Some one says that, people from all Gurdwaras and akharas are agreed to his appointment. Some other got affidavits prepared with signatures of thousands of people in their favour. These people hope to present their favour. These people hope to present these affidavits to the committee. Some others distribute such affidavits in the market place. - - - - - Some must have gone to the rulers of the time with their request and with bag fuls of money. - - - - This kind of claims have been made by many candidates.⁶

The newspaper also expressed its regret that none of these candidates expressed his concern for the preaching of the Sikh tenents. It is thus obvious that the job of the priests now came to be meant solely for material gains. It is this context that Sikh journalism had to take up the cudgels for propagating the Sikh faith. It fully prepared itself to make even the extreme sacrifice for this noble cause. It got prepared even to earn the wrath of the government. The Sikh journalism determined not to accept the presence of a British in the committee on Sikh religious affairs. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 1st Jan. 1887 narrates the event as under:

What a height of injustice it is that the shrine belongs to the Sikh panth, but the president of its committee is an English Deputy Commissioner. Has a Sikh ever been made President of Committee of a Church or a mosque? Why a Deputy Commissioner has been imposed as the president on the Gurdwara committee.⁷

No religion or society can survive unless its principles or of those who are entrusted with the responsibility of preserving these principles are nice."⁸ Such a sarcastic comment in the paper was justified because the government seemed more inclined towards worsening the management instead of improving it. As a result of this tendency a convict was appointed as the priest of 'Sri Darbar Sahib'. The person was not respected at all in the society, and the anger given vent to by the Sikh journalism at that time was natural. The government was also aware of it, but it continued doing so because of its anti-Sikh policies:

On hearing this the Sikh masses have felt pained: a man who had been convicted in gambling has been made to occupy the seat earlier shared by men like Bhai Buddha Sahibji and Bhai Mani Singh Ji. The new incumbent does not possess any quality to hold this office.⁹

'The Khalsa Akhbar' agrees with this opinion and writes:

The article published in the 'Shri Gurmat Prakashan' is absolutely correct. The roots of the faith lie in the Gurdwaras - - - - Unless the granthis or priests of that holy place are not men of exemplary and unblemished character, what benefit can accrue to the sangat or congregation from them.¹⁰

The controversy over this appointment did not remain limited to Punjab alone, but spread to the whole of India. The wellwishers of the community expressed their views on the subject in the newspapers of various languages. Appeals were made to the President and members of the Gurdwara Committee, to appoint some enlightened person as the Head Priest of 'Shri Darbar Sahib', since this holiest shrine daily invites devotees from every nook and corner of India and also from abroad. But such appeals failed to make any impact on the government. Such appeals were in fact indicative of the government's success in its dirty game of splitting the Sikhs into two groups so that they constantly go on opposing each other. Naturally, the priests and the granthis patronized by the government were looked down upon by the community. It is mainly because they violated the Sikh tradition and its code of conduct. The journalism upheld the view that money was the only religion or morality of such people. So the Sikh journalism bitterly opposed such pretentious people.

At this very time, a new controversy arose between the Sarbrah and priests of the 'Shri Darbar Sahib', on some money matters. The controversy resulted in litigation. It is true that the priests got nothing out of this legal battle, but they did become a laughing stock in the public eye. About the priests attempt at knocking at the door of the court, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' says:

It is said that the priests asked the Sarbrah to give an account of the gurdwara income and

expenditure but the latter refused. In the end, the priests had to take to the legal course.¹¹

After two years in 1888, the same paper says:

It has been about two years when the priests of 'Shri Darbar Sahib' wanted the Sarbrah to give an account of the donations received for the repairs of sacred pond, the jewellery and the money given in offering . . . The Chief court which heard this case decided that these priests did not donate anything in the said income (for the repairs of the pond). Nor do they expect to gain anything out of it. So the priests are not competent to ask for the accounts.¹²

The Sikh community felt pained at such incidents. It was but natural that the Sikh journalism, born out of such situations, endeavoured to bring about improvements in the existing structure of the Sikh religious life and tried to establish an ideal Sikh order. The major obstacle in the way was the government , yet the Sikh press spared no pains in taking up this cause of Sikhism, of course with a restraint on its tone.

The Sikhs had emotional attachment with the family of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. Maharaja Daleep Singh's re-induction into Sikhism is symptomatic of this. Daleep Singh did his best to return to India with a view to regain his lost empire, but failed. At least he left England for France, from where he went to Russia. He died in Paris on 22 Oct. 1893.¹³ The Sikhs had already felt injured religiously, it was now a political blow to them, and it aggravated their rage against

the British government.

At this juncture, the press should have plunged into the political field, keeping in view the simmering feelings of anger on the Sikh community. They should have taken this opportunity to lead the people politically, but nothing of the sort happened. The newspapers continued to overlook the political aspects. There could be two reasons behind it. Firstly, the movements going on in the contemporary society were primarily reformatory and not political in nature. Consequently, it is the renaissance movement of the Sikhs that remained in the fore-front. Secondly, 'the religious and political leadership of the Sikhs was in the hands of feudals or landed aristocracy at that time.'¹⁴ Therefore, the middle-class consciousness, which generally causes political revolutions came quite late to the Sikhs.

The landed aristocracy and the affluent were ever ready to follow the government's wishes.¹⁵ In this situation, the British Government also followed the policy of popularizing the theory of 'natural leader' as a result of which middle-class consciousness did not come up. That is why prior to the 'Akali movement', the Sikh journalism followed the path of propagating religion and social reformation. During and after the 'Akali movement', a change came in the Sikh journalism about which we shall talk later.

The Sikh journalism adopted this path so that the achievement of reformatory ideals may become certain and

easy. We can analyse this effort by dividing it into four sections:-

1. The attitude of the Sikh journalism towards the violation of the Sikh Code;
 2. The Sikh journalism vis-a-vis the polemics between Sikhism and other religions;
 3. Other means of propagating Sikhism such as publishing informative essays on the Sikh code of conduct, poems and news about the religious gatherings.
 4. The Sikh journalism and the religious affairs of the Sikhs.
- (1.) The Attitude of Sikh Journalism towards the Violation of the Sikh Code.

The first important matter that came before the Sikh journalism was the corruption rampant in the Sikh shrines, as a result of which the religious code of conduct was being violated. Some people did so knowingly. In this category, there could be included the greedy priests and mahants. There were some others who did so unmindful of the Sikh tradition. They were no doubt men of faith, but, being ignorant, they started a strangely new tradition which was a queer mixture of the Sikhism and the Hinduism. This also went against the Sikh tradition.

The Sikh journalism made both kinds of people the subject of their discussion. It pointed out the drawbacks of these people and tried to reform them. The 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' of 8 Magh, 1943 Bikrami published the following notice at page second:

We have learnt that there is a proposal to put up the portraits of the ten Sikhs Gurus in the Darshani Gate of the Golden Temple. We wonder at this proposal because idol-worship is a taboo in Sikhism. There are hundreds of instances in the Sikh scriptures in support of this argument. We hope that Sardar Man Singh will think deeply over it, before carrying out the project.¹⁶

The 'Khalsa Akhbar' (29th Jan. 1887) confirmed the stand taken by the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar':

On reading this essay in the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' we have felt pained that Harmandar Sahib will now turn into a temple for worshipping idols, what will the Khalsa gain by violating the tenets of the Shri Guru Granth Sahib which is the spirit of the ten Gurus. O, where are gone the ten Gurus who forbade us to worship idols, and where is the Khalsa which revered the Formless Akalpurkh.¹⁷

As a result of the publication of these essays, the matter of putting up portraits was considered, in the context of the Sikh code, and was then discarded. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 12th March 1887 said in this regard:

The result of this appeal has been that these portraits will not be put up there now. In their place, there will be hymns from the Scripture.¹⁸

Besides, the Sikh press published articles against the practice of idol-worship. They declared idol-worship against the Divine will. They regretted the increasing worship of idols and human beings in Hinduism because, as a result of this, the gullible masses fell a prey to the charm of the pretentious and greedy 'saints' and were thus misled. The papers tried to clear the misconceptions of the masses. Numerous

questions, raised in the columns of these papers about the human Gurus, were answered. These answers tried to prove that this practice was anti-Sikh. One of these letters said that when there is no way-out without the Guru, why not own a Guru and make our life a success. In reply to this, the paper said:

Man has to have a Guru, and he must have one,
 But we must ponder over the question as to who
 deserves to be that one. He should give us
 good advice and break off the bondage of life
 and death - - - - The tenth Guru of ours has said
 that all Sikhs are ordered to accept the
 'Granth' as the Guru, when we have been given
 a Guru who gives us the best of advice, why should
 we then go in for a Guru who is subject to lust,
 wrath, greed, etc.¹⁹

Another factor, responsible for violation of the 'gurdwara maryada,' was the mismanagement of the shrines. The Sikh journalism felt it its sacred duty to fight it out. In 1886, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' published tragic statement about the mismanagement of the sacred shrine at Tarn-Taran. This statement revealed how hooliganism was resorted to by the drunken people within the sacred precincts and how the women-folk were dishonoured. 'So much so that the dances by prostitutes were arranged in front of the Darshani Gate.'²⁰ All these matters were raised and bitterly denounced by the Sikh Press. But the management of shrines had so much deteriorated that situation did not change for the better, even after 12 years of the press had taken note of it. It becomes obvious from the reiteration by the 'Khalsa Akhbar'

in 1898, what it had said 12 years ago:

It is known to all that the shrines at Amritsar and Tarn-Taran are the most prominent gurdwaras of the Sikhs. Of them, the management of shrines at Tarn-Taran is in a very bad shape.

1. Some time ago Muslim-boy who is the son of a man of status was to undergo the ceremony of circumcision. The carpets and canopies were loaned to him for the ceremony from the shrine;
2. Within the precincts of the shrine, where no one who is a non-believer in Sikhism can preach his ideas, such people are misguiding the Sikhs.
3. It has also been observed that certain priests are also non-believers, and they do not bow their heads before the 'Gurus Granth Sahib'.
4. Only a few priests observe fully the Sikh code of conduct;
5. Every evening in the shrine after the recitation of the rahiras (the evening prayer) a Sikh within Shri Darbar Sahib listens to 'Vishnu Sarasnam' from a pamma. What a pity that no priest has ever tried to prevent it. Dear Khalsa ji, what else is it if it is not the inexcusable violation of the accepted code? Has all this been happening since the days of the Guru?²¹

It thus becomes obvious that press was no doubt determined to bring about reforms, but the task was not that easy. The priests even quarrelled among themselves over the question of fleecing the devotees. They also abused one another on this issue. In this way, these people violated the sanctity of the shrines. The Sikh press took strong notice of such incident and expressed their regret over it.²² These incidents definitely dealt a setback to the faith of a common Sikh.

At this time, the Sikh press denounced every such person, howsoever important he might have been, as violated the Sikh code, and the maryada. Those who consciously went the wrong way were strongly warned; and those who did so unconsciously were prevailed upon to take to the right course. In the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 15th July 1898, a Sikh wrote a letter to the editor, protesting against the night-long recitation of songs in praise of the Hindu gods and goddesses, at a 'Jagrata', which was sponsored by Sikh gentelman. The writer used very strong words for the Sikh who had hosted this 'Jagrata':

If you are not capable of bettering the lot of the community, then why do you act in a way which hurts the faith of the true and devoted Sikhs? In my opinion, it would have been far better if you had arranged the non-stop recitation (Akhand Path) of the Shri Guru Granth Sahibji or a get-together of the devotee Sikhs. We cannot but lament over your act.²³

It was just one instance of the religious violation by an ordinary Sikh, which was taken note of by the press. And, the notice taken was also not very strong. Had such a lapse been on the part of some religious leader, the action would have been much stronger. In the 'Ahluwalia Gazette', published from Amritsar, there appeared a news regretting that Gopal Singh, the mahant of 'Akal Bunga' performed the naming ceremony of his son (named Balwinder Singh) according to the vedic rites which were conducted by the Arya Smajists. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' took a strong notice of it. It said:

One would simply pity the attitude of some Sikhs. While they are trying to prove their identity distinctly from the Hindus: how do they accommodate an Arya-Samajist mahant in the precinct of its Gurdwara.²⁴

The newspapers brought this to the notice of the reader. The result was, that voices of protest started coming from all directions. The demand of the removal of this mahant was also raised. The resolutions were passed to this effect. One such resolution was passed from the 'Hazur Sahib.'²⁵ Besides, several 'Singh Sabhas' also passed resolutions against this sacrilege.²⁶ In the same vein the 'Khalsa Samachar' of 12th March 1900 took notice of another incident: the god Ganesa was worshipped at the 'Takhat' at the time of the engagement of the son of the 'Sevadar' of a temple at Patna.²⁷ There are several such instances which refer to the evil practices in the Sikhism. To oppose them was one of the most important means adopted by the Sikh press, for the propagation of Sikhism. It is because so long as wrong was not proved wrong, it was sure to continue leading the people astray.

The press started criticizing the evil practices in the Sikhism and also the conscious or unconscious lapses on the part of the Sikhs. In the Darbar Sahib, 'Arti' was offered with burning lamps put in a salvar. The Sikh journalism proclaimed it wrong:

For the past some time, a custom has gained ground among the Sikhs that they put a burning lamp and some other sweets, etc., in a Salvar, and in this way, they offer the arti. We call

it a corrupt practice. This kind of arti was offered by some non-Sikh people before their idols. It is written nowhere that this practice should be adopted in Sikhism. Such a practice has rather been openly denounced.²⁸

In this context, the 'Khalsa Samachar' while responding to a question, wrote in its issue dated 19th Feb. 1900:

Among the Khalsa, there has been no evidence of worshipping or offering arti with some burning lamps in hand. However, this practice from Hindu temples of late has been emulated by the Khalsa as well. It began in the Darbar Sahib about 50 or 60 years ago. Some other gurdwaras have also followed this practice.²⁹

For want of knowledge, some wrong means have been adopted by the granthis in saying the prayer (Ardas), which otherwise enjoys a place of great importance in the Sikh tradition. The Sikh press published such reports mainly to advise them to rectify it. On such ~~article~~ entitled "Sade Ardase di Dasha" (The Plight of our Prayer) was published in 'Khalsa Samachar'.³⁰ In this ~~article~~, the errors committed by the priest who led the prayer as well as those by the present congregation were pointed out. Suggestion was invariably made to rectify these errors. It was observed, from the way the Ardas was said, that neither the Bhai (leader) nor the congregation was aware of the importance of the Ardas. Apart from the leader, the entire congregation used to keep sitting and talking. In this way, lack of concentration at the time of saying Ardas was obvious. The Sikhs were impressed upon to understand the need to stand still, with mind concentrated on the Divine Being as with the belief that he was present there. The press

thus taught them the importance of the holy prayer, and also advised, them to act according to the Maryada.

In this way, the press gave the required guidance to those Sikhs who were unaware of the true Sikh tradition. A Sikh used to start the exegesis of the Gita sitting on the stairs in the 'Darbar Sahib', soon after the recitation of 'Asa Di Var' was over.³¹ But when he was made aware of the fact that the Katha of Gita was not part of the Sikh tradition, he accepted his lapse. In this context, the 'Panth Mittar' says:

The Sikh gentleman who used to do the Katha of Gita has accepted his fault and given up doing so. He has given the word that in future he will do only those things that are accepted in Sikhism. Instead of doing Katha of the Gita, he has now promised to explain Sukhmani to the congregation.³²

The papers also took note of the patronized ruffians roaming about the circumambulatory path as well as of the brahmans who fleeced the visiting devotees.

It can be said with certainty that while talking of religion, the Sikh press distinctively fought out those misconceptions because of which the Sikhs were going astray. It is just possible that the wrongly set tradition, might have degenerated to such an extent that no reformation could be possible. However, the Sikh journalism was able to detect and cure malady at its very initial stage. When the newspapers presented the 'wrong' in its true perspective, the

remedy was sure. So we can say that the Sikh journalism in its beginning, tried to correct the deteriorating or already deteriorated religious maryada and largely succeeded in its mission. From the reformatory viewpoint, these steps were not many, but they were certainly very useful. It was the result of these basic endeavours made by Sikh journalism that a more powerful struggle was launched by the Sikhs to bring about certain reforms.

(2.) Sikh Journalism Vis-a-Vis the Polemics between Sikhism and Other Religions:

The reformatory movements in the Punjab sought, on the one hand reforms in their own tradition, and, on the other, brought into limelight the corruption in other traditions. It was a more complex and difficult matter for the Sikhs, because the very existence of Sikhism was in danger. The people of other faiths refused to accept the independent and distinct identity of the Sikhism. It was declared to be a branch of the Hinduism. The most important reason behind this way of thinking was the unconscious induction of certain Hindu practices in Sikhism such as offering arti in the Harmandir Sahib,³³ the Katha of the Gita in certain Sikh shrine,³⁴ installation of the idols of Hindu gods and goddesses in the circumambulatory path in certain gurdwaras.³⁵ Consequently the Sikhs went astray and started considering their gurdwaras no more than the Hindu temples. When the Sikh press took up

the cause of denouncing all this and preaching the Sikh faith, it was not absolutely unnatural for the Hindus to oppose this endeavour. It was because of this that publications like 'Ham Hindu Nahin,' 'Nakli Sikh Prabodh,' 'Patrayay Palan' etc., were brought out. These books propagated the Sikh tenets, proclaiming the Sikhism to be a distinct faith.

A view current at that time was that the Khalsa need not have any fear of the Hindus, rather it will enjoy many benefits from its co-operation with the latter. The Khalsa might suffer some hardships or loss if it separated from the Hindus. The Sikh journalism dismissed this view as mere foolishness, and it tried to impress upon the 'Khalsa' that it is suffering because of its mingling with the Hindus:

Firstly, the Sikhs are exploited the most at the time of their pilgrimage to the Ganga. Secondly, thousands of Sikhs are asked to take off their iron-bangles and Kachh. They are sent back with empty pockets which makes it difficult for them to rehabilitate themselves. Thirdly, if a cow died in a Sikh's house, he is given the cow urine to drink and the dung to eat. After that he is given a severe shoe beating which is so much insulting to the Sikhs. Fourthly, when a male issue is born in a Sikh family, the child is also given the urine and dung to swallow. It is a very repulsive custom . . .³⁶

Moreover, several such other Hindu practices such as shradh, worship of ancestors and rites connected with birth marriage take the Sikhs away from the path shown by their Gurus. The marriage of Sikh girls to Hindu boys was also one such matter which hurt the sikhs. The Sikh girl, after marriage, could not observe the 'Sikh rites' freely

and was made to observe the 'Hindu rites' and ceremonies. Let us stress the point here that all this was being done not because of any secessionist feeling, but keeping in view the hard fact that the Sikh ideas and tenets were born at a time when Hinduism and other traditions were victim of so many evils. The newspapers of those days have been saying it openly that the Khalsa cannot hope to rise high by merging with the Hindus. Besides, the papers had been declaring that the Hindus were converting to the 'Arya Samaj', since they did not seem to have faith in their own religion. How could then the Khalsa merge with the Hindus?

Even today the major difference between Sikhism and Hinduism is their attitude towards caste system. Hindus are divided into four castes. Among them the Brahmans occupy the highest place; whereas the other three are subservient to the Brahman. The Sikhs do not believe in the caste system. All the Sikhs are equal and there is no ethnic inequality. The newspapers used to ask the Sikhs if they would like to be the slaves of Brahman.³⁷ Guru Gobind Singh created the Khalsa and secured for its members a place higher than that of the Brahman. If the Sikhs merged with Hinduism, it would mean accepting the superiority of the Brahman. Will be Sikhs accept it? Of course not. In this way, the Sikh press distinguished between Hinduism and Sikhism, and tried to preach the Sikhism. Fulfilling its obligation thus, it warned the Hindu society not to mislead the Sikhs. At the

same time it advised the Sikhs to follow the Sikh tenets and strengthen its roots. But the efforts of the opponents to bring the Sikhs into the fold of Hinduism still persisted. However, the Sikh press continued its efforts to prove the distinct identity of the Sikh faith. It went on preaching this ideology. Letters from correspondents continued to appear in the newspapers. These contained appeals to the Khalsa Panth:

If this situation prevailed for some time more, we are gone. Not to speak of Hindus every non-Sikh religion or sect is eager to bring it to its fold. And, our Sikh brothers are still caught in the evil practices borrowed from other faiths. As some books and Sikh scripture reveal and as has been communicated by the 'Khalsa Akhbar,' the Sikhs are not Hindus. In spite of all this, some of our Sikh brothers are still under the intoxication of Hinduism.³⁸

At that time movements such as 'Brahmo Samaj', 'Arya Samaj', 'Dev Samaj', 'Jamait-i-Ahmadiya', 'Nirankari', 'Kuka', and 'Singh Sabha' were going on in the Punjab. But among these, it is only the 'Arya Samaj' and the 'Singh Sabha' movements as gained great popularity in the Punjab. Both of them denounced idol-worship. In the beginning, many educated Sikhs supported the 'Arya Samaj'.³⁹ But later on, when some derogatory remarks about the Sikh scripture and the Sikh Gurus were found in Arya Samaj publication, the 'Satyarth Prakash',⁴⁰ the Sikh broke off their relations with the 'Arya Samaj'. The Arya Samaj missionaries used to make direct attacks on Sikhism.⁴¹ At the eleventh annual session of the 'Arya Samaj' on 25th Nov. 1888, at Lahore, Pt. Gurdatt,

Lala Muralidhar, Swami Swatma--nand, and Pt. Lekh Ram not only confirmed the anti-Sikh views expressed in the 'Satyarth Prakash' but passed direct derogatory comments on Shri Guru Nanak Dev Ji and Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji. They even showed disrespect to the 'Shri Guru Granth Sahib'.⁴² What happened later, on 3rd June 1900, shook the entire Sikh community. At the 'Wachhowali Arya Samaj', Lahore, before an audience of hundreds of people the hair of 30 baptized Sikhs were shaved off.⁴³ This incident infused a spirit of anger among the Sikhs. The Sikh press expressed a deep sense of anguish over it. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 6th June 1900 expressed its regret over the incident and termed it fatal for Sikhism.

During the last three years of the 19th century, the 'Arya Messenger' and the 'Arya Patrika': the two propaganda papers of the 'Arya Samaj', tried to prove the Sikh Guru as Hindu reformers. This worsened the religious environment in Punjab. These papers preached that the Sikh Gurus believed in the Vedas and that the Shri Guru Granth Sahib is just an anthology of pruned compositions taken from the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures.⁴⁴

Under such circumstances, it became imperative for the Sikhs to remould their policy keeping in view the changed religious environment, so that efforts could be made to save Sikhism from harm being caused or that could possibly be caused. One thing was, however, certain that a certain kind of opposition had taken place between the Hindus and the

Sikhs at least in the field of journalism. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' and the 'Khalsa Samachar,' the two prominent newspapers of the Sikhs, used to rebut the allegations made by the Arya samajists. Many times, their tone became bitter and sarcastic. In this way, in the field of journalism in Punjab, with the pace of ideological war, bitterness also increased.

Supporting their view of opposing the Sikh faith, the Arya Samajists said:

1. There is praise of the Vedas in the Guru Granth Sahib.
2. The job left incomplete by Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh Ji was completed by Swami Dayanandji etc.⁴⁵

Responding to these motives, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of Lahore said:

We not only know intimately Swami Dayanand but had also had the opportunity to have a dialogue with him on the Sastras. - - - -
Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh have been trying to liberate man from the clutches of the Vedas and Katebs because the Vedas are proclaimed as one of the three ropes which bind the dull-headed of our country. The Sikh Gurus broke away this rope. So their path is different from the path shown by the Vedas.⁴⁶

The Sikh press did not relish at all, when some Sikh helped the Arya Samaj in their struggle for starting 'Gurukul'. In fact it denounced those Sikhs who had taken this step.

'Gurukul' is the talk of the town. It becomes necessary that the innocent Sikhs be told as to

what it really is. The Aryas of Jullundur who are a group separate from the Aryas of Lahore College have tried to start a sort of School by this name. In this school, Arya religion will be taught. Also, their ceremonies like mundan, (i.e. traditional shaving off of the hair) will be preached.

I fear that some Sikhs may consider it a Sikh drive for fund collection simply by reading the word 'Guru' printed thereon and make contribution to it.⁴⁷

Besides, the attacks made by the Hindus, the Sikhs had to face religious challenges from the Christians and the Muslims as well. The Sikh press took these attacks within its ambit and made them unsuccessful. The Christians declared 'Guru Nanak' as a Prophet of the Christians, thereby proving him to be a follower of Christianity:

Before the birth of Guru Nanak, the name 'Nanak' was not used anywhere in India. In fact, this is not a name, but a little. When the Pope sends forth some preacher to convey the teachings of the Bible, he gives him the title of 'Nansio.'⁴⁸

This was a foolish and ludicrous statement and it was taken due notice of by the 'Khalsa Samachar'. Commenting on it, the paper wrote that by saying so, the Christians try to prove that Guru Nanak took the title from the Pope and set out to preach Christianity. The paper lamented over the lack of wisdom of such people and said:

Now listen to the gossip spread by Walji Bhai. The word 'Nanak' was not there in the Punjab. Had Walji been a Punjabi could he even go to this length of falsehood? The words 'Nanak' and 'dadak' are pure Punjabi

and rather ancient, certainly older than, Guru Nanak. The word 'nanak' means the parental home of the mother, whereas, 'dadak' stands for the parental village of the father. Strangely, there is no substitute in Punjabi for the word 'nanak' in the sense of mother's parental home or village.⁴⁹

In this context, the newspaper further explains:

If the Pope gave the title of Nansio to each of his disciples, why did he not give this title to Kabir. You have said earlier that many missionaries of Christianity came over to India, but Pope titled none of them as Nansio because none of the other preachers in India is by the name of Nansio or Nahah, or Ninka or Nunkas, etc.⁵⁰

It becomes abundantly clear here that people from other faiths made many mis-statements so as to harm Sikhism. The Sikh press not only made these attempts unsuccessful but also made the Sikhs aware of them at the intellectual level. With the help of rational reasoning, press made the Sikhs aware of their true heritage. At such a juncture even the Muslims tried to see the Sikhism from the wrong perspective. People like **Bhai Vir Singh** condemned it branding it as communal propaganda:

Kadiyani Mirza sahib Ghulam Ahimad published a book named 'Sat Bachan.' It contained the selected teachings of the Guru, the events from his life, and also verses from his compositions. From their similarities with Islam, the author implied that Guru Nanak was a Muslim and that Sikhism was born out of Islam - - - All this was done from the perspective of communal propaganda.⁵¹

While facing the attacks made against Sikhism, the

Sikh press condemned all those corrupt and evil practices that had crept into Sikhism since the Misl's period, especially during the regime of Maharaja Ranjīt Singh some of whose non-Sikh protege tried to give a non-Sikh tinge to the Sikh tradition and teaching. The Sikh press also expressed its dissatisfaction with the lukewarm efforts being made to get rid of them:

The efforts made till date with a view to get rid of the evils have not been sufficient. If at one place some of our own stress the need of a human-Guru, Christians term the faith of Nanak as a branch of Christianity. They proclaim that Guru Nanak had had the privilege to get the Pope's permission to preach Christianity. The Udasis like Swami Kesavanand and Balak Ram try to prove that Sikhism was born to resurrect the Vedic teaching. So the Sikh faith is just an active supplement of orthodox Hinduism. Mirza Kadiani considers Guru Nanak one among the Muslim saints. The advocates of Brahma Samaj equate Guru Nanak with Raje Rammohin Roy. Swami Dayanand calls Guru Nanak pretentious. However, the Sikhs enjoy their deep slumber of inertia inspite of all these attacks.⁵²

The Sikh journalism giving a call for the Sikh renaissance, wanted to do away with the religious ignorance among the Sikhs. The movement for reforms in religious shrines, that was born later on, is indicative of the success of the propaganda launched by it. However, we shall take it up, a little later. But the disunity among the Sikhs dealt a set-back to the cause it has taken up. It also affected adversely the work of preaching the Sikh tenets. Whereas, the Khalsa Panth should have worked as a single entity for propagating their faith, it worked at the group level,

with each group treading its own path. At the same time, the mutual incrimination among these groups led to hatred and bitterness instead of the unity of purpose. There might have been a considerable role of the British government, in creating such a situation. They bought some greedy people and thereby caused disaffection and disunity in the Panth. In the Sikh press, the people, who instead of thinking well of the Panth tried to harm it, were addressed with such epithets as "the treacherous of his house". According to Suba Singh, the journalism at this stage had to fight the intra--Singh Sabha battles as well.⁵³ Of the two groups in the panth, one was led by Giani Ditt Singh, Jawahar Singh, Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Kanwar Bikram Singh who did not tolerate the influence of orthodox Hinduism on the Sikh faith. In the second group was Baba Khem Singh Bedi who acted in an un-Sikh-like manner. That was why, the group of Khem Singh Bedi was often opposed by the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of Lahore and the 'Sudharak'.

When we look at the plight of the community, it looks so dreadful because there are available so many insincere and unfaithful people who declare themselves to be true Sikhs and God-fearing people but who side with the anti-Sikh. They cause harm and agony to their own brothers for the sake of the Hindus.

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Therefore, Khalsa Ji, you should get out of your slumber and see how many people are there who harm you through the non-Sikhs.⁵⁴

It was the result of this groupism that the Khem Singh group managed to get Bhai Gurmukh Singh excommunicated from the

Akal takhat.⁵⁵ When the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' reappeared on 13 April 1893 at Amritsar, Giani Avtar Singh Wahiria was the editor. 'He was a supporter of the Amritsar Singh Sabha.'⁵⁶ So, in the field of Sikh journalism, it caused a sort of 'war of the words' between the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' and the 'Khalsa Akhbar' -- a spokesman of the Lahore Singh Sabha.

The articles in the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' against the 'Khalsa Akhbar' reached the lowest ebb. In response to them, many times the latter simply wrote, "We cannot write abuses in response to abuses by them. The people in the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' should express their view with reason and sobriety, otherwise we can also say many things which they will not be pleased to hear."⁵⁷ The monthly 'Khalsa Sewak' was also an opponent of the 'Khalsa Akhbar'.

Gradually the situation so worsened that these two groups came to be known as the Lahore party and the Amritsar party. From 1899 the 'Khalsa Samachar' began to be published. It also adopted an anti-Khalsa Akhbar tone. Thus, the groupism played a very destructive role for Sikh journalism. It proved certainly very harmful for the efforts being made by the Sikh press in the field of religion. On the one hand, these papers advised the people to follow the ideals of religion, and on the other, they faced the problem of keeping the panth united.

Khalsa Panth, come out of your inertia and see that you have not yet thought of any betterment of your community."⁵⁸

Most of the editorials were composed with the sole object of unifying the community.

(3) Other Efforts by the Sikh Journalism for the Propagation of Sikhism.

The Sikh press made multi-dimensional efforts for the propagation of the Sikhism. On one hand, it addressed itself to the theme of the violation of maryadas and other evil practices which were iritiating its tradition, and it forcefully countered the allegations made by people of other religions. On the other hand, it endeavoured to cultivate people's faith and interest in the Sikhism. These efforts, no doubt, proved quite useful. The Sikhism which had come to an eclipse for a while as a result of such circumstances, now once again became relevant to the times and started providing lead to the man kind.

These papers published such articles as made the people aware of the true essence of Sikhism. An exegesis of Guru's hymns, essays on their lives, stories about the deep and unflinching faith of the Sikh men and women were such stuff as not only influenced the masses, but also provided knowledge of the Sikhism to the readers. The efforts made by the Sikh press in this direction can be divided into following:

- a) To tell people of the degradation in Sikhism.
- b) To noice concern over the lack of preachers.

- c) To resolve the questions, about religion, raised in the readers letters.
- d) To preach religion among the youth.
- e) To inspire for preaching at festivals and other get to-gethers.

It was necessary for the propagation of the faith that the followers should be shaken out of their slumber by apprising them of the degeneration that had set in, so that they could become more steadfast in their faith. The downfall of one's own religion is better narrated when it is done in relation to the development of other faiths. The Sikh press adopted this sort of path. The readers were told how other religions were progressing and flourishing, whereas the Sikh faith was going downwards. Such a situation was lamented at and an appeal was made to save the Sikhism from any further downfall:

"When we compare and contrast our position with that of other faiths, we feel really very ashamed because christianity in its 1800 years of history has so spread all over the world as a drop of oil overtakes the water."⁵⁸

The same can be said of the Muslims. They consider the propagation of their faith as their religious duty. About the Sikhs, it is said that they have made a mess of their lives by giving way to material indulgence and gaiety. The Sikh community was given the epithets of 'community in slumber' and 'inert community'. This certainly caused

anxiety and restlessness among the people. However, this very anxiety could lead the community to the path of progress. The awakening among the Sikhs was but natural because on the one hand, there was a rich Sikh heritage of the great martial race, and on the other, there was bitter attack of the Sikh Press on the community for going astray.

It has generally been observed that when an idea takes root in the psyche of the masses, a sort of movement is born for the realization of the potential of that idea. The Sikh journalism also started such a movement for prompting the Sikh to have devotion to Sikhism, and it successfully brought the people within the fold of Sikhism. To differentiate 'gurmat' from the 'manmat', and forbid people from evil practices were the dominant themes of the Sikh press. Talking of gurmat and manmat the 'Khalsa Samachar' says:

"The times are such as people did take to manmat instead of the gurmat. The reason is simple. Indulgence in manmat provides pleasure; whereas, the latter is a very difficult task. Both provide different fruits. The fruit of manmat is bitter; whereas that of gurmat is par-excellence.--"59

The Sikh press was also aware of the fact that those who were educated or at least literate could easily get some benefit from such writings. But to save those, who were illiterate and who lived in the far-off villages, from being led astray and to put them on the path of Sikhism, it was necessary to send out preachers to enlighten them. That is why, the Sikh journalism stressed the need of the preachers.

In this connection, the 'Khalsa Samachar' also published an essay entitled "Why are the preachers Needed So Badly?" This essay included the view expressed by MaxMueller in his speech delivered in 1873 at the West Minister Abby in London, stressing the importance of preachers in the field of propagation of religion.

People claim that there are six major religious in the world: Zoroastrianism, Jews, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. The prophets of the first three religions did not attempt proselytization, where as the latter three have spread because of preaching. Khalsa Ji you can well make out from this statement how much we stand in need of the preachers.⁶⁰

It was because of the paucity of preachers that the Sikhs in far-flung areas got alienated from the fundamental tenets of their faith and began to worship the tombs.⁶¹ Along with all these things, the paper also referred to all those places where Sikhism flourished as a result of preaching Sikhism. This brought enthusiasm among the people, e.g.

'Bhai Nanak Singh writes from Abbatabad that Bhai Labh Singh of Kohat came a few days earlier. His preaching left a deep impact on the audience. Similarly, if some other Sikhs also visit this place, it would be much better.'⁶²

It was the result of the efforts made by the Sikh press that the learned Sikh preached in the Sikh gatherings and congregations. They shed light on the significance of the 'Gurbani' and of the five K's, and the Sikh code of conduct. The letters eulogizing the efforts put in by the preachers

were often published in these papers, so that more Sikhs volunteered for preaching the sacred tenets. These papers also published the name of places where preachers had not by then reached, so that preachers could go there, for the purpose of spreading the word of the Guru:

It is a matter of shame for the Khalsa Panth that the Christian missionaries have spread to Chamba, Kulu and other adjoining hilly areas. They have converted many Hindus to their faith. How far is England from where they have come to live in the Punjab. No Khalsa from the nearby town of Lahore or Amritsar comes forward to the reformation of these people, and as a result these people from far-off places continue with their mission.⁶³

We can easily make out from it the extent of awareness among the Sikh papers as regards the need of preaching. Just as a mother reprimands her son on finding him going astray, the Sikh press felt deeply concerned at the Sikh society's misadventures and did rebuke it for doing so.

Similarly, when a reader posed some questions on one or the other aspect of religion, these papers resolved it sincerely and fearlessly. Numerous such questions arose on the question of reinitiation (shadhi) of the Sikhs back into their faith. For example, the questions were raised in the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 9th Nov. 1900:

Dear Editor, what is the method adopted to initiate a Muslim into the Sikh faith? In which hymn has Guru Gobind Singh written to convert Muslims into Sikhism? When a Muslim has already undergone the ceremony of circumcision, how can he ever become a Sikh.

Why don't the Christian missionaries bring the Muslims into their fold? Why do you convert Muslims to your faith? In my opinion, the Muslims converted into Sikhs be named 'Sunnat Khalsa.'⁶⁴

These questions were answered by the newspaper which were respectively as under:

- 1) ----- We convert not only Muslims, but men and women of every country and the method is of baptism to bless them with the Amrit of the Sword.
- 2) ----- Guru Gobind Singh Ji has said in one of his hymns that all human beings are one (Manas Ki Jaate Sabhay Akay Kar Janbo). So, he created this amrit or baptism of the sword for the entire mankind. We bring others to the Sikh fold, and this hymn supports our action.
- 3) ----- If a man is already circumcised, it does not matter because his offspring will not undergo this ceremony. Amrit of the Sword is to bring the man into the Sikh fold, and the circumcision is of earlier date. When that person gives up his earlier faith, circumcision does not stand in the way.
- 4) ----- We convert Muslims for the propagation of the tenets of the Guru and to enable them to secure liberation.
- 5) ----- If the ceremony of circumcision continues, i.e. if their children also undergo this ceremony, then they should, in the manner of the Bandai Khalsa, be named Sunnati Khalsa. But why to call them circumcised if they do not circumcise themselves?⁶⁵

It is just one instance. While responding to the letters, on the subject of the Sikh code, these papers retained their tone of preaching.

The youth is that section of a community which can easily be misguided. Some such thing happened to the Sikh

youth as well. The conversion of the Sikh young boys to Christianity could prove fatal to Sikhism. It was a malady which required immediate remedy. The Sikh press realized the gravity of the situation and reflected deeply on it. The 'Khalsa Tract Society' also fulfilled this need to some extent. This society was established in 1894 by Bhai Vir Singh. The society soon launched a tract series under the fortnightly 'Nirguniara,' to publish literature for the propagation of the Sikh teachings for spreading Sikhism. In this series were included tracts on almost every theme purporting to propagate the Sikh faith. They were for instance; 'Sikhi te Panth Unati', (No. 279); exegesis of Gurbani (e.g. 'Salok Sehes-Kriti Stik'-number 1091), Sikh History (e.g. The greater holocaust, -- No. 203 and Gargajj Bole-No.300); Lukman (No. 896). How much land does a man need (No. 561); Wonders of Nature (No. 244) etc.⁶⁶ Although the policy of the 'Khalsa Tract Society', because of groupism, always remained pro-British, yet it is a hard fact that the tracts published by the society and some other steps taken by it, played a major role in the field of preaching faith. A letter published in the 'Khalsa Samachar' makes it clear that these tracts had left a deep impression on the minds of the youth:

My age at present is 27 years, but knowledge of my own Sikh faith came to me from June 1902 through Bhai Didar Singh Ji, (Updeshak, Khalsa Updeshak fund dhan) who asked me to subscribe to the tracts by the Khalsa Tract Society and

Khalsa Samachar, in fact, he wrote a letter on my behalf without my consent. When these tracts started arriving, I did not feel like reading them in the beginning, but as I read one or two of them, their contents so deeply impressed me that love for religion went on increasing day by day. After reading exegesis of Japuji, Jaapji, Shabad Hazare etc., I felt so much thrilled that I cannot put this feeling in words.⁶⁷

It had been generally observed that the sons in the families of the 'Sahijdhari Sikhs' did not generally keep Unshorn hair, and were not firm in their faith. The number of such young men was quite large. The Sikh press paid its attention to this lapse as well. Efforts were made to convince the youth to take to the baptism of the sword and become 'Keshadhari Sikhs'. A letter published in the 'Khalsa Akhbar' refers to such efforts. In this letter, a young man (who believes in Sikhism) has expressed his deep regret over being a clean-shaven person, especially because he was mistaken by a meat-seller to be Muslim. So, unknowingly he was eating 'Kutha' (i.e. the meat prepared according to Muslim rites) for last some time. While making this lamentation, the young man admitted that if he been a Keshadhari instead of being clean-shaven such a lapse would never have happened:

The only reason behind this sinful lapse is the fact of my being clean-shaved person. Had I been a Sikh (i.e. Keshadhari), I did not have committed this sin, so I make an appeal that I be initiated as a Sikh. All my sins be pardoned and I may be under the protection of the Guru, so that I could be saved from any other sins.⁶⁸

In reply to the above letter, the editor of the 'Khalsa Akhbar' published a few lines which were as under:-

We wish to inform this brother of ours that initiation into Sikhism is not a difficult task. One should observe the 5 K's, come to Guru's protection with loving faith and receive the baptism of the sword. Thus one can become a Sikh.⁶⁹

Publication of News about the religious programmes in the Sikh papers was also indicative of the trend towards propagation of religion. The news of the weekly programmes of the 'Singh Sabhas' appeared in almost every paper. The 'Khalsa Samachar' always reserved the top place in the first column of the front page for this news.⁷⁰ Such letters and messages were also included as gave details of these religious programmes. These news provided the readers with the information of the propagation job done at different places. This encouraged the preachers also, and they took to their job with renewed vigour. For example,

On the 4th of Chet, the Sikh congregation gathered in the Hiraghat Gurdwara. Santji delivered a lecture on the teachings of the Gurus. Listening to this, the Khalsa felt very happy, but it equally saddened the non-believers.⁷¹

Similarly, the news of the Gurburb celebrations at different places was also published with all the details. For example, the news of the celebration at places as far off as Maudel (Burma), Chitral, Pesang, Kalyana (Rawalpindi),

Aurangabad, etc., were published on four pages of the newspaper.⁷² It showed how conscious the Sikh press was with regards to such religious functions. It was only this awareness of the Sikh journalism that made it lay stress on the need to send preachers on all major festivals throughout India, so that Sikh tenets could be preached there. In this context, the 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote, "whenever there is an occasion for the progress for the Sikh community, the 'Khalsa Samachar' becomes vocal to achieve the desired end."⁷³ In this very editorial column the paper stressed the need of sending Sikh preachers to the coming 'Kumbh Mela'. Such notice in the press proved helpful to the community. As a result of the stress laid in the press on the need to send out preachers, these efforts proved very helpful in spreading Sikhism. The 'Jathedar's Diary' published serially in the 'Khalsa Samachar' contains a daily account of the preaching work done at the Kumbh Mela. At such gatherings, people listened to the words addressed directly to them. Moreover, they reaped much benefits from the open discussions of the scholars of various other religions with the Sikh scholars. The way certain doubts about the Sikhism were resolved on such occasions helped it to flourish more.

" - - - (8 April 1903) A Sikh office-bearer and a Sahajdhari had a dialogue with Pt. Waryam Singh. They resolved their misconceptions about mundan (ceremonial shaving off the hair), idol-worship, havan, and the evening arti, and embraced Sikhism. They also promised that immediately on reaching home they will ask all

members of their families to come to the Sikh fold. Then Bhai Gurdas also vowed to take the Sikh initiation. He also promised to give up saying arti at home."⁷⁴

Such religious gatherings were golden occasions for the Sikh Scholars to clear the misconceptions about Sikhism. To present it (Sikhism) in correct perspective, the Sikh journalism endeavour the most to encourage the scholars to exploit such opportunities.

So we can say that the Sikh press told about the degeneration that had set in Sikhism and also referred to the need for preachers. As a result, the preaching of Sikh tenets started at different places. While taking into account of religious gatherings, the Sikh press also resolved the doubts arising in the minds of the Sikhs. The feeling of love for their faith was cultivated especially among the youth, so that sikhism could gets more competent and capable scholars in the days to come. It is not necessary to put into words the achievement of the Sikh press in this direction because the movements that followed were an ample witness to it. We can say that the Sikh journalism made a valuable contribution in the field of the propagation of Sikhism.

(4) Sikh Journalism and religious affairs of the Sikhs.

After the first decade of the 20th Century, the Sikh journalism raised many new questions pertaining to religious matters. They can be termed as a part of its preaching plan

as they were raised to achieve religious freedom. Among them were included several religious matters, such as matter-about the wall of Gurdwara Rikabganj, matter of sword, matter of reforming the gurdwara management, Gurdwara Act, etc. In the field of journalism, all these matters not only gave birth to many possibilities but also enabled the Sikh press to stand up to the British Government for its unjust and wrong policies. This can be called the greatest achievement of Sikh journalism of that era, because it was this tone of the press which led to the birth of 'Political Journalism'.

In this way, a great change took place in Sikh journalism in the second decade of the century. Another reason behind this change, was the pro-British Government policy of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. It is true that the Diwan did very commendable work in the propagation of Sikhism, and it had had a deep impact on the Sikh community till the second decade of the century. But 'it was controlled by the feudal aristocracy. These people were moderates and loyal to the government. That is why a revolt started brewing against them within the Panth.'⁷⁵ Talking of the inception of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the 'Khalsa Samachar' admits that this Diwan was very close to the 'Delhi Darbar.'⁷⁶ When the pro-government policy of the Diwan became clear to the Panth especially in the matter relating to the wall of the Gurdwara Rikabganj, then the possibilities to launch a new movement to unite the Sikhs increased. At last, the Gurdwara Reform Movement was launched and it brought several new challenges to

the Sikh press. We shall analyse these challenges here one by one.

(A) The matter of the Wall of the Gurdwara Rikabganj:

Gurdwara Rikabganj is a historical Sikh shrine of unique importance in the Sikh tradition. After the martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadurji, his body was cremated at this site, while his head was taken to 'Anandpur' where (Guru) Gobind Singh Ji cremated it.

When in 1911, the British changed the capital of the country from Calcutta to Delhi, the construction of New Delhi started at a place named Raisina, a little distance away from Old Delhi. 'Assembly Hall' was constructed in front of Rikabganj Gurdwara, and the Viceroy's residence on its West. The government felt that the old, five-cornered boundary wall of the Gurdwara did not go well with the structure of the Viceroy's bungalow. In 1912, the government purchased, from the mahant of the Gurdwara the land that lay in between the shrine and the boundry wall, with a view to demolish this wall.⁷⁷ In 1914, a part of the wall was demolished. This incident hurt the religious feelings of the Sikhs and caused a great resentment among them. In no time this resentment changed into an agitation. The Sikhs from different places started demanding the reconstruction of the wall. The Sikh journalism took an active part in this movement.⁷⁸ However,

so far as the 'Khalsa Samachar' is concerned, it remained silent. From this silence, it was obvious that it did not want to take any risk by opposing the government at any level.

The President of Chief Khalsa Diwan, Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, and his companions felt that demolition of the wall in no way caused any harm to the Gurdwara.⁷⁹ Such statements issued by the Khalsa Diwan were generally resented by the Sikh people. In the press and on the platform, the controversy heated up. Sardar Harchand Singh launched an Urdu weekly 'Khalsa Akhbar' with a view to preaching his viewpoint. Lal Singh Kamla Akali was its first editor. It was considered to be patronising militant ideology.⁸⁰ Feeling of resentment among the people against the government and the Chief Khalsa Diwan grew stronger with each passing day. The World War I was going on, during 1914-18. Then the Sikhs avoided having any confrontation with the government, during this period. The press Law was also made more stringent at that time.

After the war was over in 1919, Punjab was put under the martial law as a result of which 'the problem of wall' remained unresolved. The tragedy of 'Jallianwala Bagh' further fuelled the anti-government sentiments. The matter of the Gurdwara Rikabganj was again raised. The 'Sacha Dhindora' which was the spokesman of the views of Master Sunder Singh, started publishing strongly-worded essays against the government, on the question of the demolition of the wall.⁸¹ It regenerated the same enthusiasm among the Sikhs. In May 1920,

the 'Akali' was started. In its inaugural number, the five demands of the Sikhs were listed. One of those demands was the reconstruction of the Gurdwara wall.⁸² In this way, the feeling of protest against the government which had remained suppressed for about 7 years, since 1914, once again burst out. Talking of the contribution made by the 'Akali' in this direction, Hira Singh Dard says, "it was in consequence of the propaganda carried out by this paper that the question of the Gurdwara Rikabganj wall became the pivot, round which revolved the entire Sikh agitation."⁸³ An estimate of the efforts put in by Sikh journalism can be made from the fact that Sardul Singh Kaveeshar sought, through a notice in the Sikh press, 100 volunteers, who could reconstruct the wall even at the risk to their life. In response to this appeal in the newspaper, more than 700 men of all religions volunteered, within a fortnight, to join this suicide squad.⁸⁴ The Jatha was supposed to leave for Delhi on 1st December 1920, but Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of 'Nabha' warned the government of the impending danger in the developing situation and advised it to reconstruct the wall. The government acceded to this suggestion and reconstructed the wall before the first batch of volunteers could reach Delhi. In this way, the Sikh agitation compelled the British Government to construct the wall. Referring to this victory of the Panth, Hira Singh Dard says that 'perhaps the government might have hoped to please the Sikhs by fulfilling their long-pending demand, but the Sikhs took it as their first victory.'⁸⁵ In fact,

it was the first victory of the Sikh press as well. This strengthened the possibilities of the success of Sikh journalism, which had sprung up with the advent of the 'Akali'. During all this while, Sikh journalism raised its voice for the Sikhs. This victory was more significant for the 'Akali' because it was the first achievement of the struggle started by it in this direction. Inspired by this, many new papers were launched, and in all of them the political aspect gained prominence. In this way, we can say that the question of the wall of the Gurdwara Rikabganj was one such matter as held that place of significance in Sikh journalism, which motivated it on the one hand to take the task of preaching religion, and on the other, the ideology suggestion to form political orientation, so that it could safeguard the political rights of the Sikhs. It was the result of this ideology that the Sikh waged the war of Independence against the government.

(B) Affair of Sword:

Sword is a religious symbol of the Sikhs. It is a weapon given to them by Guru Gobind Singh Ji. It is one of the 5 K's bestowed upon the Sikhs by the Guru. To wear it ever is also an edict of the Guru Sahib. However, after the annexation of the Punjab by the British, a complete ban on keeping arms was imposed. Ban was also imposed on keeping the Sword. However, the Nihangs who invariably keep a long sword and spear with them did not pay heed to this ban. So the police

used to question the Sikhs wearing the sword. Sometimes such Sikhs were arrested, too. When the Sikhs were made to face such difficulties on the question of wearing 'Kirpan', the question of securing the freedom to do so cropped up. The Sikh organizations passed resolutions to this effect. At last, the government accepted it as a religious symbol. The Sikhs were now free to wear Kirpan, but the question of its size still remained unresolved. The government allowed wearing the nine inch long sword. But the Sikhs wanted this restriction on size to go.⁸⁶

A 'Hukamnama' was also issued from 'Takhat Sri Hazur Sahib' in this regard, on 20 Assu 444 Nanakshahi. In this Hukamnama, all Sikhs were required to wear the sword, not less than one foot in size.

Since the Khalsa has been created by the protector of the world, Guru Gobind Singh Ji, all Sikhs are required to wear sword. For the past, some time Sikhs in Punjab have been making this sword smaller and smaller. Many Sikhs came to the Takhat and appealed as to what should be the size of this sword. Therefore, this edict is hereby issued, on behalf of the Takhat that the Sword to be worn by the Sikhs should in no case be less than one foot in size.⁸⁷

The question as to the length of the sword remained unresolved till 1922-23. At last the government gave full freedom to the Sikhs to wear the Sword. However, it was not granted as a religious right, but as an award to the Sikhs in lieu of the service rendered by them during World War I. The Sikh press which viewed it as a matter of religious freedom

did not like it. In this context, the 'Akali' (1921) wrote:

Sword is one of the 5 K's, every Sikh is supposed to keep as religious symbols. But the Sikhs had been denied the right to wear Kirpan for some time past. Those who wore kirpan were put behind the bars. Ultimately when the government gave the freedom, it was not as a religious freedom but as an award for the service rendered by the Sikh community in the first World War. In spite of all this the Sikhs are still tortured and imprisoned for wearing Kirpan. The excuse taken is the large size of the sword.⁸⁸

The efforts made by the Sikh press in this direction did not bear much fruit. The question of sword remained unresolved, and a sort of mutual ill-will developed between the government and the Sikhs. One such instance is, the 'Punjabi Punch' of 1936, calls the situation ridiculous, stating that, on one hand, the government acknowledges sword to be a religious symbol of the Sikhs and assures it does not want to put any restrictions on it, on the other hand it actually puts such restrictions.⁸⁹

It can thus be said that the Sikh journalism struggled continuously on the question of sword, but the matter could never be fully resolved.

(C) Matter of Bringing Reforms in Gurdwaras.

The war waged by the Sikhs for religious freedom under the Gurdwara Reform Movement is unique. In spite of constant opposition and oppression by the British Government, the Sikhs won many such battles which are really unparalleled.

That is why this movement attracted the attention not only of the Punjab but of the whole of India. The role of Sikh press in this struggle has been significant because the necessary guidance to the community was provided by the leaders through the Sikh press only.

We have already discussed about the management in the gurdwaras as to how the very existence of Sikhism was being risked by the greedy mahants and priests who violated the Sikh code in the gurdwaras. Many of the shrines had been reduced to mere personal estates of the mahants. It had thus become imperative to form a central organization of the Sikhs to control the shrines, so that multi-dimensional reforms could be made in the shrines, and the Sikh code rehabilitated. It was for this purpose that the 'Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee' was formed. It started the agitation to bring all Sikhs shrines under its control. This movement was named the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement'. 'The English were terrified at this movement. And it was under this feeling of terror that they patronized the mahants.'⁹⁰ It was the result of government patronage to the mahants that the tragedy at 'Nankana Sahib' took place. The government made all possible efforts to suppress this movement. This policy of the government became clear during the agitation of 'Guru Ka Bagh', 'Morcha Bhai Pheru', 'Jaitu agitation' etc. All this is meant to convey the idea that under this Reform Movement the Sikh came into direct confrontation with the British Government.

The Khalsa Panth had already felt concerned on the matter of Gurdwara management, in Sept. 1918 the first such case before it was that of the 'Gurdwara Babe di Ber', Sialkot, where a 'patit' (degenerated person) was appointed Sarbrah. A man who had shorn his hair and who openly violated the Sikh code was appointed as a religious preacher for the Sikhs.⁹¹ The Sikhs strongly resented it. They called a gathering of the Khalsa on 5th Oct. 1920, and through a resolution appointed a 13-member committee of the Sikhs to look after the management of the shrine. Realizing the gravity of the situation, the Commissioner of the Division reached the place and proclaimed that the government has no intention of interfering in the religion and religious affairs of the Sikhs; they are fully free to manage their shrines, as they wish. The Sikhs felt encouraged by this development. Resolutions were also passed for the freedom of the 'Shri Darbar Sahib', but the government continued to evade the issue saying that the elections will be held according to the new constitution and newly elected members will propose changes in the management of the 'Darbar Sahib'.⁹² So, situation remained the same.

On 12th Oct. 1920, the Khalsa brotherhood of Amritsar held its annual session in the 'Jallianwala bagh'. It was decided that, 'in a diwan, the so-called low-caste people will be granted the baptism of sword and thus made one with the high-ups, they will then be taken to Golden Temple'. As against it,

the mahants and priests of the Darbar Sahib got it proclaimed to the beat of the drum against this diwan saying that no Sikh should attend it. But inspite of it, the diwan was held and baptismal ceremony was also performed. Next day when these newly baptized Sikhs were taken to the 'Shri Darbar Sahib,' the mahants ran away. So, sevadars had to be appointed from among the gathered congregation. Afterwards, a committee was also formed with the consent of the Deputy Commissioner. In this way, the 'Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee' (S.G.P.C.) came into being. Its first session was held on 12th Dec. 1920 at the 'Akal Takhat'. After that the shrines at 'Panja Sahib', (Hasanabdal) Peshawar and the 'Gurdwara Khara Sauda' were also brought under the control of the community, (Panth). 'At a gathering at Amritsar on 24th Jan. 1921, a resolution to form Akali Dal was also adopted.'⁹³ In this way, the 'Shiromani Akali Dal' came into existence.

Among the papers launched at this time in the field of Sikh journalis, the prominent were the 'Ranjit', the 'Khalsa', the 'Jathedar', the 'Pradesi Khalsa', the 'Akali Te Pradesi', the 'Gargajj Akali', the 'Babbar Sher', the 'Kirpan Bahadur'. They advocated the cause of the Gurdwara Reform movement. However, there were some papers which supported the Chief Khalsa Diwan, and thus implicitly supported the opponents of the movements. Such papers advocated the governments view. 'The Sikh press knew it well that the greatest obstacle in its way was the government, which viewed the Gurdwara Reform Movement from a political perspective.'⁹⁴ It was the result of this kind

of attitude adopted by the government that the struggle launched for religious purposes soon turned into a strong political movement. We shall talk about it later. The government became more and more harsh with the Sikh press. 'All efforts were made to suppress the Sikh journalism, the editors of the 'Akali' and other newspapers were arrested. The securities of printing presses were confiscated and Sikh journalists were persecuted.⁹⁵ In such a situation, the papers started coming out edited by dummy editors, the real editor was thus saved from the arrest and in his place the dummy editor went to prison. In spite of such unfavourable conditions, the Sikh journalism remained determined and firm on its goal:

It must be noted for certain by all that the Sikh community will not let any shrine be under the control of an individual. No un-Sikh or corrupt practice will be allowed in any Sikh shrine. The money coming by way of offerings and from the land attached to the shrines will not be allowed to be spent on the joviality of an individual. Instead it will be spent on spreading Sikhism and other altruistic work.⁹⁶

Besides, appeals were made to the people through these papers to accelerate the Reform Movement and to join the Akali Dal. In the 'Akali' (newspaper) an editorial was published under the title 'Khalsaji, Better your life by joining the Akali Dals'. In this essay, the paper expressed its sense of satisfaction at the pace of the Reform Movement, and said:

Great is the Lord that once again the same old spirit has started prevailing among the Khalsa, and that the community has felt the need to reform their shrines. No doubt, it

was a matter of shame that the shrines should belong to the Khalsa, but the sevadars over there should indulge in corrupt practices . . .⁹⁷

The Sikh press not only posed problems before the community, but also suggested ways and means to resolve it. Writing about the means and policy to be used for the attainment of the ideal, the 'Akali' said in that very article,

But remember that violence or oppression if comes first from your side, then this will spoil all the result so far achieved. Ideals are attained by undergoing sufferings and not by causing suffering to others. While serving the shrines, if anybody sways a stick at you let him do so. The arm swaying the stick will be taken to account by the Guru. You need not worry because by so doing, you will be sacrificing yourself to the cause of the Guru.⁹⁸

Inspite of all this, there was a group in Sikh journalism which did consider itself a supporter of the Gurdwara Reforms, but opposed this new path adopted by the Panth. According to this group, this path was rash and irrational. Actually, this group served as a spokesman of the government:

This method is completely against the law of the government. Defying the law means defying the government. In other words, it means confrontation with government.⁹⁹

Obviously, this group was afraid of opposing the government in a direct or indirect manner. In other words, we might say that supporters of the government were there in this group. That is why the papers belonging to this group adopted such a policy as seemed pro-Sikh, but, in fact, it was anti-Sikh.

Speaking in a similar vein, the 'Nayak' says that the aim of bringing about reform in the management of Sikh shrines is ideal, and the Sikh who does not agree to it is a sinner, but the means adopted by the Sikhs for the realization of this ideal are dangerous and harmful for the Sikhs.¹⁰⁰ This paper also opposed the papers which were actively involved in the 'Reform Movement'. In a reference to the 'Akali', this paper launched a tirade of allegations against it and wrote:

Instead of raising their voice against the dangerous course adopted by the Sikh, the Sikh press gave to the public what it needed irrespective of the fact whether it was good or bad for it. ¹⁰¹

It becomes clear from the excerpts (No. 97, 98) taken from the 'Akali' that it was this paper from which the Sikhs learnt how to carry on their struggle, in a peaceful manner, which later on established an example in forbearance of the sikhs. The policy of suffering oppression and to fight against the oppressive government which was given to the Panth by the Sikh press was exemplified by 40 Sikhs, when they went in the form of a jatha, sent by the S.G.P.C. on 25th Jan. 1921 to Tarn-Taran, to take charge of the Sikh shrine there. The drunken rogues, (patronized by the priests) attacked them with lathis, and spears; but these sikhs suffered all this in a completely peaceful way.¹⁰² On this occasion two sikhs received martyrdom and 17 were injured. However, the next day i.e. on 26th Jan. 1921, a 15-member committee was appointed to look after the shrine. This achievement infused a lot of

enthusiasm in the movement. History bears witness that this policy of non-violent resistance adopted by the Sikhs was later on adopted by Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle. It yielded excellent results.

During the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement', the Sikh press took upon itself the task of uncovering the forces working against this movement and also of openly denouncing the persons within the Sikh panth who besides officials, and mahants, and stood in opposition to the movement. In this connection, writing about Sundar Singh Majithia, who opposed the movement, the Sikh paper writes that 'the government and their protege are trying their level best that the S.G.P.C. should fail in its mission. In this connection, Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia is especially touring different places. He came to the Muzaffarpur Jail and made certain poisonous comments before several Sikhs.¹⁰³ The 'Akali' openly proclaimed him the tout of the government.¹⁰⁴ The Sikh journalism also impressed upon the Sikhs to beware of such traitors.¹⁰⁵

On 17 August, 1922, there was launched the daily 'Kuka' under the management of Pt. Munshi Ram Sewak of Lahore. It aimed at the propagation of Namdhari ideology, and criticising the Akali movement.¹⁰⁶ It started giving indirect support to oppression of the Sikhs by the British Government as well as of the evil mahants, who had been in control of the Sikh shrines.¹⁰⁷ It was also the duty of the Sikh press to deal with such opposing forces. The Sikh press fulfilled its duty

very sincerely and firmly, as we have discussed earlier.

(i) The Tragedy of Nankana Sahib and Reform Movement:

The Sikh community had been receiving many complaints against the mahant of the shrine at 'Nankana Sahib'. He was said to be wicked and rogue. Complaints against the 'sadhs' there were also received which indicated their moral degeneration. So in Oct. 1920, a large Sikh gathering was held in village Dharowali in 'Sheikhupura' district. The mahant was also warned to take steps for the improvement of management; but he, instead brought in some rogues and put them on guard of the shrine.¹⁰⁸ On 24th Jan. 1921, the S.G.P.C. in its annual general session passed a resolution that a 'Diwan' be held at 'Nankana Sahib' in the month of March, and the mahant be asked to improve things. The mahant who was fully aware of the Tarn-Taran incident was fully prepared. On the morning of 20th Feb. 1921 a jatha led by Bhai Lachhman Singh Dharowal was returning from 'Chandar Kot'. The jatha went to pay obeisance in the shrine. When the sikhs went in, the rogues hired by the mahant fired on them while they were sitting peacefully. They were also attacked with axes, swords etc. As a result, about 150 sikhs were killed.

The tragedy was bound to create an upheaval in the Sikh world. It also created a wave of protest throughout Punjab. The Urdu paper 'Zimindar' called the Muslims, who had participated in this gory tragedy, as shameless people, "O shameless Muslims! You use guns and swords against those who

had gone to 'Nankana Sahib' to fulfil their religious obligation."¹⁰⁹ This carnage brought in its wake many challenges to the Sikh press. The 'Akali' and some other newspapers accepted this challenge and proclaimed the government to be fully responsible for it.

Our two hundred brave Khalsa brothers have been pitilessly killed at Nankana Sahib, in broad daylight, in the regime of this so-called just government. What a great tyranny! The mahant had been planning for the last nine months. He gathered spears, guns, cartridges, etc., and government got no wind of it. However, it gets all the news of what we cook or eat in our homes. It gets the information as to where Kharak Singh is, but could get no news of such a deep sinful conspiracy The government which fails to get wind of such a heinous conspiracy, is not worthy of being called a government.¹¹⁰

Finding the government fully in league with the mahants, the paper went to the extent of saying that, "the Sikhs fight now is not against the mahants, but directly against the government."¹¹¹ Talking about this policy of the government, the paper wrote that 'Gurdwara Bhai Kuma Singh' was under the control of the Akalis, but with the connivance of government the mahant and his rogues reoccupied the shrine with their muscle-power. It became crystal clear from the way the Deputy Commissioner ordered that the shrine be handed over to Mahant Kirpa Singh and that no Akali should go in.

Naturally, the mahants felt encouraged and they held their own gathering in which they made numerous allegations against the Akalis, e.g. they extort money from the people,

they attack the sadhus and extort money from them, and their aim is not reformation but possession of the shrines etc.¹¹² The Sikh journalism familiarized the Sikh masses with such happenings and warned them to be careful so that a holocaust like the one at Nankana Sahib does not recur:

News has been constantly flowing in from Nankana Sahib and other places that encouraged by the attack by sadhus on the Akal Takhat some similar mischievous element is also conspiring to attack other gurdwaras.¹¹³

Although the Sikh press openly opposed the government on the issue of the Nankana Sahib tragedy, yet it recommended non-violent peaceful methods for the panth. It did raise its voice against oppression, but it never recommended violence against violence:

The way the Sikhs have shown courage and perserverance at Nankana Sahib, shows that my common Sikh brothers have also fully comprehended the gravity of the situation.¹¹⁴

No doubt, a change took place in the Sikh journalism later under the influence of the 'Babbar movement'. It changed the tone of the Sikh press like its own, but this situation was short-lived. However, this shall be taken up later on.

Talking of the peaceful policy of the Akalis, the 'Akali te Pradesi' called the Akalis, the sons of 'Mother India' who struggled to end its agony,¹¹⁵ and wrote in this context:

If the Mahant at Nankana Sahib fired at them, they pacified those shots by taking them on their chests. If they were minced by spears, axes etc., they made no protest. If they were

burnt alive in ovens or tied to the trees, instead of uttering a cry of pain they uttered the name of God.¹¹⁶

(ii) Struggle for the Keys (Chabian Da Morcha):

On 7th Nov. 1921, the Sikh press took up the matter of the forcible possession, by the government, of the keys of 'Shri Darbar Sahib' from the S.G.P.C., and branded it another outrage against the Sikhs.¹¹⁷ In this way whenever the injustice of the government against the Sikhs were mentioned, the matter of Keys was also referred to alongwith the Nankana Sahib tragedy and the wall of Rikabganj incident:

The keys of Darbar Sahib have been forcibly snatched away from us by the officialdom. It has already troubled us in the matters of Gurdwara Teja and Hothian. At least 200 of our Sikh brothers have lost their lives due to the carelessness of the government.¹¹⁸

With a view to bring before the people this attitude of the government, it was proclaimed by the Panth that true information will be imparted in diwans about the Keys affair,¹¹⁹ so that the shrines could be got liberated. Resolutions to this effect were passed by the S.G.P.C. As a result diwans were held, at a number of places. This was strongly opposed by the government and the Sikhs were prosecuted. The press presented the true picture to the masses and told them how the government termed their religious congregations as political and thus declared them against the law:

The manner the government declares these religious congregations as political gatherings and hence illegal, can be best illustrated by the court decree passed by Mr. F.A. Canar, the Additional District Magistrate of Amritsar, which

he passed in the case of Kharak Singh, Mahtab Singh, and others. He has written that 'there is no doubt about it that any discussion in Amritsar district about the keys is bound to fire the people. Therefore, whosoever spoke on the subject cannot be without any political motives. So any such gathering can not be called purely religious.¹²⁰

This attitude of journalism resulted in the further increase of such gatherings, and the common man started supporting the Sikh cause.¹²¹ As the numbers of such Diwans increased, the number of arrests also increased. The Deputy Commissioner used many means, keeping in view the situation, to return the keys so that the war-like atmosphere could be calmed down. But every time the Panth took the stand that all those arrested should be released and the keys be handed over to Kharak Singh, President of the S.G.P.C.¹²² At last, the government had to yield, and the keys were handed over to Kharak Singh on 19th Jan. 1922. On this occasion, Mahatma Gandhi said that the first battle of independence had been won. In fact, this was also the first victory of the boldness infused in the sikhs by the Sikh journalism.

(iii) Morcha Guru Ka Bagh:

Obviously, the aim of this agitation was to get freedom to use the property of the shrine. However, this agitation presented a very high image of the Sikh character and prepared the outline for the struggle for independence. This agitation remained unmatched in entire history of freedom struggle. This has been evidenced by the contemporary papers

and the political leaders.

The 'Gurdwara Guru Ka Bagh' was situated in Village Ghukewali Raur, about 13-14 miles away from Amritsar. The place was sanctified by the visits of Shri Guru Arjan Dev Ji and Shri Guru Teg Bahadur Ji. In memory of these visits, two shrines were erected. Nearby are some lands attached to these shrines. This land was earlier a bagh (garden), but lay unused and barren at the time of agitation. Only some Babul trees stood here and there.

When the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement' attempted to re-establish the Sikh maryada in these shrines, it was observed that the Mahant here was not a man of good character. So a jatha of 50 Sikhs was sent there by the S.G.P.C. The jatha held a Diwan and successfully persuaded the Mahant to hand over the management to the S.G.P.C. He himself offered to work under the S.G.P.C. after receiving the Sikh baptism. He also agreed to give up all his concubines except Ishri, with whom he would marry according to the Sikh rites. Ultimately, things took the desired turn on 8th Feb. 1921. However, after the unfortunate holocaust at Nankana Sahib and the encouragement from the government, the entire situation changed. On 5th August 1921, the Mahant got 5 sikhs arrested on the charge of stealing timber. The Mahant had the backing of the government, as all this was happening under orders of the Deputy Commissioner.¹²³ After this incident, a chain of the arrest of a group of five-volunteers

daily started. A Diwan was held on 25 August. The Akalis were lathi-charged with a view to stopping them from converging to the place. Their hair were also desecrated. On hearing of this news, a large number of Sikhs started moving towards 'Guru Ka Bagh'. The government had raised check-posts on the way, and thus there started a chain of torturing and oppressive acts of the government on the Akalis. However, the peaceful perserverance by the Akalis was exemplary. Every day a jatha of the Sikhs proceeded to the 'Guru Ka Bagh' after pledging the Akal Takhat, to remain peaceful throughout. The jatha was so mercilessly beaten that every member of it fell down unconscious.¹²⁴ The Sikh Press openly denounced the tyranny perpetrated by the government at that time. Propaganda in favour of the agitation picked up so that the people could know the reality of the situation:

The cruel government committed untold tyranny at the Guru Ka Bagh. The beloved sons of Guru Gobind Singh Ji were carded like cotton, sticks were poked in the private parts of their bodies. Limbs were broken
hound were set free after them. . . .¹²⁵

The Sikh papers published the court cases of those arrested.¹²⁶ Appeals were made that people should give more arrests in larger number so that the government should learn that the Sikhs never yield to the tyranny of the cruel. Talking of the numerous sacrifices made by these great sikhs, the paper exhorted the sikhs to offer themselves for arrests.

Khalsa Ji, imprisonment is really a minor thing as against suffering martyrdom by

getting burnt alive or getting minced.
Remember the martyrs of Nankana Sahib and
somehow reach Guru Ka Bagh.¹²⁷

The press tried to infuse such feeling in the people as enabled them to stand more firmly in this 'Dharma yudh'. The papers published poems which rouse the people against the government by touching their hearts deeply:

When the oppression and exploitation was at its peak,
Baba (Nanak) himself became the guardian.

It was the grace bestowed by him,
That many deserts turned into green fields.

The enemy still does not let us rest in peace,
He is proud of his large armies.

He who was nourished with our own blood,
Tries to annihilate our belief (faith).¹²⁸

It was because of the spirit of sacrifice infused in it by journalism that the Sikh community made so many arrests during the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement'. The whole of India was surprised at it and even the government felt helpless at long last:

Today the Akalis have made the situation difficult for the government by offering group after group for arrest. The government felt helpless and stopped arrests. . . . They suffered the maximum at the Guru Ka Bagh and in the process they turned the stick waste, the stick with which they were beaten.¹²⁹

The Akalis set an example of peaceful agitation for the entire Indian nation during this agitation and the Sikh press always felt proud at the achievements of the Sikhs.

(iv) Morcha Jaitu:

The British Government was not pleased with Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of 'Nabha'.¹³⁰ So he was dethroned on 9th July 1923. The Sikhs launched an agitation for getting the Maharaja his due. The S.G.P.C. opposed the government on this issue.¹³¹ The Diwans and the 'Akhand-Paths' (Non-stop recitations of the Scripture) were held at different places. The S.G.P.C. sent a jatha to 'Gurdwara Gangsar', Jaitu, which fell in the Nabha state, with a view to holding a Diwan and an Akhand-path there. The government took this interference by the S.G.P.C. as a challenge and started arresting the Akalis again. The Sikh were thus forced to launch another agitation, popularly known as 'Jaitu Morcha'.

Looking at the arrests being made and the outrages committed by the Government, the Sikh press once again thought of the 'Guru Ka Bagh' happenings:

At Jaitu, the police and armed forces sealed all routes leading to the diwan. Eat-ables were not allowed in. Once again the government threw a challenge, similar to the one at Guru Ka Bagh.¹³²

The oppression and torture of the Sikhs stated once again. The news about it often appeared in the papers. The Sikh papers were banned in the 'Nabha' state which meant that the government was aware of the direct influence of the Sikh journalism on the psyche of the masses. As against it, the papers which supported the government policy were distributed free of cost.¹³³ The Sikh religious sentiment was hurt all

the more when the 'pathis' reading the scripture were pulled away by policemen which amounted to disruption in the continuous recitation of the holy granth. This sacrilege was strongly reacted to the Sikh press:

It is for the first time in Sikh history that the Akhandpath has been disrupted as a result of the pathi (reader) being pulled away by the security men. Regarding stopping visitors to the shrine by putting guards on the routes leading to it, one instance relating to the days, there has been of Massa Ranghar. But the pulling away of the scripture reading is too much.¹³⁴

It so influenced the Sikh community that once again it was filled with enthusiasm. Although the government declared the S.G.P.C. and the Akali Dal as illegal,¹³⁵ the S.G.P.C. did not bother for the ban and started sending Jathas of 25 each. It continued for about 5 months.¹³⁶ The first 'Shahidi Jatha' of about 500 people reached (on 21st Feb. 1924) the 'Faridkot' state via Tarn-Taran, Naushahira Pannuan, Sarhali, Pakho, Zira, Talwandi, etc. When the jatha moved towards 'Tibbi Sahib' at about noon the government security forces fired at them resulting in the death of some and injury to many. The rest were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. The incident shook the entire community, but the Shahidi-Jathas continued to pour in at Jaitu. The total number of these Jathas is said to be 16.¹³⁷ The Sikh press gave hair-raising accounts of the cruelty and tyranny perpetrated on the sikhs. 'Akali te Pradesi' gives details of this oppression:

-----To make them under go the process of sitting down and standing up at regular intervals.

- to make one sit entirely naked, on the cot with both legs wide apart, of the longer side in the frame of cot.
- to hang the Sikh upside down and keep him so until he fell unconscious;
- to put the filth in their mouths;
- to make them forcibly smoke or to throw smoke at them;
- to pull off the hair of the head, the beard and the moustache;
- to pull off or burn the hair on their private parts;
- to make the young lads undress and to have sex with them;
- to thrust rod in the anus; and
- to torture them by applying hot iron-rods on their bodies.¹³⁸

The success of this agitation could raise many questions for the government at the political level. So the government wanted to suppress the Sikhs fully. It was under this policy that oppression and tyranny increased. Several Sikhs died because of illness or lack of treatment. The Sikh journalism could do nothing but express its sense of deep regret at these unfortunate incidents:

The tyranny perpetrated on the religious Akalis in the Nabha state might not have happened in any barbarian state
The government cannot digest the religious freedom of the Sikhs¹³⁹

During the time of this agitation and after that many questions were raised by scholars and leaders saying that this

agitation was well beyond the purview of the S.G.P.C. We shall talk of it in detail, in the next chapter. But one thing is obvious that it had to suffer indescribable oppression of the government. That is why, the Sikh press viewed this agitation with sympathy.

(D) Gurdwara Act and Sikh Journalism:

The government was rather upset at the Sikh movement for Gurdwara Reforms. A resolution was moved in the Panjab Council in March 1921 to the effect that a law be enacted to improve the management of the shrines.¹⁴⁰ At last in 1925, the new Governor of Punjab Sir Melcom Hally passed the Gurdwara Act, and the government impressed upon the Sikhs, who were behind the bars, (Akali leaders, who were arrested during Akali movement) to accept the Gurdwara Act. It assured that if they accepted it, they could be released. But no one accepted the conditional release. However, Sardar Bahadur Mahtab Singh, Bawa Harkishan Singh, Giani Sher Singh, Bhagat Jaswant Singh, Gurdit Singh Bahilolpuri, Teja Singh Chuharkana and others felt that the Act be accepted.¹⁴¹ Consequently they were released. With this a new controversy started among the Sikhs--whether or not to accept the Act. Two opposing groups came into being--one led by S. Mahtab Singh and the other (Akali party) led by Master Tara Singh.

The paper 'Akali', which then appeared under the editorship of Master Tara Singh, wrote before this bill to be

passed, in clear terms, "If the Gurdwara Bill is to be passed, the doors of Jails be opened."¹⁴² This controversy continued among the Sikhs for 2-3 years. About the demands stressed by the Sikh Panth, 'Akali te Pradesi' wrote: 'the major demands concerning the improvement in Gurdwara management are as follows: (1) The shrines belong to the Sikh community, so their management should be in its hands; (2) the mahants of shrines should be men of exemplary character; (3) the maryada in the shrines should be according to the accepted Sikh tradition, etc.'¹⁴³ However, all the Bills moved by the government till then refused to legalise these demands. That is why the Sikhs were not ready to accept this Gurdwara Bill.

When the final draft of this Bill became public in 1925, the Sikh press did not express its considered views on it, but 'the non-Sikh papers called it a victory of the Sikhs as well as of the fundamental principles of the Reform Movement.'¹⁴⁴ These papers went to the extent of saying that after a long war, the government had ultimately surrendered to the Akalis. The papers of the Mahant Party, the 'Hind', felt so upset that it wrote in bold letters, "Times have changed for the worse in the Punjab. All values have been topsy turned."¹⁴⁵ It was natural for the Mahants to feel so upset. But it never meant that the Sikh press was fully satisfied with the Bill and was hence silent. On the other hand, it had put forward some conditions for its acceptance. These conditions were related to the resolution of all religious

matters of the Sikhs, such as removal of the ban on the S.G.P.C. and the Akali Dal, the unconditional release of Akali detainees, the removal of police-posts from Sikh villages, the removal of ban on Kirpan, the reinstatement of the Akali lands (and Jagirs) confiscated by the government.¹⁴⁶ All these matters were directly concerned with the Sikhs.

Besides, the Sikh journalism also attempted to persuade the Hindus, not to pay any heed to the hue and cry raised by the 'Udasis' who had been proclaiming that hundreds of Hindu temples will go under the control of the Akalis, once this Bill was passed. In this connection, the Sikh press wrote:

---- the Hindus must feel assured that the Sikhs will never wish that any Hindu shrine should ever be under their control. Nor do the Sikhs wish to throw out mahants or priests of any particular community, out of the Gurdwaras . . . At the moment, several 'Udasis' have been serving in gurdwaras affiliated to the S.G.P.C. and getting heavy perks. On the other hand, there are instances to show that many baptised mahants have also been thrown out of the Gurdwara.¹⁴⁷

In this way the Sikh journalism had, on the one hand, taken the responsibility of relating the reality of situation to those who had been misled; on the other hand, it asked the people to beware of the direct opposition of the Udasi Sadhus:

The 'Udasin Sadhu Maha Mandal Sangh' has sent telegrams to the Viceroy, the Governor--General, the President of the Punjab Council and Diwan Bahadur Raja Narinder Nath, against the proposed Gurdwara Bill.¹⁴⁸

The gist of the Bill was published in the papers of 23, 24 &

25th April 1925. Reflecting over it and keeping in view the contemporary situation, the S.G.P.C. passed a resolution. In this resolution, amendments to rectify the lapses in the Bill were proposed, and the remaining demands were also presented, in a formal way:

None except the baptized Sikhs can become members of the S.G.P.C. though in its election even the non-baptized Sikhs such as Sahajdharis, Udasi etc., will also be able to give their suggestions. The management of the Akal Takhat and Takhat Shri Kesgarh Sahib should be directly under the S.G.P.C. In the election of the Committee, Sikh women should have equal rights like the Sikh men. The local committees will look after the shrines under supervision of the S.G.P.C.; The age limit for becoming eligible to make suggestions should be lowered from 21 to 18 years. After these amendments are carried out, no major defect left in the Bill.¹⁴⁹

Of course, the Sikh Press called upon the community to willingly accept the decision of the Panth.¹⁵⁰ However, this Act did not fully satisfy the press. The 'Fateh' of 31st May 1929 wrote, that the motive for which the Bill was passed had not been fulfilled. When the Sikhs got involved in court cases resulting in the loss of both money and time, the Sikh press once again decried this Act. It expressed its disenchantment with it by calling it a lame Act. The 'Moji' writes on the subject;

The Sikhs got a lame Act after making so many sacrifices. But as a result of it, an unending chain of litigation has started, which would perhaps end only on the Doom's Day.¹⁵¹

At the same time, the paper expressed its shock over the

cases of litigation, which had been lost and said:

The High Court has decreed against the Sikhs the case of 'Gurdwara Manak'. As per this decree not only the Udasi have been declared non-Sikhs but also the shrine has been declared as not belonging with Sikhs. Similarly, the case of 'Gurdwara Manji Sahib' has also been decided by the tribunal against the Sikhs. So is the case with the 'Gurdwara Bhai Sakhu Ram' and other such gurdwaras. These decisions have created a feeling of resentment among the Sikhs.¹⁵²

The 'Kaumi Kirpan Bahadur' also expressed its resentment over the Act almost in a similar manner. It raised a hue and cry against the Act and wrote:

As for the 'Kirpan Bahadur' is concerned, it had raised a loud cry to save the Panth from this epidemic, even when this Act was still in the form of a Bill. It was the bad luck of the Panth that this genuine voice of ours was as cruelly trodden by our selfish leaders as now are the gurdwara cases being dismissed by the judges of the tribunals.¹⁵³

It went to the length of denouncing that this Act would spell doom for the Panth. It suggests that the Sikhs should reorganize themselves as they had done at the time of 'Akali Movement'. They should reject outrightly the Act, and resort the agitation for the possession of the shrines once again.

On the whole, the Sikh journalism did not see eye to eye with this Act. The morcha of Daska in August 1931 is indicative of this dissatisfaction. The Sikh journalism called the verdict, given by a Muslim Judge in the case of 'Daska' Shrine, a deep conspiracy.¹⁵⁴ The process of volunteering arrests started once again during this agitation.¹⁵⁵ Although

the rival party in this case comprised of the Hindus, yet a section of the Hindus was with the Sikhs. In this context, a statement of 130 Hindus appeared in the 'Moji' and some other papers:

The 'Vir Bharat' has raised frivolous arguments on the publication of the declaration of 101 good hearted Hindus of Gujranwala in favour of the Sikh agitation. In reply to it, other 130 righteous and true Hindus have given a statement which is a slap on the face of the 'Vir Bharat'. It reads that they will themselves lead jathas in support of the Sikhs, if the Hindu leaders and the All India Hindu Maha Sabha did not seek amicable settlement.¹⁵⁶

There were several problems of the Sikhs which have never been solved. Among them can be counted the Kirpan problem, Jaitu Morcha and Gurdwara Act. The Sikh press remained active in the direction so that the religious matters might somehow be resolved. However, the government did not wish to grant freedom to the Sikhs, which the Akali Dal and the S.G.P.C., as representative bodies of the Sikhs, had been striving for. However the credit for whatever little achievement the Sikhs made goes to Sikh journalism, because it was the best means of communicating the views of the leadership to the Sikh world.

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3. Prof. Joginder Singh, Sikh Dharm Te Sikh Panth, Preet Parkashan, New Delhi-5, 1971, p. 32.
4. Report Sri Darbar Sahib, 1930, p. 92.
- 5; —do— p. 95.
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" ਕੋਈ ਆਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਰਿਸ਼ਤੇਦਾਰ ਹਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਗੈਰ ਹਾਜ਼ਰੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹਾਂ—ਕੋਈ ਆਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਗੱਦੀ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਵੱਡਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਪਾਸ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਸਾਡਾ ਹੱਕ ਹੈ—ਕੋਈ ਆਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਵਿਕਤ ਅਤੇ ਵੰਡ ਖਾਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਹਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਗੱਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਸਦਾ ਵਰਤ ਲਾਉਂਗਾ, ਕੋਈ ਆਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੇਰਾ ਖਾਪ ਯਾ ਭਾਈ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ ਹੈ ਯਾ ਮੈਂ ਭੀ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ ਹੋਣੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਗੱਦੀ ਦਾ ਉਮੈਦਵਾਰ ਹਾਂ, ਕੋਈ ਆਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਰੀਤ ਹੋਨ ਪਰ ਸਭ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਅਖਾੜਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਲੋਕ ਰਾਜੀ ਹਨ ਕੋਈ ਮੇਜਰਨਾਮੇ ਬਣਾ ਕੇ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਰ ਦਸਤਖਤ ਕਰਾਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਚਾਰ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਦੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਤਕ ਦਸਤਖਤ ਕਰ ਲਏ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਆਸਾ ਰਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਵਿਚ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਾਏ ਕੋਈ ਇਕਰਾਰ ਨਾਮੇ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼ਰਤਾਂ ਲਿਖ ਕਰਕੇ ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕੋਈ ਵਕਤ ਦੇ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਹਲ ਖੋਲਦੇ ਹੋਨਗੇ ਕੋਈ ਰੁਪਈਆ ਦੀਆਂ ਥੈਲੀਆਂ ਦਖਾ ਕਰ ਲੋਭ ਵਿਚ ਫਸਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋਨਗੇ। ਏਹੋ ਜੇਹੇ ਦਾਵੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਉਮੈਦਵਾਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਗੱਦੀ ਲਈ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤੇ ਹਨ।"⁶

7. Khalsa Akhbar, 1st Jan. 1887, p. 4.

"ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਤਾਂ ਕੌਮ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਡਿਪਟੀ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨਰ ਹੋਵੇ ਕੇਹੀ ਐਧਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ— ਕਿਯਾ ਕੋਈ ਸਿੰਘ ਈਸਾਈਆਂ ਦੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਗਿਰਜੇ ਯਾ ਕਿਸੀ ਜਾਮਾਮਸਜਦ ਦੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਜੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਦੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਡਿਪਟੀ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨਰ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਉਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।"

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"ਸੁਣਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਨੇ ਜੋ ਸਰਬਰਾਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਹਸਾਬ ਦੀ ਆਮਦਨ ਅਤੇ ਖਰਚ ਦਾ ਹਸਾਬ ਮੰਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਤਦ ਸਰਬਰਾਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ ਉਸ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਕਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਫਲੂ ਅੰਤ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਹੋਇਆ ਜੋ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਭਾਈਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਵਿਚ ਜਾਣਾ ਪਈਆ।"

12. Khalsa Akhbar, 11th August 1888, p. 5.

"ਦੋ ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਲਗਭਗ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਪੁਜਾਰੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਸਰਬਰਾਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਲਾਕਸ਼ ਕੀਤੀ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਆਮਦਨ ਚੜਨ ਤੇ ਭੁਸਨਾ ਤੇ

ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਹਸਤੀ ਦੀ ਮੁਰਮਤ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਜੋ ਚੰਦਾ ਇਕਠਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਸਰਬਰਾਹਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਦਿਵਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇ ਚੀਫ਼ ਕੋਰਟ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਜਿਥੋਂ ਹੁਣ ਏਹੁ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਕਿ ਹਸਲੀ ਦੀ ਆਮਦਨ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਪੁਜਾਰੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਕੋਈ ਚੰਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿਤਾ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਕੁਝ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਹਸਲੀ ਦੇ ਚੰਦੇ ਦਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੈ ਸਕਦੇ।"

13. Ganda Singh, Bhai Vir Singh and His Times, (Article) Bhai Vir Singh (Birth Centenary Vol.) Punjab Past and Present, Publication Bureau Panjabi Univ. Patiala, Reprint 1984, p. 16.
14. Gurcharan Singh, Jeevni Sewa Singh Thikriwala, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1974, p. 7.
15. Ibid., p. 7.
16. Editor Notice, Gurmukhi Akhbar, 8th Magh, 1943, Bikrami, p.2.
 "ਅਸੀਂ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਦਰਸਨੀ ਦਰਵਾਜ਼ੇ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਸੁਨਹਿਰੀ ਮੂਰਤੀ ਦਸ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਲੱਕੜ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਪਰ ਜਦ ਤੋਂ ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਸੁਣੀ ਹੈ ਚਿਤੀ ਅਰੰਭੇ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਪੈ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਮੂਰਤੀ ਪੂਜਨ ਬਹੁਤ ਦੋਸ਼ ਹੈ—ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਸੈਕੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥਾਂ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਮਿਲ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ—ਸੋ ਅਮੈਦ ਹੈ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸੁਦਾਰ ਮਾਠੀਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਸੋਚ ਕਰ ਇਸ ਕਾਰਜ ਨੂੰ ਕਰਨ ਦੇਨਗੇ।"
17. Khalsa Akhbar, 29th Jan. 1887, p. 4.
 "ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਅਖ਼ਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਲੇਖ ਨੂੰ ਪੜ ਕੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਅਤਯੰਤ ਸ਼ੋਕ ਉਤਪਤਿ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ—ਕਿਸ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿਮੰਦੂ ਹੁਣ ਹਰਿਮੰਦੂ ਦੀ ਥਾਇ ਬੁਤ ਮੰਦੂ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ - - - -
 ਕਿਯਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਜੋ ਦਸ ਗੁਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਦੇਹ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਤੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕੌਮ ਨੂੰ ਦਿਖਾਈ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ — ਹਾਇ ਕਿਥੇ ਹਨ ਸਾਡੇ ਦਸਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੋ ਮੂਰਤੀ ਪੂਜਨ ਤੇ ਮੋੜਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਸੇ ਹਾਇ ਕਿਥੇ ਹੈ ਉਹ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਜੋ ਅਮੂਰਤ ਅਕਾਲ ਨੂੰ ਪੂਜਣ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ - - - -"

18. Khalsa Akhbar, 12th March 1887, p. 4.

"- - - ਇਸ ਪੁਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਫਲ ਇਹ ਹੋਇਆ ਜੋ ਹੁਣ ਉਥੇ ਮੁਕਤਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਗਾਨਗੀਆਂ ਉਨਹ ਦੀ ਕਾਇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰ੍ਹੀਬ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸਬਦ ਲਗਾਏ ਜਾਣਗੇ।"

19. See Letter: Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 4th August 1899, p. 5.

"ਗੁਰੂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਧਾਰਨਾ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਰ ਧਾਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਹੁਣ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਤਨਾ ਸੋਚਣਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਓਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੌਣ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਉਤਮ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ ਮਿਲੇ ਅਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਨੇ ਪਰ ਜਨਮ ਮਰਨ ਦਾ ਭਰਮ ਦੂਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਏ।

- - - ਕਲਗੀਧਰ ਜੀ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਸ ਗਏ ਹਨ ਕਿ "ਸਭ ਸਿੱਖਣ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨੀਓ ਰ੍ਹੀਬ" ਜਦ ਸਾਡੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਇਕ ਐਸਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਉਤਮ ਤੇ ਉਤਮ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ ਮਿਲ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਤਦ ਹੋਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ, ਲੋਭ, ਇਕ ਗੁਣਾ ਵਾਲਾ ਹੈ ਧਾਰਨੇ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ।"

20. See: Suba Singh, Punjabi Pattarkari Da Itahas, Punjab State University Text-Book Board, Chandigarh, 1974, p. 63.

21. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 16th Dec. 1898, p. 9.

"ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਸਾਰੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਸਿੱਧ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤਰਨਤਾਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੁਖ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰੇ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ ਦਾ ਹਾਲ ਤਾਂ ਅਤਯੰਤ ਹੀ ਗਿਰਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ:-

- 1) ਬੌੜਾ ਚਿਰ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਏਥੇ ਇੱਕ ਮੁਆਜ਼ਜ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਦੇ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਦੀ ਉੱਨਤ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ, ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਦਰੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਚਾਂਦਨੀਆਂ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਗਈਆਂ।।
- 2) ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਹੱਦ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ, ਜਿੱਥੇ ਕੋਈ ਅੰਨਮਤੀ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦਾ ਸੀ, ਉਥੇ ਅੰਨਮਤੀ ਲੋਕ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ ਕਰਕੇ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇ ਬੇ ਮੁਖ ਕਰਦੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ।।
- 3) ਏਹ ਭੀ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜੇੜੇ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਦਿਲੋਂ ਅੰਨਮਤੀ ਹਨ ਉਹ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਆ ਕੇ ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ।।
- 4) ਰਹਤ ਅਤੇ ਅਸੂਲ ਵੀ ਠੀਕ 2 ਕੋਈ ਕੋਈ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਹੀ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਨ।
- 5) ਰਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਰਹਿਰਾਬ ਦੇ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਹਰ ਰੋਜ਼ ਇਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਇਕ ਪੀਮੇ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਬੈਠਕੇ ਬਿਸ਼ਨੂ ਸਰਸਨਾਮ ਦਾ ਪਾਠ ਸੁਣਦਾ ਹੈ, ਸ਼ੋਕ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਨੇ ਅੱਜ ਤਾਈ

ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ ਵਰਜਿਆ।

ਪਯਾਰੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਕਿਆ ਇਹ ਬੱਜਰ ਕੁਗੋਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਕੀ ਹੈ ਕਿਆ
ਗੁਰੂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਵੇਲੇ ਤੇ ਇਹ ਹੁੰਦੀਆਂ ਆਉਂਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ ?"

22. See: Khalsa Samachar, 18th Dec. 1899, p. 2.
23. See: Letter; Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 15th July 1898, p. 10.
"ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕੌਮ ਨੂੰ ਸਵਾਰਨ ਜੋਗੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਤਾਂ ਉਲਟੇ ਨਮੂਨਾ ਬਣਕੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਖਾਲਿਸਾ ਅਤੇ
ਪਵਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸੀ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਿਸਚਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਭਰੋਸਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਉਂ ਤੋੜ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ।
ਮੇਰੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਵਿਚ ਜੇ ਕਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਪਾਠ ਰਖਾਉਂਦੇ ਅਤੇ
ਖਾਲਸੇ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜੋੜ ਮੇਲ ਕਰਦੇ ਤਾਂ ਬੜੀ ਸੁਭ ਭੱਲ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਇਸ ਮੌਕੇ ਉਪਰ ਸਾਡੀ
ਜ਼ਬਾਨ ਤ੍ਰਾਹਿਸਾਨ ਤ੍ਰਾਹਿਸਾਨ ਕਰਣ ਦੇ ਸਵਾ ਹੋਰ ਕੁਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੀ।"
24. Khalsa Samachar, 25th Feb. 1903, p. 2.
"ਇਸ ਪਰ ਜਿਨਾ ਅਫਸੋਸ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕੌਮ ਪਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਬੋੜਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਕ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ
ਅਪਨੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਭਿੰਨ ਸਾਬਤ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਤੇ ਉਧਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ
ਵਿਚ (ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਵੀ ਉਹ ਜਿਥੇ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਛਕਾਯਾ ਜਾਵੇ) ਆਰਯਾ ਸਮਾਜੀ ਮਹੰਤ
ਹੋਣ ਕੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੌਮ ਇਸ ਗਲ ਨੂੰ ਗਵਾਰਾ ਕਰੇਗੀ?"
25. See: Khalsa Samachar, 8th April, 1903, p. 9.
26. See: Khalsa Samachar, 20th May 1903, p. 9.
27. Khalsa Samachar, 12th March 1900, p. 5 .
28. Khalsa Dharm Prakashan(Shudhi Pattar), No.4, Vol. I,
(Sawon Saka 200) (Samat Nanak Shahi 427), p. 3.

"ਆਰਤੀ ਦੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਕ ਥਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਿਤ ਦਾ ਦੀਵਾ ਅਰਥਾਤ ਜੋਤ ਜਗਾ ਕੇ ਫੁਲ ਪਤਾਥੇ
ਆਦਿਕ ਵਸਤੂ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਆਰਤੀ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਰੀਤੀ ਜੋ ਕੁਛ ਕਾਲ ਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਵਿਖੇ
ਚਲ ਪਈ ਹੈ ਅਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਗੋਤੀ ਇਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਰੀਤੀ
ਤਾਂ ਅਨਮਤੀ ਲੋਕ ਠਾਕਰ ਆਦਿ ਮੂਰਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਗੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਗੁਰੂ ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਅਜੇਹੀ

ਵਸਤੂਆਂ ਬਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਆਰਤੀ ਕਰਨਾ ਕਿਤੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਸਗੋਂ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਭਲੀ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਖੰਡਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ।"

29. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 12th Oct. 1900, p. 6.

"ਖਾਲਸਾ ਵਿਚ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਦੀਵੇ ਜਗਾ ਕਰ ਆਰਤੀ ਕਰਨੀ ਯਾ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰਨੀ ਕਿਤੇ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਅਰ ਨਾ ਹੇ ਗੇ ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਇਹ ਬੋੜੇ ਸਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਗੇ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੰਦਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਨਕਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਵਿਚ ਆ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸੱਠ ਸਾਲ ਦਾ ਅਰਸਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਆਰੰਭ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ, ਅਰ ਇਸ ਮੰਦਰ ਵਿਚ ਦੇਖਦੇ ਫਿਰ ਦੂਜਿਆਂ ਨੇ ਭੀ ਨਕਲ ਕਰਨੀ ਆਰੰਭ ਕੀਤੀ।"

30. Khalsa Samachar, 27th May 1903, p. 3.

31. Panth Mittar, 29th July 1904, p. 9.

32. Panth Mittar, 16th August 1904, p. 1.

"ਜੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਜਨ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਥਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਭੀ ਹੁਣ ਆਪਣੀ ਭੁਲ ਮੰਨਕੇ ਏਹ ਕਰਮ ਕਰਨਾ ਛੱਡ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਅਰ ਅਗੇ ਤੋਂ ਇਕਰਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹੁਣ ਅਸੀਂ ਪੂਰੇ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਿਆ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਜੋ ਬਾਹਰ ਦੀ ਕਰਚੜੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਤਿਲਝਣੀ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਅਗੇ ਤੋਂ ਸੁਖਮਨੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਨਾਕੇ ਨਿਹਾਲ ਕਰਿਆ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ।"

33. Khalsa Dharm Parkashan(Sudhi Pattar) No.4 Vol.I (Sawan Saka 220), p. 3.

34. See Panth Mittar, 29th July 1904, p. 9.

35. See: Report Shri Darbar Sahib, 1930.

36. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 16th Dec. 1898, p. 4-5.

"ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਾਂ ਜਿਤਨਾ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਪਰ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਲੁੱਟੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਉਤਨੀ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਕੰਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੁੱਟੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ। ਦੂਸਰਾ ਗਯਾ ਪਰ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੱਛਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਕੜੇ ਉਤਾਰੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਅਰ ਖੀਸੇ ਖਾਲੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਪਿਛਾਹਾਂ ਮੋੜੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਮੁੜ ਕੇ ਤਾਬ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਂਦੇ। ਤੀਸਰਾ ਜਦ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਦੇ ਕੋਈ ਬੰਨ੍ਹ ਹੋਈ ਗਊ ਮਰ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਦ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਗੋਰਾ ਅਤੇ ਮੂਤ ਪਿਲਾਕੇ ਛਿੱੜਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਾਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਭਾਰੀ ਬੇਇਜ਼ਤੀ ਹੈ। ਚੌਥਾ ਜਦ

ਸਿੱਖ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਲੜਕਾ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਦ ਉਸ ਵਿਚਾਰੇ ਨਵੇਂ ਬਾਲਕ ਨੂੰ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਪਹਿਲ ਸੁੱਖੀ ਸਾਂਦੀ ਗੋਹਾ ਅਤੇ ਮੂਤ ਖੁਆਇਆ ਪਿਆਇਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਮਹਾਪਿਠਾਵਲੀ ਵਸਤੂ ਹੈ। - - - - -"

37. See Editorial, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 13th May 1898, p. 3.

38. Letter; Khalsa Akhbar, 16th Dec. 1898, p. 5.

"ਜੇਕਰ ਹੋਰ ਕੁਛ ਕਾਲ ਏਹੋ ਜੇਹਾ ਹਾਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਕਏ ਇਸ ਖੁਦਗਯੀ ਦੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਖਕਰ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਕਿਆ ਹਰ ਇੱਕ ਅਨੰਮਤ ਵਾਲਾ ਇਸ ਧਰਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਗਲਣ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਭਾਈ ਅੰਨਯ ਧਰਮ ਰੂਪੀ ਕੁਗੋਤੀ ਦੇ ਚਿੱਕੜ ਵਿਚ ਫਸੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।

ਭਾਵੇਂ ਡਰਪੋਕ ਸਿੰਘ, ਹਮ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਨਹੀਂ ਅਤੇ ਪਤਿਤ ਪਾਵਨ ਰੀਝਾਂ ਨੇ ਅਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਦੀ ਪੁਕਾਰ ਨੇ ਦਸ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਅਜੇ ਭੀ ਸਾਡੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਪੁਣੇ ਦੇ ਨਸ਼ੇ ਵਿਚ ਸੁਤੇ ਪਏ ਹਨ।"

39. Man Singh Nirankari, Sikh Dharam Te Sikhi (Ik Yatharthak Vishleshan), Lok Sahit Parkashan, Amritsar, 1981, p. 67.

40. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Satyarth Prakash (Hindi), Sarvdeshic Arya Protinidh Sabha, Dyanand Bhawan, New Delhi-3 (Vikram Samat 2022), (Edition II), p. 448.

41. Man Singh Nirankari, Sikh Dharam Te Sikhi, Lok Sahit Parkashan, Amritsar, 1981, pl 67.

42. Ganda Singh, Bhai Vir Singh Birth Centenary Vol. Publication Bureau Punjabi University, Patiala, 1984, p. 9.

43. -do- , p. 17.

44. Lakshman Singh, (Bhagat), Autobiography (Ed. & annotated by Ganda Singh), Calcutta, Sikh Cultural Centre, 1965, p. p. 152-153.

45. See: Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 26th May 1899, p. 6.

"ਆਰੀਆ ਸਮਾਜ ਦਾ ਹਮਲਾ"

- ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਭੀ ਵੇਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਉਸਤਤ ਹੈ
ਜੈਸਾ ਕਿ ਅਹਰਨ ਮਤ ਵੇਦ ਹਥਿਆਏ।।
- ਜਿਸ ਕੰਮ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਅਧੂਰਾ ਛੱਡ
ਗਏ ਸੇ ਸੇ ਦਯਾਨੀਦ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਪੂਰਾ ਕੀਤਾ।।
- ਜੇ ਦਸਵੇਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਕਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ

'ਦੁਹਿ ਪੰਥ ਅਠਿ ਕਪਟ ਵਿੱਠਯਾ ਚਲਾਨੀ।
ਬਹੁਤ ਤੀਸਰਾ ਪੰਥ ਕੀ ਜੈ ਪ੍ਰਯਾਨੀ।'

ਸੇ ਤੀਜਾ ਪੰਥ ਆਰੀਆ ਪੰਥ ਹੈ।।"

46. Editor's Answer to a letter; Khalsa Akhbar Lahore,
26th May 1899, p. 6.

"ਅਸੀਂ ਦਯਾਨੀਦ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਛੀਂ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਜਾਨਦੇ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿੰਤੂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਕਈ ਵੇਰ
ਸ਼ਾਸਤਰਾਥ ਕੀਤੇ - - - - - ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ
ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਤਾਂ ਵੇਦਾਂ ਕਤਖਾਂ ਥੋ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਛੁਡਾਉਦੇ ਆਏ ਸਨ ਨਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਤਿੰਨ
ਨਾਂਜਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਵੇਦ ਭੀ ਇਕ ਨੱਜ ਸਮਝੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਨਾਲ ਇਸ ਦੇਸ ਦੇ ਇਹ ਮੰਦ ਬੁੱਧੀ
ਆਚੀ ਬੱਧੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ, ਇਨ੍ਹੀ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਨੇ ਤੇੜਕੇ ਦੂਰ ਮਾਰਿਆ, ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਰਸਤਾ
ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਭਨਾ ਤੇ ਜੁਦਾ ਹੈ।"

47. Letter; Khalsa Samachar, 4th Dec. 1899.

"ਬਾਓ-ਬਾਈ 'ਗੁਰੂ ਕੁਲ' ਨਾਮ ਦਾ ਕੋਲਾ ਪੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ
ਭੋਲੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਕੀ ਹੈ? ਜਲੰਧਰ ਦੇ ਆਰਯਾਂ ਨੇ ਜੋ
ਨਾਹੌਰ ਦੇ ਕਾਲਜ ਵਾਲੇ ਆਰਯਾਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵਖਰੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਹਨ, ਇਕ ਨਾਮ ਰਖ ਕੇ ਇਕ
ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਮਦਰਸਾ ਖੋਲਣਾ ਚਾਹਿਆ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਆਰਯਾ ਧਰਮ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਯਾ ਸਿਖਾਈ
ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਅਰ ਉਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੁੰਡੇ ਆਦਿ ਸੰਸਕਾਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਮੈਂ ਦੇਖਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਕਈ ਸਿੱਖ 'ਗੁਰੂ ਕੁਲ' ਖਤ ਪੜਕੇ ਇਸ ਫੰਡ ਨੂੰ
ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਫੰਡ ਸਮਝ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਖੁਤਰਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕੋਈ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਬੀ ਨਾ ਦੇ
ਖੇਠਣ।"

48. Editor, Khalsa Samachar, 24th June 1903. p.3.

"ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਜਨਮ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਲੇ 'ਨਾਨਕ' ਨਾਮ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਦੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਹਿਸੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ। ਏ ਨਾਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਖਿਤਾਬ ਹੈ। ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਪੋਪ ਜਦ ਕਿਸੇ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਜੀਲ ਦੀ ਮੁਨਾਦੀ ਕਰਨ ਭੇਜਦਾ ਤਦ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ 'ਨਨਸੀਓ' ਦਾ ਖ਼ਤਾਬ ਦੇਂਦਾ।"

49. Editor; Khalsa Samachar, 24th June 1903. p.3

"ਹੁਣ ਵਲਜੀ ਭਾਈ ਦੀ ਗਪ ਦਾ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕਰੋ। ਨਾਨਕ ਨਫ਼ਜ਼ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੈ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ। ਜੇ ਕਦੀ ਵਾਲ ਜੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਤਦ ਐਡੀ, ਗਪ ਮਾਰਨ ਦਾ ਕਦੀ ਹੋਸਲਾ ਨਾ ਪੈਂਦਾ। ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਨਾਨਕ, ਦਾਦਕ ਦੇ ਨਫ਼ਜ਼ ਠੇਠ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਅਰ ਬਹੁਤ ਪੁਰਾਤਨ ਹਨ, ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਜਨਮ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਲੇ ਦੇ ਹਨ। ਨਾਨਕ ਮਾਤਾ ਦੇ ਪੇਕੇ ਤੇ ਦਾਦਕ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਪੇਕੇ ਘਰ ਨੂੰ ਕਰੀਦੇ ਹਨ, ਅਰ ਤਮਾਸ਼ਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਦੇ ਪੇਕੇ ਘਰ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਪਦ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ।"

50. Editor; Khalsa Samachar, 24th June 1903. p.3

"ਜੇ ਕਰ ਪੋਪ ਜੀ ਹਰ ਚੇਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਨਨਸੀਓ ਦਾ ਖ਼ਤਾਬ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਸੀ, ਤਦ ਕਬੀਰ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਾ ਏਹ ਖ਼ਤਾਬ ਦਿਤਾ। ਆਪ ਪਿਛੇ ਕਹ ਆਏ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਈਸਾਈ ਦੀਨ ਦੇ ਅਲੋਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰਕ ਹਿੰਦ ਵਿਚ ਆਏ, ਪਰ ਪੋਪ ਨੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਨਨਸੀਓ ਨਾ ਆਖਿਆ, ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਰ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਆਗੂ ਨਨਸੀਓ ਜਾਂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਾਂ ਨਿਕਕਾ ਜਾਂ ~~ਨੂਨਕਸ~~ ਨੂਨਕਸ ਆਦਿ ਨਾਮ ਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਇਆ।"

51. Bhai Vir Singh, Amar Lekh, p. 3.

"ਕਾਦਿਆਨੀ ਮਿਰਜ਼ਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਗੁਲਾਮ ਅਹਿਮਦ ਵਲੋਂ ਇਕ ਕਿਤਾਬ ਨਿਕਲੀ ਸੀ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਗਲਬਨ 'ਸਤਿ ਬਚਨ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਲੇਖਕ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਖਿਆਲ, ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਜਿੰਦਗੀ ਦੇ ਵਾਕਿਆਤ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਵਾਕ ਆਦਿ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਗਲਾਂ ਚੁਣੀਆਂ ਸਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਸਲਾਮ ਨਾਲ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਜੁਲਦੇ ਹਾਲਾਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਤੇ ਸਿਖ ਮਤ ਨੂੰ ਇਸਲਾਮ ਤੋਂ ਉਪਜਿਆ ਧਰਮ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਸੀ।
- - - ਇਹ ਸਾਰਾ ਕੁਛ ਮਜ਼ਹਬੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪੇ ਰੀਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਨੁਕਤਾ ਨਿਗਾਹ ਤੋਂ ਸੀ।"

52. Editor; Khalsa Samachar, 11th March 1903. p. 3.

"ਅੱਜ ਤਕ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਅਨਰੀਹਲੀ ਦੇ ਤਿਆਗ ਦੇ ਉਪਾਓ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਘਟ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ ਕਿਤੇ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਹੀ ਭਰਾ ਦੇਹਧਾਰੀ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਦਸ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।
 - - - - ਈਸਾਈ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੇ ਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਨੂੰ ਈਸਾਈਆਂ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਖ ਦਸਕੇ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਪੋਪ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਈਸਾਈ ਧਰਮ ਦੇ ਫੈਲਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨਤਾ ਹਾਸਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ, ਕਿਤੇ ਸਾਧੂ ਕੇਸਾਵਾਨੰਦ ਅਰ ਖਾਲਕ ਰਾਮ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਖੇ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਇਹ ਸਾਬਤ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਵੇਦ ਸ਼ਾਸਤ੍ਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਤਾਲੀਮ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਬਾਰਾ ਖੜਾ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ, ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਸਿਖ ਧਰਮ ਕੇਵਲ ਸਠਾਤਨ ਧਰਮ ਦਾ ਕਾਮਾ ਧਰਮ ਹੈ, ਕਿਤੇ ਮਿਰਜ਼ਾ ਕਾਦੀਆਨੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਫ਼ਕੀਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਗਿਨ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਕਿਤੇ ਬ੍ਰਹਮੋ ਦੇਵ ਸਮਾਜੀ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਪਦਵੀ ਰਾਜਾ ਰਾਮ ਮੋਹਨ ਰਾਇ ਦੀ ਪਦਵੀ ਨਾਲ ਮਿਲਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਕਿਤੇ ਸਾਧੂ ਦਯਾਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਤਿੰਭੋ ਦਸ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਸਿਖ ਭਰਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਨੇਕ ਹਮਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਠਾ ਕੇ ਚੁਪਚਾਪ ਸੁਤੇ ਪਏ ਹਨ।"

53. Suba Singh, Punjabi Pattarkari Da Itahas, Punjab State University Taxt-Book Board, Chandigarh, 1974, p. 35.

54. Giani Ditt Singh, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 16th Dec. 1898, p. 3.

"ਜਦ ਅਸੀਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕੌਮ ਦਾ ਹਾਲ ਦੇਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਅਜੇਹਾ ਖੋਫਨਾਕ ਅਤੇ ਭਿਆਨਕ ਪਾਉਂਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਦੇਖਕੇ ਰੋਮਾਂਚ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ, ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਕੌਮ ਵਿਚ ਅਜੇਹੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਤਘਨ ਪੁਰਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਟੋਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਟੋਲੇ ਪਾਏ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਅਪਨੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਤੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਯੁੱਗਮਾਤਮਾ ਆਖਦੇ ਭੀ ਅਨੀਮਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਥੀ ਹੋਏ 2 ਹਨ ਅਰ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਅਨੀਮਤੀਆਂ ਬਦਲੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਉਨਾਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਭਾਈਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਜੋ ਅਪਨੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੱਦਦੇ ਹਨ ਦੁਖ ਪਹੁੰਚਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ - - - -"

55. Suba Singh, Punjabi Pattarkari Da Itahas, Punjab State University Taxt-Book Board, Chandigarh, 1974, p. 36.

56. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, Punjabi Pattarkala, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, 1953, p. 35.

57. Suba Singh, Punjabi Pattarkari Da Itahas, Punjab State University Text-Book Board, Chandigarh, 1974, p. 37.

58. Editorial; Khalsa Akhbar, 7th July 1899, p. 3.

59. Editorial; Khalsa Samachar, 12th March 1900, p. 3.

"ਸਮਾਂ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਵਰਤ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਲੋਕ ਗੁਰਮਤ ਨੂੰ ਗ੍ਰਹਣ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ ਮਨਮਤ ਵਿਚ ਲਗਦੇ ਹਨ। ਕਾਰਣ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਨਮਤ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਸਵਾਦ ਹੁੰਦਾ, ਪਰ ਗੁਰਮਤ ਅਲੂਣੀ ਸਿਲ-ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਫਲ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਡ ਅਡ ਮਨਮਤ ਦਾ ਫਲ ਖੋਟਾ ਗੁਰਮਤ ਦਾ ਫਲ ਉਤਮ। - - - - -"

60. Khalsa Samachar, 3rd Dec. 1902, p. 3.

"ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਛੇ ਵਡੇ ਧਰਮ ਹੋਣ ਦਾ ਦਵਾ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਰਥਾਤ (੧) ਜੈਰੋਸਟ੍ਰੀਅਨ ਅਰਥਾਤ ਪਾਰਸੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਚੀਨ ਮਤ (੨) 'ਯਹੂਦੀ' ਅਰਥਾਤ ਮੂਸਾਈਆਂ ਦਾ ਮਤ ਤੇ (੩) ਹਿੰਦੂ, ਇਹ (ਤਿੰਨੇ) ਐਸੇ ਮਤ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕਾਂ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਕਿ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਅਨਮਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਦਾਖਲ ਕਰਨ। ਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ (੪) ਬੋਧੀ, (੫) ਈਸਾਈ ਤੇ (੬) ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਹਨ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਵਾਧਾ ਕੇਵਲ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਰ ਪਰ ਹੀ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਆਪ ਇਸ ਛੋਟੇ ਜੇਹੇ ਕਥਨ ਤੇ ਦੇਖ ਸਕਦੇ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਯਾ ਨਹੀਂ।"

61. Khalsa Samachar, 14th Jan. 1903, p. 10.

62. Letter; Khalsa Samachar, 19th Nov. 1902. p. 5.

"ਭਾਈ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਐਬਟਾਵਾਦ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲਿਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਥੋੜੇ ਦਿਨ ਹੋਏ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਭ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੋਰਾਟ ਵਾਲੇ ਆਏ, ਆਪਣੇ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਬਹੁਤਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਦਿਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਿੰਨ ਗਏ। ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਜੇ ਹੋਰ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕ ਸਜਨ ਭੀ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਦੇਣ ਤਾਂ ਬੜੀ ਹਡੀ ਗੱਲ ਹੈ।"

63. Khalsa Samachar, 15th Jan. 1900.

"ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕੌਮ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਬੜੀ ਸ਼ਰਮ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਚੰਬਾ ਕੁਲੂ ਅਰ ਹੋਰ ਲਾਗੇ ਦੇ ਪਹਾੜਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਕਿ ਜੋ ਸਾਡੇ ਗੁਆਫ ਹੀ ਹੋਣ ਪਾਦਗੀ ਲੋਕ ਜਾ ਪਸਰੇ ਹਨ। ਅਰ ਅਲੋਕ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਤੇ

ਦੂਜੇ ਲੋਕ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਕਰਾਨੀ ਬਣਾ ਲਏ ਹਨ, ਕਿਥੇ ਇੰਗਲਸਤਾਨ ਹੈ ਜਿਥੋਂ ਏਹ ਪਾਦਰੀ ਆਏ ਹਨ, ਤੇ ਕਿਥੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਏਹ ਲੋਕ ਰੰਹਦੇ ਹਨ, ਅੰਬਰਸਰੋ ਜਾਂ ਲਹੌਰੋ ਉਠਕੇ ਕੋਈ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ ਨਿਕਲਦਾ ਅਰ ਦੂਰ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਆਏ ਹੋਏ ਅਨਮਤੀਏ ਅਪਨਾ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।"

64. Letter; Khalsa Akhbar, 9th Nov. 1900.

"ਪਿਆਰੇ ਐਡੀਟਰ ਜੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜੋ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਖ ਬਣਾਉਦੇ ਹੋ ਸੋ ਕਿਸ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਬਣਾਉਦੇ ਹੋ।

- 1) ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਕੌਨ ਸੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਮੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੋ ਕੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਰਨਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ।
- 2) ਜਦ ਉਸਦੀ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਹੋਈ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਤਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਿਸ ਤਰਾਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ।
- 3) ਈਸਾਈ ਅਪਨੇ ਮਜ਼ਹਬ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਿਆਉਦੇ।
- 4) ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਪਨੇ ਧਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਕਯੋ ਲਿਆਉਦੇ ਹੋ।
- 5) ਮੇਰੇ ਖਯਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਖ ਕਰਕੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਨਾਉ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਖਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ।"

65. Editor; Khalsa Akhbar, 9th Nov. 1900.

1. ਅਸੀਂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੂ ਹਰ ਇਕ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪੁਰਖ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਣਾਉਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਅਰ ਉਹ ਤਰੀਕਾ ਦਸਮੇਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਛਕਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਹੈ।
- 2— ਦਸਮ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ "ਮਾਨਸ ਕੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਸਭੈ ਏਕੈ ਕਰ ਜਾਨਬੋ" ਸੋ ਇਹ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਸਾਰੀ ਮਾਨਸ ਜਾਤੀ ਲਈ ਤਯਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਇਸੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦੀ ਓਟ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਭ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਛਕਾਉਦੇ ਹਾਂ।
- 3— ਪਹਿਲੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਦੀ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਹੋਵੇ ਪਰ ਜਦ ਉਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੋ ਜਾਏਗਾ ਤਦ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਸੰਤਾਹ ਦੀ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਬੰਦ ਹੋਨ ਤੇ ਮਿਟ ਜਾਏਗੀ। ਸਿੰਘ ਸਜਾਉਣਾ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਆਉਣ ਲਈ ਹੈ ਸੋ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਧਰਮ ਥੋਂ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਕਰਾਈ ਹੈ ਜਦ ਉਸ ਧਰਮ ਨੂੰ ਤਿਆਗ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਤਦ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਕੁਝ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੀ।
- 4— ਅਸੀਂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਸਰੇ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਪਰਚਲਨ ਲਈ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਮੁਕਤੀ ਹਾਸਲ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਬਣਾਉਦੇ ਹਾਂ।

5— ਜੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਵਾਲੀ ਰਸਮ ਸਿਖ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਭੀ ਜਾਰੀ ਰਹੇ ਅਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਉਲਾਦ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਕਰਾਵੇ ਤਦ ਤਾਂ ਬੰਦਈ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਵਾਂਗ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਨਾਉਂ ਭੀ ਸੁੰਨਤੀ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਜਾਏ ਤਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਹਜ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਜਦ ਉਹ ਸੁੰਨਤ ਤੇ ਹਟ ਜਾਨ ਫਿਰ ਸੁੰਨਤੀ ਕਿਉਂ ਰੱਖਣ ਜਾਏ।"

66. Surinder Singh Kohli, Harnam Singh Shan, Bhai Vir Singh Jeevan, Sama Te Rachna, Punjab University Publication Bureau, Chandigarh, 1973, p. 191.
67. Letter, Khalsa Samachar, 14th Jan. 1903.

"ਮੇਰੀ ਉਮਰ ਇਸ ਵਕਤ 27 ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਦੀ ਵਾਕਫ਼ੀਅਤ ਜੂਨ 1902 ਤੋਂ ਭਾਈ ਚੰਦਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕ ਫੰਡ ਧੰਨ ਦੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ ਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਟ੍ਰੈਕਟ ਸੁਸਾਇਟੀ ਦੇ ਟ੍ਰੈਕਟ ਮੰਗਵਾਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਬਲਕੇ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕਾਰਡ ਲਿਖ ਦਿਤਾ। ਜਦ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ ਤੇ ਟ੍ਰੈਕਟ ਆਣੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਏ ਤਾਂ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਾਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਨੂੰ ਜੀਅ ਹੀ ਨ ਕਰਿਆ ਕਰੇ ਪਰ ਜਦੋਂ ਇਕ ਦੋ ਵੇਰੀ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ ਤਾਂ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ ਦੇ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਮਜ਼ਮੂਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਐਸਾ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਪਰ ਅਸਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਜੋ ਦਿਨੋ ਦਿਨ ਧਰਮ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਬੜਦਾ ਗਿਆ, ਜਪਜੀ, ਜਾਪਜੀ ਤੇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੇ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦੇ ਟੀਕੇ ਮੰਗਵਾ ਕੇ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ ਤਾਂ ਐਸਾ ਅਨੰਦ ਆਇਆ ਸੀ ਜੋ ਕਬਨ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਹੈ।"

68. Letter; Khalsa Akhbar, 16th Dec. 1893, p. 8.

"ਇਸ ਗੁਨਾਹ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਕੇਵਲ ਮੇਰਾ ਮੋਠਾ ਪਨ ਹੀ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਮੈਂ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੁੰਦਾ (ਅਰਥਾਤ ਕੇਸਾਧਾਰੀ) ਤਾਂ ਕਦੇ ਭੀ ਇਸ ਅਪਰਾਧ ਨੂੰ ਨਾ ਕਰਦਾ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਹੁਣ ਮੈਂ ਖੇਨਤੀ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਜਾਓ ਅਰ ਗੁਨਾਹ ਬਖਸ਼ਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਰਨੀ ਪਾਓ, ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਪਾਪਾਂ ਦਾ ਭਾਗੀ ਨਾ ਹੋਵਾਂ।"

69. Editor; Khalsa Akhbar, 16th Dec. 1893, p. 8.

"ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਇਸ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਪਰਗਟ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਆਪਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਜਣਾ ਕੋਈ ਕਠਨ ਬਾਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਪੰਜ ਕੱਕੇ ਧਾਰਨ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਰਧਾ ਨਾਲ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਸ਼ਰਨ ਆਓ ਅਰ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਧਾਰ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਜ ਜਾਓ।"

70. Khalsa Samachar's p. no.1, 3rd Oct. 1902, 10th Oct. 1902, 24th Dec. 1902, 21st Jan. 1903 etc.

71. News; Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 20th Oct. 1899, p. 8.
 "ਚੇਤਰ ਦੀ 4 ਤਾਰੀਖ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਹੀਰਾ ਘਾਟ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਸਰਬਤ ਸੰਗਤ ਇਕੱਤਰ ਹੋਈ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਵਿਖਯਾਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਉਪਕਾਰਾ ਪਰ ਹੋਇਆ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਲਕੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਤਾਂ ਗਦ-2 ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਨਮਤੀ ਸ਼ੋਕਾਰਤ ਹੋਏ।"
72. See; Report, Khalsa Samachar, 3rd Dec. 1902, p. 5-9.
73. Editor, Khalsa Samachar, 28th Jan. 1903, p. 2.
 "ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਤੁਕੀ ਅਰ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਜਦ ਸਮਾਂ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ ਤੁਰਤ ਹੀ ਪੁਕਾਰ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕਰ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ।"
74. 'Jathedar's Diary', Khalsa Samachar, 6th May 1903, p. 11.
 "- - - - (8 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ 1903) ਇਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਉਹਦੇਦਾਰ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਸਹਜਧਾਰੀ ਨੇ ਪੰਡਤ ਵਰਯਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬਾਦ ਕੀਤਾ। ਪੰਡਤ, ਮੂਰਤੀ ਪੂਜਨ, ਹਵਨ ਸੰਧਸ਼ਾ ਆਰਤੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਨਿਰਨੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਗੁਰਮਤ ਧਾਰਨ ਕੀਤੀ, ਅਰ ਪੁਣ ਕੀਤਾ ਕਿ ਘਰ ਪੜ੍ਹਿਦੇ ਪਛਵਾਰ ਸਮੇਤ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਧਾਰਨ ਕਰਾਂਗਾ। ਫੇਰ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਪੁਣ ਕੀਤਾ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਭੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਜਾਂਗਾ। ਘਰ ਦੀਵੇ ਆਦਕ ਫੇਰਨੇ ਛਡ ਦਿਆਂਗਾ।"
75. Giani Partap Singh, Sikh Itehasak Lecture, Bhai Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh and Co., Amritsar (Edition III) 1973, p. 524.
76. See: Editor; Khalsa Samachar, 14th Jan. 1903, p. 4-5.
77. Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary ^{College} Publication No. 130, p. 10.
78. Sardool Singh Kavishar, Punjab (Ed. Ganda Singh) Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, 1962, p. 211.
79. Giani Nahar Singh, Azadi Di-an Leharan, Parkashan Giani Haribhajan Singh, 1962, p. 33.
80. Hira Singh Dard, Mariyan Kuj Itehasak Yadan, Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Jalandhar, 1955, p. 17.

81. See: Suba Singh, Punjabi Pattarkari Da Itahas, Punjab State University Text-Book Board, 1974, p. 66.
82. See: Akali, 21st May 1920, p. 2.
83. Hira Singh Dard, Mariyan Kujh Itehasak Yadan, Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Jalandhar, 1955, p. 163.
84. See: Kavishar, Sardool Singh, Punjab (Ed. Ganda Singh), Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, 1962, p. 213.
85. Hira Singh Dard, Mariyan Kujh Itehasak Yadan, Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Jalandhar, 1955, p. 176.
86. Giani Nahar Singh, Azadi Di-an Leharan, Parkashan Giani Haribhajan Singh, 1962, p. 30.
87. Hukamnama, Takhat Sach Khand Shri Hazur Sahib Ji, Azadi Dian Leharan, Ibid, p. 30-31.

"ਗੁਰੂ ਘਰ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਸਚੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੀਨ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਾਲੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ ਜਦ ਤੋਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ, ਕੁਲ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਰਖਣ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਦਿਤਾ ਜੋ ਅਜ ਤਾਈਂ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਚਲਿਆ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਹੁਣ ਥੋੜੇ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਲੋਕ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਨਿੱਕੀ ਤੋਂ ਨਿੱਕੀ ਬਨਾਵਨ ਲਗ ਪਏ। ਬਹੁਤ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਨੇ ਤਖਤ ਤੇ ਆਨ ਕੇ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਘਟ ਤੋਂ ਘਟ ਕਿਤਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਰਖਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਤਖਤ ਦੀ ਤਰਫੋਂ ਹੁਕਮ ਦੀਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕਮਰਕਸੇ ਵਿਚ ਰਖਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਏਕ ਫੁਟ ਤੋਂ ਘਟ ਨਾ ਰਖਣ।"

88. Editorial; Akali, 19th Dec. 1921, p. 2.

"ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਜੋ ਪੰਜ ਕਰਾਰ ਰਖਣ ਦਾ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਵੀ ਉਨਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਹੈ। ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਕੁਝ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਧਾਰਨ ਦੀ ਖੁਲ ਗੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਅਰ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਧਾਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਜੰਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਸੁਟੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਸਨ। ਅੰਤ ਜਦ ਪਿਛੇ ਜਰੇ ਗੋਰਮਿੰਟ ਨੇ ਮਾੜੀ ਮੋਟੀ ਖੁੱਲ੍ਹ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਵੀ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਦੇ ਭਾਵ ਨਾਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਫੈਜੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਦੇ ਇਨਾਮ ਵਜੋਂ ਸਿਖੇ ਕੌਮ ਉਤੇ ਇਕ ਹਸਾਨ ਚਾੜਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ। ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਇਹ ਕੁਝ ਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ ਵੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਪਾਣ ਬਦਲੇ ਦੁਖ ਦਿਤੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਅਰ ਕੈਦ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਬੰਹਾਨਾ ਭਾਹਿਆ

ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਲੰਮੀ ਹੈ। - - - - -"

89. Editor; Punjabi Punch, 1st Jan. 1936, p. 13.
90. Harcharan Singh Bajwa, Punjab Di Rajneeti De 60 Sal, Modern Publishers, Chandigarh, 1985, p. 25.
- 91 Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No. 130, p. 12.
92. Teja Singh, Arsi, Punjabi University, Patiala 1980, p. 47.
93. Giani Nahar Singh, Punjab(Ed. Ganda Singh), Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, 1962, p. 221.
94. Editorial, Akali, 1st Jan. 1921, p. 2.
95. Suba Singh, Punjabi Pattarkari, Da Itehas, Punjab State University Taxt-Book Board, Chandigarh, 1974, p. 81.
96. Editorial, Akali, 1st Jan. 1921, p. 2.
 "ਇਹ ਗਲ ਸਭ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਸਚੇ ਕਰ ਲੈਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਕਿਸੇ ਗੁਰਧਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਸਖਸ਼ੀ ਕਬਜ਼ੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿਣ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ। ਕਿਸੇ ਗੁਰ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਮਨਮਤ ਅਤੇ ਕੁਰੀਤੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕੇਗੀ। ਭੇਟ ਅਤੇ ਜਗੀਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਹੁਣ ਰੰਗਰਲੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਖਰਚ ਹੋ ਸਕੇਗਾ। ਬਲਕਿ ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਧਰਮ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਜ ਹੋਣਗੇ।"
97. Editorial; Akali, 3rd Jan. 1921, p. 2.
 "ਪੰਥ ਹੈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕਿ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਵਿਚ ਫੇਰ ਪੁਰਾਣੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਾਲੀ ਕਲਾ ਵਰਤਣ ਲਗੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਦਾ ਚੇਤਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ। ਨਿਰਸੰਦੇਹ ਇਹ ਬੜੀ ਸ਼ਰਮਵਾਲੀ ਗੱਲ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਹੋਣ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਤੇ ਉਥੋਂ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਕੁਰੀਤੀਆਂ ਕਰਨ। - - - - -"
98. Editorial; Akali, 3rd Jan. 1921, p. 2.
 "ਪਰ ਹਰ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਹ ਯਾਦ ਰਖੋ ਕਿ ਜੇ 'ਧਰਮ' ਦੀ ਪਹਿਲ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਹੋਈ ਤਾਂ ਪਿਛਲਾ

ਸਾਰਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਕੰਮ ਵਿਗਾੜ ਦਿਓਗੇ ਦੁਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਹਾਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਕੰਮ ਸਿਰੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਦਾ ਹੈ ਨਾ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਖ ਦਿਤਿਆਂ। ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤੇ ਡਾਂਗ ਉਲਾਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਉਲਾਰਨ ਦਿਓ ਉਹ ਡਾਂਗ ਉਲਾਰਨ ਵਾਲੀ ਖਾਂਹ ਦਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਆਪ ਨਾਸ਼ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਕੀਹ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਸਰੀਰ ਤਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਲਗ ਗਿਆ।"

99. Nayak, 8th Feb. 1921, p. 3.

"ਇਹ ਢੰਗ ਤਾਂ ਗਵਰਮੈਂਟ ਦੇ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਦੇ ਸਰਾਸਰ ਉਲਟ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਪਰਵਾਹ ਨਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਗਵਰਮੈਂਟ ਦੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਤਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਨਾ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਹੈ। ਜੇ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਗਵਰਮੈਂਟ ਦਾ ਟਾਕਰਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ।"

100. Nayak, 8th March 1921, p. 1.

101. Nayak, 8th March 1921, p. 2.

"ਸਿਖ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਖਜਾਏ ਇਸਦੇ ਕਿ ਖਤਰਨਾਕ ਢੰਗ ਦੇ ਉਲਟ ਅਵਾਜ਼ ਉਠਾਉਂਦੇ, ਆਪਣੀ ਗਰਮ ਖਜਾਰੀ ਲਈ, ਪਖਲਕ ਨੂੰ ਓਹੋ ਕੁਝ ਦਿਤਾ ਜੋ ਉਹ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਓਹ ਉਸ ਲਈ ਲਾਭਦਾਇਕ ਸੀ ਜਾਂ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਹਾਨੀਕਾਰਕ"

102. Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No.130, p. 23.

103. Akali, 25th Dec. 1921, p. 1.

104. Editorial; Akali, 9th Jan. 1921, p. 2.

105. Akali, 21st Dec. 1921, p. 1.

106. Suba Singh, Punjabi Pattarkari Da Itahas, Punjab State University Taxtbook Board, Chandigarh, 1974, p. 85.

107. Ganda Singh, Punjab, Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, 1962, p. 113.

108. Nahar Singh (Giani), Punjab(Ed. Ganda Singh), Ibid., p. 222.

109. Pamphlet, Saka Nankana Sahib, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No.6, Nov. 1987, p. 25.

110. Editorial, Akali, 20th Oct. 1921, p. 2.

"ਇਨਸਾਫ਼ ਵਾਲੀ ਅਰ ਮੁਹੱਜ਼ਬ ਗੋਰਮੀਟ ਦੇ ਰਾਜ ਵਿਚ ਦਿਨ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਵੀਰ 200 ਸੂਰਬੀਰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਬੜੀ ਬਿਦਰਦੀ ਅਰ ਨਿਰਦੈਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਨਨਕਾਣੇ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੋਹੇ ਜਾਦੇ ਹੋਨ। ਐਡਾ ਘੋਰ ਅਤਿਆਚਾਰ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਮਹੀਤ 9 ਮਹੀਨੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤੋਂ ਤਿਆਰੀਆਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ। ਛਤੀਆਂ ਬੰਦੂਕਾ ਗੋਲੀ ਸਿਕਾ ਕੱਠਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਪਰ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਬਰ ਤਕ ਨਾ ਹੋਈ। ਸਾਡੇ ਘਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਿਤ ਰਿਧੇ ਪਕੇ ਦੀ ਤਾਂ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਬਰ ਪੁਜ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਪਤਾ ਨਗ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਖੜਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਅੱਜ ਕਿਥੇ ਬੈਠਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਕਿਥੇ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਐਸੇ ਘੋਰ ਪਾਪ ਦਾ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ; ਉਹ ਗੋਰਮੀਟ ਗੋਰਮੀਟ ਅਖਵਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਯੋਗ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ।"

111. Editorial; Akali, 20th Oct. 1921. p. 2.

112. See; Akali, 22nd Oct. 1921, p. 2.

113. Akali, 24th Dec. 1921.

"ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਨਕਾਣਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਥਾਵਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਖਬਰਾਂ ਪੁਜ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖ਼ਤ ਉਤੇ ਸਾਧੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਹਮਲੇ ਤੋਂ ਦਲੇਰ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਹੋਰ ਸ਼ਰਾਬਤੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਖਾਕੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਇਸੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹਮਲੇ ਕਰਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਗੋਦਾਂ ਹੁੰਦ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।"

114. Editorial; Akali, 25th Nov. 1921, p. 2.

"ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਨਕਾਣਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਿਖ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੇ ਹੌਸਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਜੇਰੇ ਦਾ ਸਖ਼ੂਤ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਤੋਂ ਸਾਬਤ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਆਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਾਵਾਂ ਨੇ ਵੀ ਐਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੀ ਨਾਜਕ ਹਾਲਤ ਨੂੰ ਚੰਗੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਮਝ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ।"

115. Akali Te Pardesi, 25th Dec. 1922, p. 4.

116. Akali Te Pardesi, 25th Dec. 1922, p. 4.

"ਜੇਕਰ ਨਨਕਾਣੇ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਮਹੀਤ ਨੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਗੋਲੀਆਂ ਮਾਰੀਆਂ ਤਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਛਤੀਆਂ ਭਾਹਕੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਠੰਡਿਆ ਕੀਤਾ, ਜੇ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਛਵੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਕੁਹਾੜਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਮਾ ਕੀਤਾ, ਤਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਕੋਈ ਉਜਰ ਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਜੇ ਉਸਨੇ ਭਠੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਦਰਖਤਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਖੰਡਕੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ

ਸਾੜਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਉਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਸੌਂ ਦੀ ਜਗਾ 'ਸਤਿਨਾਮ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ' ਕਹਿਆ।"

117. On 1st Nov. 1921 a meeting had taken place between the government and the nominees of the Panth in which the Panthak Committee had refused to give possession of Shri Darbar Sahib to the government. See —
Akali, 4th Nov. 1921, p. 1.

118. Editorial; Akali, 25th Nov. 1921, p. 2.

"- - - - - ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਜੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੁੰਜੀਆਂ ਨੌਕਰਸਾਹੀ ਜੋਰ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਖੋ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਤੇਜਾ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਠੀਆਂ ਬਾਬਤ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤੰਗ ਕਰ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਨਕਾਣਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਡੇ ਦੋ ਸੌ ਸਿੰਘ ਘਟ ਤੋਂ ਘਟ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਬੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਹੀ ਨਾਲ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਹਨ।"

119. See: Shiromani Committee de Gur Mate, Akali, 30th Nov. 1921, p. 1.

120. Editorial; Akali, 19th Dec. 1921, p. 2.

"- - - - - ਧਾਰਮਕ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਜਿਸ ਨੁਕਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਪੁਲੀਟੀਕਲ ਸਮਝਦੀ ਅਰ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਠੇਹਰਾ ਦੇਂਦੀ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਦਾ ਨਮੂਨਾ ਮਿਸਟਰ ਐਫ.ਏ.ਕਾਨਰ ਐਡੀਸ਼ਨਲ ਡਿਸਟਿਕ ਮਜਿਸਟ੍ਰੇਟ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਦੇ ਉਸ ਅਦਾਲਤੀ ਫੈਸਲੇ ਦੇ ਲਿਖਤੀ ਕਥਨ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਸ. ਖੜਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ. ਮਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਦਿ ਦੇ ਮੁਕੱਦਮੇ ਬਾਬਤ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ। ਆਪ ਲਿਖਦੇ ਹਨ "ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਕਿ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੁੰਜੀਆਂ ਬਾਬਤ ਜੋ ਢਿੱਲਾ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਚਰਚਾ ਵਾਰਤਾ ਛੇੜੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਜੋਸ਼ ਫੈਲਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਜਿਸ-2 ਨੇ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਮਜ਼ਮੂਨ ਉਤੇ ਵਖਿਆਨ ਦਿਤਾ, ਉਹ ਪੁਲੀਟੀਕਲ ਆਸ਼ਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਖਾਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਐਸਾ ਜੋੜ ਮੇਲਾ ਨਿਕੋਲ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਦੰਵਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਹਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ।"

121. See, Letter published in Akali on 25th Nov. 1921 in which a gathering of all communities denounced the government for forcibly snatching away the keys of Shri Darbar Sahib.

122. Nahar Singh(Giani), Azadi Dian Leharan, Parkashan Giani Haribhajan Singh, 1962, p. 193.

123. Morcha Guru Ka Bagh, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No.7, 1989, p. 13.

124. Nahar Singh (Giani), Azadi Diyan Leharan, Parkashan Giani Haribhajan Singh, 1962, p. 195.

125. Akali Te Pardesi, 25th Dec. 1922, p. 5.

"ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਬਾਗ ਵਿਚ ਤਾਂ ਜ਼ਾਲਮਾਂ ਨੇ ਰਜ-2 ਕੇ ਜੁਲਮ ਕੀਤਾ, ਕਲਗੀਆਂ ਵਾਲੇ ਦੇ ਦੁਲਾਰਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਰੂ ਦੀ ਤਰਾਂ ਪਿੰਜਿਆ ਗਿਆ, ਡਾਂਗ ਦੋਆਂ ਹੁਣਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਲੁਕਵੀਆਂ ਥਾਵਾਂ ਤੇ ਸਖਤ ਸਟਾਂ ਲਾਈਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ: ਅੰਗ-2 ਭੰਨਿਆ ਗਿਆ - - - - - ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰੀ ਕੁਤੇ ਛੜੇ ਗਏ, - - - - -।"

126. Akali Te Pardesi, 4th Nov. 1922, p. 13.

127. Akali Te Pardesi, 4th Nov. 1922, p. 14.

"ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ! ਜਿੰਦਾ ਸੜਕੇ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਹੋਣ ਤੇ ਟੋਟੇ 2 ਹੋ ਜਾਣ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਤੇ ਜੇਹਲ ਜਾਣ ਦੀ ਕੁਰਖਾਣੀ ਸਚ ਮੁਚ ਇਕ ਤੁਛ ਜੇਹੀ ਹੈ। ਸੋ ਲਕਾਣੇ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਹੀਦਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਯਾਦ ਕਰਕੇ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਬਾਗ ਵੱਲ ਪੁੱਜਣ ਦੀ ਕਰੋ।"

128. Madhusudan Singh, Akali Te Pardesi, 4th Nov. 1922, p. 20.

"ਜਖਰ ਜੋਰ ਤੇ ਜੁਲਮ ਦੀ ਅਤ ਹੋਈ
ਉਦੋਂ ਆਪ ਬਣਿਆ ਨਿਗਾਹਬਾਨ ਬਾਬਾ
ਕਈ ਬਖਸ਼ੀਆ ਮੇਹਰ ਦੀ ਕਣੀ ਆਪੇ
ਸਰਬਬਜ ਹੋਏ ਰੋਗਿਸਤਾਨ ਬਾਬਾ
ਵੈਰੀ ਅਜੇ ਵੀ ਚੇਨ ਨ ਲੈਣ ਦਿੰਦਾ
ਉਹ ਨੂੰ ਨਸ਼ਕਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਵਡਾ ਮਾਨ ਬਾਬਾ
ਜਿਹਨੂੰ ਲਹੂ ਪਿਆ ਕੇ ਪਾਲਿਆ ਸੀ
ਉਹੀ ਮਟੇਣਾ ਚਾਹੇ ਈਮਾਨ ਸਾਡਾ।"

129. Akali Te Pardesi, 25th Dec. 1922, p. 5.

"ਅੱਜ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਜਥਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਜੇਲੀ ਪੁਜਕੇ ਸਕਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਨਕ ਦਮ ਕੀਤਾ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਮਜਬੂਰ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਗਿਰਫਤਾਰੀਆਂ ਬੰਦ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ - - - - - ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਬਾਗ ਵਿਚ ਵਧ ਤੇ ਵਧ ਮਾਰ ਖਾਧੀ ਤੇ ਨੌਕਰਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਦੀ ਡਾਂਗ ਭੀ ਨਿਕਾਰੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਵਿਖਾ ਦਿਤੀ।"

130. Because the Maharaja was a liberal and he supported the Sikhs---See: Punjab (Ed. Ganda Singh), Punjabi Sahit Academy, 1962, p. 227 and Akali Lehar(Pamphlet), Sikh Missionary College, Publication No. 130, p. 40.
131. Akali Te Pardesi, 1st Sept. 1923, p. 1.
132. Akali Te Pardesi, 5th Sept. 1923.
 "ਜੈਤੋ ਵਿਚ ਫੌਜ ਨੇ ਪੁਲਸ ਨੇ ਦੋਵਾਨ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਨਾਕੇ ਕੋਕਰੇ ਤੇ ਰਸਦ ਬੰਦ ਕਰਕੇ ਪੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਫਿਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਬਾਗ ਵਾਲਾ ਚੈਲੀਜ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ।"
133. Akali Te Pardesi, 3rd Sept. 1923, p. 1.
134. Akali Te Pardesi, 23rd Sept. 1923, p. 2.
 "ਮੇਜ ਇਸ ਤਰਾਂ ਅਖੰਡ ਪਾਠੀ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਠ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਧੂਕੀ ਉਠਾ ਲੈਣ ਤੇ ਪਾਠ ਨੂੰ ਖੰਡਤ ਕਰ ਦੇਣ ਦੀ ਨਵੀਂ ਗਲ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਵੇਰ ਸਿਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰੇ ਉਤੇ ਪਹਿਰਾ ਲਾ ਕੇ ਯਾਤਰਾ ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਗਲ ਤਾਂ ਅਗੇ ਮਸੇ ਠੀਘਣ ਵੇਲੇ ਭੀ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਇਹ ਪਾਠੀ ਨੂੰ ਧੂਹ ਲੈਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਗਲ ਉਸ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਭੀ ਵਧ ਗਈ ਹੈ।"
135. See; Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No. 130, p. 42.
136. Partap Singh(Giani), Sikh Itehasak Lectures, Bhai Jawhar Singh Kirpal Singh and Co., 1973, p. 552.
137. Ibid., p. 555.
138. Akali Te Pardesi, 16th April 1925, p. 3.
 "(1) ਉਠਕਾਂ ਬੈਠਕਾਂ ਕਢਾਈਆਂ (2) ਮੀਜੇ ਪੁਰ ਦੋਵੇ ਟੰਗਾ ਰੀਯਾ ਤੋਂ ਖਾਹਰ ਕਰਕੇ ਤੇ ਅਲਫ ਨੰਗੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਬਿਠਾਣਾ (3) ਪੁਠੀਆਂ ਹਥਕੜੀਆਂ ਲਾ ਕੇ ਟੰਗ ਦੇਣਾ ਤੇ ਜਦ ਤੀਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਬੇਹੋਸ਼ ਨਾ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ ਟੰਗੀ ਰਖਣਾ। (4) ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੂੰਹ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਤਿਆਂ ਆਦ ਦਾ ਗੂੰਹ ਦੇਣਾ। (5) ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੂੰਹ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਗਰਟ ਤੇ ਹੁਕਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੂੰਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਧੂਏ ਦੇ ਫਰਾਟੇ ਮਾਰਨੇ। (6) ਕੇਸ, ਦਾਹੜੇ ਤੇ ਮੁਛੇਹਰੇ ਪਟਨੇ। (7) ਕਈਆਂ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੇ

ਕਾਲੇ ਵਾਲ (ਰੇਠਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਾਲ) ਪੁਟਣੇ ਅਤੇ ਕਈਆਂ ਦੇ ਕਾਲੇ ਵਾਲ ਅਗ ਲਾਕੇ ਮੰਜੇ ਤੇ ਬਿਠਾਕੇ ਸਾੜ ਦੇਣੇ। (8) ਭੁੰਜੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਕਛੇਰੇ ਲਾਹਕੇ ਖਦਮਾਸ਼ ਸਿਪਾਹੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਬਦ ਫੈਲੀਆਂ ਕਰਨੀਆਂ (9) ਗੁਦਾ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਲੇ ਠੋਕਣੇ। (10) ਲੋਹੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੀਖਾਂ ਤਾ ਕੇ ਸਗੋਰ ਦੇ ਅੰਗਾਂ ਤੇ ਲਾਉਣੀਆਂ।"

139. Akali Te Pardesi, 9th April 1925, p. 4.

"ਧਰਮੀ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਨਾਭਾ ਬੀਡਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਜੋ ਅਤਯਾਚਾਰ ਢਾਹੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਉਹ ਕਦੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਵਹਿਸ਼ੀ ਜ਼ਮਾਨੇ ਦੇ ਰਾਜ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਪੜੇ ਸੁਣੇ। - - - - - ਨੌਕਰਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਨੂੰ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਦੀ ਉਮੀਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਭਾਵਦੀ।"

140. Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No.130, p. 47.

141. Partap Singh (Giani), Sikh Itehas Lectures, Bhai Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh and Co., 1973, p. 557.

142. Editorial; Akali, 3rd July 1922, p. 2.

143. Akali Te Pardesi, 18th April 1925, p. 2.

144. See Editorial, Akali Te Pardesi, 29th April 1925. p.3

145. Akali Te Pardesi, 29th April 1925, p. 3 and 4th May 1925.p.2.

146. Akali Te Pardesi, 29th April 1925, p. 3.

147. Editorial; Akali Te Pardesi, 4th May 1925, p. 2.

"- - - - - ਆਮ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਸੱਲੀ ਰੱਖਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਦਾਚਿਤ ਇਹ ਖੁਆਹਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਕਿਸੇ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਤੇ ਕਬਜ਼ਾ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਕਦੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਵੀ ਕਰਨ। ਨ ਹੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਇਹ ਮਨਸ਼ਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਖਾਸ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀ ਦੇ ਮਹੰਤਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਪੁਜਾਰੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਕਢ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ। - - - - - ਇਸ ਵਕਤ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਾ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨਾਲ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਕਈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਮਹੰਤ ਬਾਕਾਇਦਾ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਰੀਆਂ ਭਾਰੀਆਂ ਤਲਬਾਂ ਪਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਕਈ ਐਸੀਆਂ ਮਿਸਾਲਾਂ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਧਾਰੀ ਮਹੰਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬੇਦਖਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।"

148. Akali Te Pardesi, 7th May 1925, p. 2.

"ਉਦਾਸੀਨ ਸਾਧੂ ਮਹਾਂ ਮੰਡਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਾ ਬਿਲ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਵਾਇਸਰਾਏ, ਲਾਟ ਪੰਜਾਬ, ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਕੌਂਸਲ ਤੇ ਚੌਵਾਨ ਸਹਾਦਰ ਰਾਜਾ ਨਰਿੰਦਰ ਨਾਥ ਨੂੰ ਤਾਰਾਂ ਦਿਤੀਆਂ ਹਨ।"

149. Akali Te Pardesi, 1st May 1925, p. 2.

"- - - - - ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਧਾਰੀ ਤੋਂ ਸਿਵਾ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਸਿਖ, ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਵਿਚ ਸਹਿਯੋਗੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ, ਆਦਿ ਬਿਲ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਏ ਸਿਖ ਵੀ ਰਾਇ ਦੇ ਸਕਣਗੇ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਤੇ ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੇਸ ਗੜ੍ਹ ਅਨੰਦਪੁਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਸਿਧਾ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਹਥ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਵੇ, ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਵਾਂਗੂੰ ਸਿੰਘਣੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਰਾਇ ਦੇਣ ਦਾ ਹਕ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ। ਸਥਾਨਕ ਕਮੇਟੀਆਂ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਅਧੀਨ ਰੈਕੜੇ ਕਰਨਗੀਆਂ। ਰਾਏ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਉਮਰ ਵੀ 21 ਸਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਘਟ ਕਰਕੇ 18 ਸਾਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤਬਦੀਲੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਹੋ ਜਾਣ ਬਾਦ ਬਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਨਾਮਾ ਨੁਕਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਰੇਹ ਜਾਂਦਾ।"

150. See Editorial; Akali Te Pardesi, 1st May 1925, p. 2.

151. Editorial; Moji, 9th Feb. 1931, p. 3.

"- - - - - ਬੇਸੁਮਾਰ ਕੁਰਬਾਨੀਆਂ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਦ ਇਕ ਨੀਗੜਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਮਿਲਿਆ। ਪਰ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਨਾਲ ਮੁਕਦਮੇ ਬਾਜ਼ੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਅਜੇਹਾ ਅਟੁੱਟ ਸਿਲਸਿਲਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਗਿਆਮਤ ਤਕ ਵੀ ਖਤਮ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਂਦਾ।"

152. Editorial; Moji, 9th Feb. 1931, p. 3.

"ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਮਾਨਕ ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਹਾਈ ਕੋਰਟ ਨੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਕੇਵਲ ਉਦਾਸੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਗੈਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਹੈ, ਸਗੋਂ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਮੰਨਣ ਤੋਂ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਮੰਜੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਭੀ ਟ੍ਰਿਬਯੂਨਲ ਨੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਖੂ ਰਾਮ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਅਜੇਹੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਭੀ ਏਹੋ ਮੁਸ਼ੱਬਤਾਂ ਪਈਆਂ ਹਨ। ਏਹਨਾਂ ਫੈਸਲਿਆਂ ਨੇ ਸਾਰੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਇਕ ਅਜੀਬ ਖੇਚੋਲੀ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੈ।"

153. Kaumi Kirpan Bahadur, 11th June 1931, p. 5.

"ਕਿਰਪਾਨ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਵਿਚ ਤਾਂ ਜਦ ਇਹ ਐਕਟ ਖਿਲ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਸੀ, ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਏਸ ਯੋਜ਼ੇ ਦੀ ਬੀਮਾਰੀ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਪੀਠ ਨੂੰ ਬਚਾਈ ਰਖਣ ਲਈ ਹਾਲ ਦੁਹਾਈ ਮਚਾਈ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਸੀ। ਪਰ ਪੀਠ ਦੇ ਖੋਟਿਆਂ ਨਸੀਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਸਾਡੀ ਏਸ ਹਕ ਦੀ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਨੂੰ ਖੁਦਗਯ ਲੀਡਰਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਅਜਿਹੀ ਬੇਦਰਦੀ ਨਾਲ ਪੈਰਾਂ ਥੱਲੇ ਲਿਤਾੜ ਦਿਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਤਰਾਂ ਕਿ ਹੁਣ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕੱਦਮਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਟ੍ਰਿਬੂਨਲ ਦੇ ਜੱਜਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਲਿਤਾੜਿਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।"

154. See: Editorial Moji, 31 August & 7th Sept. 1931, p. 5.

155. Kirpan Bahadur, 4th Oct. 1931, p. 1.

156. Moji, 30th Nov. & 7 Dec. 1931, p. 5.

"ਗੁਜਰਾਂਵਾਲ ਦੇ 101 ਨੇਕ ਦਿਲ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਡਸਕੇ ਦੇ ਮੋਰਚੇ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਕ ਵਿਚ ਜੋ ਏਲਾਨ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਤ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਹੈ (Published in Kirpan Bahadur 25th Oct. 1931, p. 4) ਉਸ ਉਤੇ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਵੀਰ ਭਾਰਤ ਨੇ ਹੁੱਜਤਾਂ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਉਸ ਦੇ ਜਵਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਹੁਣ 130 ਧਰਮੀ ਤੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਮੁੜ ਏਲਾਨ ਨਿਕਲਿਆ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ 'ਵੀਰ ਭਾਰਤ' ਨੂੰ ਕਰਾਰੀਆਂ ਚਪੇੜਾਂ ਲਾਈਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਲੀਡਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਆਲ ਇਡਿਆ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮਹਾ ਸਭਾ ਨੇ ਅਜੇ ਭੀ ਸਮਝੌਤਾ ਨਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਵੀਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਲਈ ਖੁਦ ਭੀ ਜੱਥੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਜਾਵਾਂਗੇ।"

Chapter III

Sikh Journalism and Social Reform

- (1) Sikh Journalism Vis-a-Vis the Problem of Caste.
- (2) Sikh Journalism and Women Upliftment
- (3) Sikh Journalism and Reform in Marriage System.
- (4) Sikh Journalism and Problem of Drugs, etc.

References

Sikh Journalism and Social Reform

The Sikh Journalism worked strongly for bringing about religious reforms. It also started movement for social reforms, with equal sincerity and wisdom. In fact, the Sikhism was born to do away with those misconceptions which had hindered the idea of human brotherhood. That is why Sikhism developed its religious conceptions in such a way as made possible the restructuring of the society, free from the distinctions of caste, class and social status. It also aimed at putting an end to anti-social values, and at establishing a social order based on ethnic equality. Therefore, the Sikh journalism, on the one hand, wrote articles against the violation of the established code, on the other, it strongly opposed those social evils which had been eating into the vitals of our social fabric. For example, certain such social evils as casteism, superstitions, dowry, child marriage, illiteracy, ban on widow-marriage, increasing addiction to drugs (intoxicants), gambling, etc., put obstacles in the way of social development. The Sikh journalism analysed these problems from the religious and scientific perspective, so that an awareness could be made ensured in the society, to reform them. The changing situation called for this awakening.

After the end of Sikh rule and the annexation of Punjab by the British many Sikhs discarded their faith and merged with Hindus.¹ In the mean time Christianity which was a new religion for India and which had the backing of a great political power, also started its missionary work. Under its influence, many Sikhs also gave up their faith.² Consequently, the numerical strength of the Sikhs which was around ten millions during the Sikh rule, fell 18,53,428, in 1881. It was a matter of grave concern for the Sikhs. It was also obvious that the Sikhs were unable to retain the higher values of Sikhism and therefore, the people were leaving the faith in a large number. 'Under the influence of Brahmanism, the Sikh society used to perform Brahmanical rites on the occasions of birth, marriage and death. Woman came to be considered inferior to man, in keeping with Manu's ideology. Use of wine and tobacco was common. The Sikh society moved away from the Sikh ideals.'³ In this way, the social set-up of the Sikhs also became the same as it was of the Hindu society, prior to the founding of Sikhism. In such a situation the Sikh press took upon itself the responsibility of bringing about social reforms. A letter was published under the title 'Cry of a Sikh' in the 'Khalsa Samachar'. From it, we can have an estimate of the contemporary Sikh social situation:

. . . The promising Sikh Youth have been playing in the hands of Brahma Samaj, Dev Samaj, Arya Samaj, Islam, Christianity and other such religious (it is a reference to Sikhs change of religion). The rich heritage of this brave community is being robbed mercilessly by the selfish, deceitful and the

greedy people. Carelessness, lack of far-sightedness, illiteracy and superstitions are eating into its vitals. Disunity, groupism, pride and such other evils cause its defeat every point. Intoxicants and such other things are destroying this pious religion.⁴

The way the editor responded to this letter is indicative of the sincerity, with which the Sikh press was fulfilling its obligation to awaken the Sikh society. In his reply, the editor went to the extent of calling the Sikh nation dead:

Those with whom you want to share your agonies are already dead. Then who would listen to you?⁵

It is obvious that the problems, the Sikhs had been facing during the days of its infancy, now became a virtually challenge during the British rule. The Sikh society had to face them once again, and the Sikh journalism was busy in providing awareness to the Sikh society, in this struggle. The role of the Sikh press was almost akin to that of Sikh Gurus, i.e. to provide enlightenment to the people, who were in the darkness of ignorance. The only difference was that the Sikh press started its job with the support of the hymns uttered by the Gurus. The Sikh journalism analysed these problems, evaluated them and tried to comprehend them fully so that these problems could be rooted out and an ideal society established.

All these problems did not arise all of a sudden. In fact, they had a long history and many causes behind them.

Therefore it becomes necessary to study their background so as to evaluate the efforts made by the Sikh press to bring about reformation. These problems can be categorized as under:

- 1) Problem of Caste-System
- 2) Problem of Woman-Status
- 3) Marriage System
- 4) Socially and the problem of intoxicants.

(1) Sikh Journalism Vis-a-Vis the problem of Caste:

The Indian society was divided into four categories Brahman, Khatri, Vaish and Shudra, on the basis of work.⁶ However, this social division gradually so deteriorated that 'a person from the Nair caste could go to a Brahman but not touch him. A Tian, who distilled toddy liquor, had to remain 36 steps off him. A Malain (Panan or exorcist) was supposed to remain even 3 or 4 steps farther away. A Pulain (agriculturist and untouchable) remained 96 steps away.⁷ In a nut-shell, it guaranteed the highest status to the Brahman. Manu declares that a Brahman is as high as a god, whether he is educated or not, whether he is good or even bad.⁸

The Sikhism had to face the degenerated social situation in its early years, because of the caste system and untouchability.⁹ Therefore, one of the major aims before Sikhism was to put an end to the evil of caste system.¹⁰ Inequity had been the order of the day because of the strong roots of caste system. Consequently, the higher castes could

exploit and torture the people belonging to the lower castes. It was something deadly ruinous to humanity. But the most unfortunate thing was that 'this caste system had a religious sanction of the Vedic Brahmanism.'¹¹ It is thus evident that the idea of caste system was the product of Brahman psyche, which made a rule that 'men are and shall remain high or low because of their birth, and not because of their good or bad deeds.'¹² Such conceptions gained further strength from the theory of Karma; which is based on the idea that every person enjoys the rewards or undergoes sufferings, in keeping with the deeds done by him in his previous life. In this way, the element of violence in the hatred of the higher castes towards the lower castes became invisible, and the 'Brahmanism' never gave up the pretension of non-violence.

If we study the history of India, we learn that after 'Buddhism', which had ceased to exist in India a long time back, Sikhism was the only religion which succeeded in establishing a distinct kind of society outside the caste system. It is true that the 'Bhakti movement', before the advent of Sikhism, had made commendable efforts in this direction. But it did not prove to be very effective. The only reason behind this failure of the 'Bhakti movement' was "the absence of a constructive thinking in the re-structuring of a new society."¹³

The idea of social equality was an ideal thought. Therefore, idealism needs to be properly organized if it is to be used for the welfare of society; otherwise, idealism

would boil down to nothing as it happened with the Bhakti movement. Sikhism laid a strong foundation of a society based on social equality. That is why, the efforts put in by the Sikh Guru bore rich fruit. Alongwith it, the struggle launched by the Sikhs for their political right also strengthened the foundation of Sikhism. The well known journalist, Hira Singh Dard remarked:

"Ramanand, Kabir and Chaitanya, who were the prominent leaders of the Bhakti movement, made a significant contribution towards the cause of religion and social reforms. But none of them travelled as widely as Guru Nanak, to collect vast knowledge and personal experience. Nor did they got out of the sphere of religion to contribute towards the resolution of social and political questions."¹⁴

In this way, the struggle launched at the political front by the Sikhs was also aimed at social reform.

From the Sikh newspapers of the earlier days, we can very well know that the Sikh press was fully conscious of the inequalities resulting from the caste system.¹⁵ This division of society on ethnic grounds was against the religious tenets of the Sikhism.¹⁶ So, it was but natural that the Sikh press should voice its protest against it, especially because it was the need of the hour. It upheld the view that to accept one caste (or class) as superior to others castes amounts to encouraging the oppression of our fellowmen at the hands of the previledged few. It asserted that such an attitude was bound to harm the ideal of human equality. In this context 'The Khalsa Akhbar' wrote;

It has been written in the Simritis that all the other three Varnas are subservient to the Brahman.¹⁷

The Sikh papers opposed the concept of master-servant relationship-existing among people, on the basis of castes. Following this policy, the Sikh press called upon the Sikhs to denounce the society which patronised the social inequalities. Even the Sikhs who happened to believe in this caste system were equally denounced by the Sikh press and such Sikhs were denounced to have lost their faith in the teachings of Sikhism.¹⁸ The Sikhs passing through such a phase had so far failed to decide, whether they were part of Hinduism or had an independent entity of their own. We had a detailed discussion on the issue of independent entity of the Sikh in the preceding chapter. The Sikh press contributed to the weeding out the evil of caste-system and for founding a true and pious Sikh social order, by taking a stand on establishing the independent entity of the Sikhs, and by declaring that the presence of caste system among the Sikhs was anti-Sikh. In this context the 'Khalsa Akhbar', wrote:

If we ponder over the situation, we learn that the loss which the Sikhs have suffered and are suffering from Hinduism is indescribable. The Khalsa will save itself from this loss only when it asserts its distinctive flag and seeks shelter with the 'Tenth Guru'.¹⁹

While talking of the attainment of this aim, (i.e. founding of the Sikh Society), the Sikh press sometimes adopted the tone of an opponent of other religions and their social

orders that hindered its aim. This indicates its sincerity towards its ideal of the establishment of an ideal society. Such a tone naturally pinched other religions and societies. By pointing out this pinching tone, the Sikh press was sometimes labelled communal. However, the ideas of religious orthodoxy expressed by the Sikh journalism powerfully countered this allegation.

While efforts were being made to found a society based on equal rights for all, a misconception arose that the Sikhs are communal. It will be pertinent to thrash out the misconception here and now. This misconception, born out of ignorance, dealt a fatal blow to the reformatory role of the Sikh religion and of the Sikh press. The results of this blow could have been dangerous for the whole of mankind. Fundamentally, the Sikhism did not depend on the loyalty or aspiration of any individual, family, sect, tribe or feudal aristocrat.²⁰ It was a movement which aimed at struggling for the basic rights of the poor and the oppressed. An example of the ignorance or lack of wisdom of the contemporary Hindu papers towards Sikhism and its reformatory attitude is given here. An article was published in the 'Khalsa Akhbar'. It said, "the Sikh religion being preached every where. As a proof of it, there are the Janeus worth 21 tolas in weight (which came from Pothohar in May 1899) which were taken off by those who accepted the Sikh baptism."²¹ Referring to this news, the editor of the 'Arya Gazette' (25th May 1899) expressed

its lament in these words:

What an irony! Guru Gobind Singh laid down his life in defence of the Hindu symbols of Janeu and top khot (Choti). However, these days a few regenerated Sikhs are all set to break off the Janeus. One of them brought a few days ago Janeus worth 21 tolas in weight. This boldnews is being widely commended.²²

It is also necessary to state here in this context that the Janeu of Alam Singh was taken off by Shri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib himself, because if he had kept it on, he would have remained a Brahman.²³ Looking at this event from the superficial level only, one may term it communal; but actually it was a step towards a healthy and constructive approach as the 'Sikhism considers all mankind as one.'²⁴ It was also a step towards the ideal society with equal rights for all.

It was stated in Bachitar Natak that Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji made the supreme sacrifice to protect the Janeus of the Hindus. It symbolised the social awakening which enabled man to stand against the tyranny of the tyrant. The Sikh Press also spoke in a similar tone:

Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji Maharaj forbade Aurangzib to break off the Janeus, and provided defence to the weak Aryan people. . . .²⁵

If the Hindus threw away their Janeus to embrace Sikhism, it was under the influence of the Sikh ideology, and not under threat of force. Undoubtedly, Sikh of the Guru never commits tyranny. To illustrate it, 'Khalsa Samachar' said:

During the entire period of the Sikh rule, no one was ever converted to Sikhism under threat of force . . . On the other hand, high offices during the Sikh rule remained mostly with the Hindus and the Muslims.²⁶

As the paper was writing it, it envisioned the ideal society, which is the first requirement of the Sikhism. According to a Sikh Scholar, 'the Sikhs fought against the social and political oppressions not because they were the supporters of Brahmanism, but because they felt that moral, religious and spiritual progress is not possible under the threat of a social, religious and political force.'²⁷ In other words, the Sikhs stood up for the creation of an atmosphere favourable for healthy social growth. For this purpose, they willingly went in for an armed struggle also.

History stands witness that people from the so called lower castes who were initiated into Sikhism were given equal rights within the Sikh society. Following this policy, the Sikh press also advocated the idea of removing caste inequalities in the Sikh society. It started preaching in this direction so that the social consciousness is awakened among the people and, thus, it made its contribution to the cause of social regeneration.

About 100 Sikhs from Gujranwala, some of whom were affluent and honorable members of the city signed with pious hearts that henceforth they will not treat any baptized Sikh as untouchable.²⁸

A movement was also launched by Sikh journalism to

bring the untouchables into the Sikh fold.²⁹ Keeping in mind the struggle of the freedom of India, this policy of converting untouchables into Sikhs might seem a new tactic to the people who viewed it from the political perspective. But the fact is that it was a big leap towards the establishment of a society, based on equality. And this was given a wide publicity in the press. Mahatma Gandhi also published a strongly-worded essay on this theme in his paper 'Young India.'³⁰

It can thus be said with certainty that the Sikh Press has always been waging a relentless struggle for the eradication of the caste distinctions. The religious principles on which the Sikh journalism was based saw the caste system as a social evil. The Hindu society in which caste system enjoys a religious sanction always opposed the Sikh press. That is why the Hindu papers tried to prove the Sikhs as communal because of the questions raised by them on caste system. The Sikh journalism tried to counter this and to prove themselves secular. It also talked of the establishment of a social order where there would be complete harmony and human equality. Unfortunately, it did not succeed fully in this mission because of the opposition both from within and with out.

(2) Sikh Journalism and Women Upliftment:

Sikh journalism had been as active for the uplift of women, as it was for the cessation of caste system. Several series of essays, stories and other material were published. They portrayed the position of contemporary woman, and

exhorted the society to pay heed to the uplift of woman. As a result of these efforts by journalism, the efforts to bring about the social reforms gained momentum and strength. For instance, 'Punjabi Bhain' was a prominent paper which solely worked for the uplift of women.³¹ Before acquiring full information about women uplift and the efforts made by Sikh press in this direction, it is necessary to know all those things which led to the degradation of their status in the society, and thus lowering their dignity. In fact, the reasons behind all this can easily be traced if we evaluate the ancient social values. We will have to look back to the times since when the social restrictions on women started tightening.

At first when the Aryans reached India, the women enjoyed social rights at par with men, but it was for a very brief period. Later on, in the social order based on caste system, which was established by the Brahmanism, her place in society began to be deemed lower than that of man. Manu declared the whole women-folk subservient to men. The tradition of man being called the 'Lord husband' of his wife was established.³² It was the first step towards the subservience of woman. So much so, the women of higher castes were also given a lower position in society. This further strengthened the male dominance over woman. This led to the founding of a male-dominated society. In such a situation her world was confined only to the four walls of the house. Afterwards many

misconceptions about woman also became part of the male-dominated society and this gave birth to evil of the child-marriage, ban on female education, ban of marriage of widows, dowry system, the practice of sati and many other immoral and inhuman social evils. The worst tyranny perpetrated on woman was when a female-child born to her was killed at the time of birth. So much so that even some religious scriptures express grief at the birth of a daughter, who as they considered it a harbinger of some calamity.³³

The social position of woman can be gauged from the proverbs prevalent in our society, which dismiss her as imbecile and inferior to man. For instance, about the intellect of woman, it is said that 'her wisdom lies in her heel or behind her pigtail.'³⁴ Similarly, it is said that 'woman is a great calamity.'³⁵ To prove her inferior to man, she is said to wear off alongwith the shoes of man.³⁶ It was natural to consider them imbecile because of their illiteracy, but mainly it was because of the Brahmanic policy which prohibited her from studying the Vedic literature.³⁷ Consequently, her social status was no better then that of a Shudra. At the religious level, this fact is attested by the Bhagavadgita.³⁸ However, in Sikhism woman has been given a place of honour. Guru Nanak Dev Ji says,

"So Kioo Manda Akhiya,
Jit Jamhe Rajan."³⁹

(Why call one unlucky who gives birth even to kings)

In fact, it was the Brahmanical class only which was responsible for this unjust treatment with women. The economic dependence of woman is also one of major factors that led to the dominance of man over woman. The illiterate woman would willingly bear suppression as she was fully convinced that man was sole prop of her life. Her social sphere became so narrow that it was virtually impossible and unthinkable for her to seek an independent economic existence. Born and brought up in such a situation, she became whimsical under certain unseen fears. Some selfish men created some superstitions which caused her further downfall in the darkness of ignorance where she felt further convinced of evil spirits, witchcraft, fests etc. She was in the tight-grip of all these blind and unfounded beliefs. Even the menfolk could not save themselves for long from entertaining such superstitious beliefs. In fact, they also developed faith in them. At a time, when the whole society had fallen a prey to wrong rituals and superstitions and thus fallen down from the religious plan,⁴⁰ the Sikhism originated in the form of a strong reformative movement. So, it became a prime function of Sikhism to lead as well as to criticise the society. The Sikh journalism spared no pains to fulfil this mission of the Sikhism.

If we turn the pages of Sikh history to assess the place of women in society, we find that the Sikhism provided them a status equal to men. That is why in Sikhism she enjoys equality with man. History stands witness that both men and women always joined hands to ensure success to the Sikh

revolutionary movements. 'Mai Bhago Ji' reorganized the Jatha of those Sikhs who had deserted Guru Gobind Singh Ji at Anandpur. In fact, she led Battle of Muktsar.⁴¹ The Sikh journalism, blessed with such a rich heritage, could never remain mum on seeing the deteriorated position of woman in the contemporary society, in which she was a victim of fear and ignorance. The 'Khalsa Samachar' narrated the social status of women in the following words;

She was meant to do all the odd jobs at home by prohibiting her from performing religious functions, she was turned a beast. The result of such unjust treatment was that she became physically and mentally very weak. They were reduced to mere skeletons, tottering at every step. Superstitions grepped them as the cobwebs and layers of dust do in a deserted house.⁴²

The paper also write about how women were exploited by the greedy and deceitful people.

At such times, the pretentious do as they wish. The parasitic Brahmans and pretentious sadhus further discourage her by telling of imaginary stories and superstitions. Thereby, they put her on a track where their kind hearts could easily bear the impress of those imaginary tales.⁴³

Women got used to their life with in the four walls of the house, which they had been leading since long. So, they did not feel their agonies much. Their lives were overshadowed by ignorance and illiteracy. The Sikh journalism started encouraging women education. Its result gradually came into limelight. With a view to uplifting woman the first step that the 'Sikh organisations'⁴⁴ took in this direction was

to provide opportunities of education to girls, so that in the times to come, they might become aware of their rights, and fight for them. In the beginning, the books published for the cause of the improvement the status of women, were of course read by men, but women were least aware of it.⁴⁵ Illiteracy among women was the only problem. So, it was of paramount importance that they should be able to read those books. Keeping it in view, the Sikh journalism accelerated its efforts to spread education among women.

In the 'Punjabi Bhain' (April 1909), an article was published under the heading "Our Rights and Appeal to the Panth". In this article, the demand to give women equal status as in the past, was raised. The sacrifices and great contribution made by those great women (Mai Bhago, Sundari, Maharani of Jind etc.) of Sikh History were referred to. These women had fought in the battle-field along with their menfolk. In that article, the contemporary plight of women was also discussed and man was held responsible for her predicament.

We have lost love for education and religion.
We have lost love for each other. So we have become ignorant of our duties and rights. We have become so ignorant that we have no knowledge of our rights. Who is to blame for this? Not we, but the male leaders of our community.⁴⁶

The paper was quite outspoken about the discrimination against women in the Sikh society. In this context, it says:

We have spent not hundreds or thousands but lakhs of rupees on high schools and

colleges for providing education, and for their full comforts for building up the social image of our sons. So conscious are we about the rights of our sons. But what have we done for those hapless women who have been enslaved for long for want of education?⁴⁷

It is a fact that the discrimination between the male and female child persisted for a long time, and as it does continue to exist to some extent even today. The credit goes to the Sikh journalism for taking up the cause of women. To ensure equal status to them, the Sikh press helped in the establishment of schools for girls at Ferozepur (Kanya Maha Vidyalaya), Kairo (Khalsa Bhujangan) and Bhasaur (Vidya Bhandar). These schools provided preliminary education to women of the Punjab.⁴⁸ The 'Khalsa Dharam Dipak' had had the vision of starting Khalsa Schools for girls in each city.⁴⁹ This vision came to be realized within the coming few years, and the number of such schools went up to 134, till the partition of the country in 1947.⁵⁰

The Sikh journalism had realized in its very infancy its responsibility towards female education and started making efforts in this connection. In 1886 when the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of Lahore was lithographed, it published an essay series as titled "Istri Sikhia". It was in the form of a dialogue between two female characters, Budh Kaur, an educated woman and Kubudh Kaur, an illiterate woman.⁵¹ Through this serial, the importance of education among women was brought out. The main aim of this essay was to make women conscious of the importance of education. In this way, different Sikh

papers worked for this noble cause at different levels. The 'Panjabi Bhain' felt proud in saying that "whole country is now providing education to women. Every body is supporting this cause. The people now support it physically, morally and financially."⁵² The enthusiasm among the people for female education can be judged from the fact that in 1899, Bhai Takhat Singh of Ferozepur toured the islands, and collected a sum of 58 thousands and put the 'Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalaya' on sound financial footing.⁵³

In the context of education, it will be pertinent to point out here that the Sikh journalism encouraged not only the female education, but also impressed upon the Sikh young men to get the best education in order to adopt the progressive thinking of other communities.

The Khalsa is interested in its progress, but has not received a good education as the people from other communities do. This is the cause of our backwardness.⁵⁴

The Sikh press gave great importance to education, because it is education alone which can inspire a man to struggle for his rights and independence. No doubt, much more efforts were required for female education, and the propaganda - to make the Sikhs realize its value, through newspaper was in full swing. It was a result of such efforts of the Sikh press that illiteracy could be substantially contemned and progressive social consciousness generated.

Problems caused by Ignorance/Illiteracy:

Backwardness of women in the field of education was a social problem, in itself. But this problem showed its more menacing form when many new problems were born out of it. Consequently, women found themselves caught in the webs of superstition. While the Sikh press largely succeeded in talking the basic problem of female illiteracy, it fairly succeeded in its goal to resolve its corollaries as well. It is not that these were the problems of women alone. To some extent, men were also victims of it. Bishan Singh of Aurangabad raised a question in the 'Khalsa Akhbar'.

Dear Editor, when a son is born to a Sikh, Sutak is observed at that home. When the mother comes out of her room, she is bathed with cow's urine, water of the Ganga and milk. She is also made to eat cow-dung and to drink cow-urine. Is it a Sikh rite?⁵⁵

The question raised above reveals that these social practices reflected aberration of the Sikhs from the Sikhism. Had people been aware of the Sikh tenets, such problems would not have arisen because such superstitions have been categorically denounced in the basic tenets of Sikhism.⁵⁶ In fact, the Brahmans had introduced this Sutak at the time of birth (or Patakā death) so as to earn easy money for themselves.⁵⁷ When this misconception took roots in the Sikh society also, it was necessary for Sikh journalism to clear it. The Sikh press openly opposed this concept of Sutak:

Let it be known to my dear brothers that this ceremony is not accepted in Sikhism. But this evil practice has crept into Sikhism from the Puranas of Hinduism.⁵⁸

Journalism does not stop merely at giving a bit of information about the problem. Rather it tries to reach the root of it, and tries to gather such facts as prove its correct contention from the scientific view point. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' treats it scientifically, and says!

When we find it mentioned in the Old Hindu scriptures, we learn the reason behind it. The people of those days were not as wise as the people of today who can manufacture fine quality of soap and detergent. These ancient people considered the Cow-Urine a detergent. Similarly, the water of the Ganga also turned detergent because of the bones mixing with it. Milk was added to them to do away with the dryness. It also ended bad odour. However, the Khalsa feels pleased after drinking Amrit instead of urine, and eating Karah Prasad, instead of the dung. The Sikh who does not feel repulsion at taking dung and urine is an atheist.⁵⁹

It is clear from the above argument that the Sikh journalism believed advancing in rational argument to solve the problem and not by meaningless opposition.

Another social evil was the exploitation of the people in the name of religion. Sikh press always provided information about it, to fight this evil out. The 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote about a cheat who had run away with other people's money:

In Hoshiarpur, a devi came along with her relatives. People offered money to her. When a large amount was collected, she stealthily ran away. Great is the Goddess!⁶⁰

The papers published letters received from far off places about such incidents. This sort of publication was, in fact, aimed at bringing about social reform. The letter from one, Bhai Hari Singh of Chak Ramdas, in Shahpur district, which was published in the 'Khalsa Akhbar' ran as under:-

A few days back three girls came from the city of Bhera Kunjan in the guise of goddesses. They were named Vaishno Devi, Ambika Devi and Sitla Devi. Hundreds of Hindus from the city and from outside went to them to seek their blessing. It is said that cash, jewellery and clothes worth about Rs.2,000/- were offered to them. However, the people lost their money, but got nothing in return. One of these 'goddesses' promised to cure the eye-problem of the daughter of Hakim Devi Dayal. Devi Dayal gave one suit and Rs.5/- in advance, and promised to pay Rs.150/- after his daughter was cured. That 'goddess' continued to pour cane-juice in her eyes, but to no relief. At last Devi Dayal snatched whatever he had given her, and he publicly spoke against them.⁶¹

As a result of this policy adopted by the Sikh Press, masses were awakened against such impostures and swindlers. The society till then, had largely been a victim of such practised upon them, especially because of their ignorance and hence their inability to use their own mind in such situations. The Sikh press enlightened the people to start thinking for themselves, and to stand against such trickery. An instance of it can be seen in the news published in the 'Khalsa Samachar':

Patiala:- Bhai Chhajju Singh writes to say that a Brahman got hold of a stone idol and named it Basant Devi. Many women came to pay obeisance. It turned out to be a good source of income for him. One day, we argued with him. He surrendered and disappeared with his idol.⁶²

In this way, the efforts made by the Sikh journalism to bring about social reforms, especially weed out the evil of superstition and blind faith, succeeded in prompting the Sikhs to adopt a progressive policy and to start analysing the contemporary problems, on the basis of facts.

(3) Sikh Journalism and Reform in Marriage System:

The Sikh press opposed from the very beginning the system of marriage performed according to Hindu rites, because this was something against the Sikh tradition. Among them were certain rites, meant especially to benefit the Brahmans. With a view to reform such a marriage system, the Sikh press publicized the new Sikh system of marriage. According to this system, the couple sat in the presence of 'Sri Guru Granth Sahib', the hymns of Lavan were recited, prayer said, and the blessings of the Guru sought. Such marriages were relatively simple and cheap, and were free from the useless rituals invented by the Brahmans. However, the old marriage system still prevailed in the Sikh society. People could not completely break away from it. In this context, the 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote:

When we look at the Sikh system of marriage,
we learn that it is covered under the same
Old Hindu Marriage Act.⁶³

The existence of that reformed and civilized society, based on justice and equality, as it was founded by the Sikhism could surely survive if those evil rites and rituals, (invented in the name of religion) which disturbed the social

balance directly or indirectly, were changed. It was possible only if the society fully adopted the Sikh system of marriage. Some Sikhs did adopt, to some extent, the system of 'Anand Karaj' and this enjoyed the full support of the Sikh Press. The marriage performed according to the Sikh tradition were encouraged. In this context, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' (August 1886) wrote:

We give this news with great pleasure that a marriage took place in a Namdhari family of Mohalla Muchalian, Lahore, on 15 August 1886. These Sikhs were Ramgarhias. First a havan-Kund (sacrificial fire) was prepared. Around it sat many Sikhs. All of them recited hymns from the Guru Granth Sahib. Even the bride and the groom also recited hymns with their parents. Then the couple was made to circumambulate the fire. The hymn Lavan was read out from the Scripture. Instead of the vulgar songs by women on the occasion, Bhai Makhan Singh and his wife, Mulo, sang the hymns from Guru Granth Sahib.⁶⁴

This system of marriage indicates the change brought in the marriage system under the Sikh reform movement. In the light of the modern Sikh system of marriage, this system of Gurmat marriage does appear a bit old. However, this oddity was but natural in the initial stages. In fact, reforms in this respect had begun as early as 1808, when Sahib Dayal Ji got his marriage performed with Kirtan and ardas only.⁶⁵ This type of change in the marriage system earned the wrath of the Hindu society, which opposed it tooth and nail. The Sikh society did not bother for this opposition. So, the Sikhs adopted the new system in large number. The Sikh Press also encouraged this 'Anand Karaj' system, as it was also a part of

its policy of bring about reforms. In order to fulfil its obligation towards the society, the Sikh press published all the letters that made a special mention of the marriages took place according to the Sikh rites. Thus a new enthusiasm was born to adopt the Sikh system of marriage, one such letter in the 'Khalsa Akhbar' stated:

In this village (Badowal, Ludhiana district), it has been the first privilege to perform a marriage according to Sikh Maryada. It was the marriage of the son of Babu Dhain Singh celebrated on 11th Jan. 1899. The recitation of the Scripture was completed; all the ceremonies were performed according to Sikh rites; and nothing non-Sikh like took place.⁶⁶

Some people with communal leanings were not happy at all at this reform in the marriage system. It is because their vision, even on this subject, had been dimmed by communal feelings. They failed to read the spirit of social reform in it. That is why they proclaimed that marriages of the Sikh Gurus were performed according to the Vedic rites. Thereby, they tried to prove that the Gurus were true devotees of the Vedas. So much so that propaganda begun to be made in this respect by some Sikh Arya preachers. The Sikh press also had to face this challenge. The Editorial of the 'Khalsa Akhbar' entitled "The Untruthful Allegations on Sikhs by Arya Samajists," spotlighted this confrontation. It said,

Bhai Jagat Singh (an Arya preacher) tries to prove that marriages of the Sikh Gurus were performed according to the Vedic rites. His aim is to proclaim them as followers of the Vedas. Bhai Santokh Singh (another Arya preacher)

writes, with reference to a Granth named 'Suraj Parkash,' that if the Sikh Gurus followed Vedic rites in their marriages, the Khalsa should follow suit⁶⁷

After referring to the objection raised by some people the editor categorically counters it with an assertion:

Until a man completes the construction of his new house, he lives in his old, dilapidated house. Similarly, so long as the Sikh Gurus had not completed their mission and the Khalsa had not got its final form, may be the old prevailing Vedic Custom was allowed to continue. However, when the Mansion of the Khalsa panth became ready, there was no reason why the old Huts of Vedic rites be not discarded⁶⁸

As a result of such militant postures adopted by the Sikh journalism, the forces that were inimical to Sikhism started using violence while opposing the Sikh marriage system. This can be estimated from a news that appeared in the 'Khalsa Akhbar,' of 14th April 1899:

Phagun 16, 1955 Bikrami was the marriage day of Bhai Chet Singh's daughter. Those who were inimical to Sikhism had already been arguing against the Sikh system of marriage. But when the marriage party arrived, they used so much force that even the bride's fraternity gathered on the occasion ran away⁶⁹

Many such events took place at the times of Sikh marriages. News about them prominently appeared in the press.⁷⁰ Fed up with this sort of behaviour of the opposition, some Sikhs did not bother and performed the marriage in keeping with the Sikh tradition. The news of such devoted and bold Sikhs were given prominence in the papers so that others might also feel encouraged to emulate it:

Nathowal, district Ludhiana:- On 9th May, 1899, the marriage of Bhai Hira Singh's daughter [Bhai Punjab Singh's (Platoon No.14) sister] was performed according to the Sikh rites. Although it was opposed very strongly, yet Punjab Singh remained firm in his resolve, and said that they would do nothing that went against the Sikh tradition.⁷¹

Passing through these circumstances, the Sikh press adopted a new ideology under which marriages of the Sikh girls in Hindu families were opposed. Some people termed this approach communal, but the Sikh press upheld that it was the only way to reform the Sikh marriage system. Later on, this step proved to be a move towards the establishment of the social order, prescribed by the Sikhism. With a view to make the society conscious of this new ideology, Sikh press began to publish articles stories and poems dealing with the subject.

In an editorial of the 'Khalsa Samachar,' the agony of a woman, born in a Sikh family and married to a non-Sikh, was narrated. In her new home, she was asked to give up 'Gurbani' in favour of 'Gaitri'. Thus, she was humiliated on the religious level. All this was fatal for the movement launched for the uplift of women. Referring to the loss to the community, the said woman in that article states.

That is the reason why the Sikhs do not prosper. They degenerate. Mine is not an exceptional case. There are thousands like me who suffer much more.⁷²

In order to motivate people against the practice, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' once employed the dramatic device of a dialogue between a mother and her daughter. Thus it brought to fore

the condition of a girl who was not happy at her in-laws home, because they were Brahmans, whereas she came of a Sikh family. By birth, she was related to 'Gurbani,' but at her in-laws she found herself a slave to the Brahmans. Her husband was a drunker, and he asked her to give him company. During this conversation, the daughter asked her mother that it would have been better if she had been killed at her birth, rather than married in a Brahman family.⁷³ Undoubtedly, such events were part of real life at that time and these were brought into limelight by the Sikh press to achieve the end of social justice for women. An estimate of the influence of this tone can be made from the fact that not only the Sikhs but some Hindus also resolved, under this influence, to perform marriages according to Sikh rites.

On the Dussehra day, the marriage of the daughter of Lala Vir Bhan was performed according to Sikh rites. The family of Lala Sahib has vowed to perform all social obligations as per Sikh tenets.⁷⁴

The point that strikes us here is that the opposition by the Sikh journalism was not directed against any particular community but against the evil practices which were invented by the vested interests for selfish motives. This type of selfish ideology was also against the humanity at large. We should also clear one thing more here that it was not necessary to be baptized for having faith in the Sikhism. The presence of a large number of Sahijdhari Sikhs in the Sikhism proves this fact. Referring to the Sahijdharis, the press hold that they have a deeper faith in 'Guru Granth Sahib'

than even the baptized Sikhs have.⁷⁵ Therefore, it can be said that this war waged by the Sikh journalism was not communal, but ideological and issue-based.

It thus becomes obvious that the Sikh journalism expected (or demands) reforms in the entire social fabric through mass awakening. It was against imposing the religious orthodoxy of a particular sect over the other sections of society. It greatly denounced those people who held high position in the Sikh organizations, but adopted an anti-social and immoral behavioural pattern. For instance, the 'Khalsa Dharam Dipak' strongly condemned the non-Sikh rites performed by a Ragi at the time of the marriage of his son and exposed him by writing:

Ragi Dhian Singh arranged a woman-dancer, on the occasion of his son's marriage. The marriage ceremony were performed as per non-Sikh rites. Even then he enjoys a place of honour in the Sikh society.⁷⁶

Another great hindrance in popularizing the Anand karaj system (Sikh system of marriage) of marriage was that it was unacceptable to the law.⁷⁷ Officially, only the marriage performed as per Hindu and Muslim rites were accepted as legal. That is why a marriage conducted according to the Sikh maryada was reviled by the Arya Samajists and Sanatani Hindus. Under these circumstances, it had become necessary to secure legal approval for the 'Anand marriage'. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of 'Nabha' took the initiative in this regard.⁷⁸ He presented a bill to this effect, in the Imperial

Council (Legislative). It later on secured approval as 'Anand Marriage Act.' in October 1909, through the efforts of Sunder Singh Majithia.⁷⁹ The Sikh press strongly condemned those Hindus who had passed resolutions against the Bill.⁸⁰ It also expressed its pleasure at the legislation of this Act.

Some More Problems About Marriage:

According to the custom of Bal-Vivah or child marriage, the children were married when they were still infants. In fact, this evil custom was symbolic of the thinking that a daughter is a burden on her parents. 'The Brahmanism had given a religious sanction to it.'⁸¹ In higher castes, it was considered a sin, if the girl was not married before she attained puberty, and child-marriage represented the family's high social status. The 'Khalsa Samachar' condemned this thinking, and denounced the marriage of a child at a time when it was actually the time to play, study or learn. In this context it wrote:

Menfolk refuse to think. They go to the pandit to seek his opinion. And he proclaims that if daughter is married at 7, she is a goddess; if married 11, she is a virgin, and if she crosses 12, the father is a sinner.⁸²

The Sikh press has also held women, alongwith men, responsible for this evil custom. Although it was woman's submissive nature that was largely responsible for it, yet she partially shared the blame. The women not only accepted this cruelty on themselves but also remained either indifferent or supported the same tyranny when it was perpetrated on their

daughters. In such a situation, talking of the mother's attitude towards her daughter, the 'Khalsa Samachar' said that on such occasions mothers generally said "Marry her soon and be free from the burden."⁸³ Such mental make-up of women was fatal for all of them. Killing a daughter at the time of her birth⁸⁴ also reflects such a mental make-up.

In fact, child marriage is an anti-social activity followed for the fulfilment of some selfish motives. It is also an irresponsible behaviour towards the sensitive feelings of the children. In the modern scientific age, it has been well established that in their childhood, these newly married girls are neither physically nor emotionally prepared for it. It has also been established by psychological studies that any imposition on or oppression of the child at the young age becomes a major obstacle in its all-round development.

Infused by their religious teachings and the scientific view-point, the Sikh journalism always opposed the child-marriage. It declared this custom against the society, the community and the country. It stated; 'unfortunately, it is quite popular in our country. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Jains: all are victims of this evil.'⁸⁵ The Sikh press took up the challenge to reform this evil practice of child-marriage. The 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote:

The wise men should vow not to marry their daughters at least before they are 12.⁸⁶

In the modern age, it might seem a folly to call this step a social reform. But it remains a fact that such a suggestion was

the out-come of a reformative thinking. At that even society felt it difficult to accept this suggestion. The practice of marrying children at quite an early age had been current for such a long time that it happened to change the very thinking of the society. People felt that it was a matter of deep shame for the parents if their daughters failed to get married by the time they were 10 or 12. Such parents had to hear taunts of the neighbours and others. Living in such a backward society, one had to honour such practices blindly. That is why, the Sikh press had been asking people to join the Sikhism, in order to liberate themselves from such futile rites, and thus form an ideal social structure.

Sati and the ban on widow marriage were two more social evils which were decidely a curse for women. As a result of the ban on the marriage of widows, thos hapless women had to pass their days in complete isolation. The practice of sati was the other horrifying facet of this ban. In keeping with this practice a widow had to burn herself to death along with the dead body of her husband, whether she was willing or not. It is interesting to point out that while this evil practice was stopped by 'Guru Amar Dass Ji', among the Sikhs,⁸⁷ The Hindus continued viewing it with a sense of respectability. It was mainly practised to retain casteism or to raise the social status because this practice was primarily prevalent among the ruling Khatri class. Later on, it was denounced by all reform movements.⁸⁸ Consequently the 'Sati Act', was passed in

1829 and it was thus declared against the law.⁸⁹ Since sati had been declared illegal before the inception of the Sikh journalism, not much written words on this subject are found in the Sikh papers.

The Sikh emulated the Hindus in imposing ban on widow marriage. This was bound to deal a set-back to the equal social status of women in Sikhism. Fearing that her position might again become as bad as it was in ancient times, efforts were considered essential to effect some change. Therefore, the Sikh press often published its views on the cessation of this ban. In this context the magazine 'Phuleran' (August 1926) wrote:

There is now no argument against widow marriage. Generally, articles are published in papers in favour of it.⁹⁰

The Sikh journalism was against the evil of dowry also. It advocated simple marriage (we have already discussed 'Anand marriage') in which no money transactions took place. Fight against this problem by the press and the society was not on the same scale then, as it is being fought today. At that time it was simply presented as a social evil. So, it does not find much mention in the papers either.

Sikh journalism was also against the marriages in exchange and marriages for money. Marriage in exchange means giving daughter to a family and in return, taking their daughter as the daughter-in-law. Although no dowry was exchanged to in such marriage, yet this practice was considered unhealthy as it amounted to no more than a bargain. Sikh

ideology deprecated such marriages of exchange. To pay for a daughter-in-law to her father was also an evil. It was also sinful from the Sikh point of view. So, both these things were opposed by the Sikh journalism because to buy women in terms of cash or in terms of human life, amounted to insulting and enslaving women. In this context, the 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote:

It is not a secret that many evil practices have crept into the Khalsa Brotherhood. To remove them, well-wishers of the Panth should strive strenuously. But there are certain things which are not only against the law but their presence is a matter of shame for us. One of them is to pay for taking a bride, and the second is marriage in exchange.⁹¹

The paper has also tried to go into the reasons behind it. One possible reason could be that a widow was married off to a widower for the consideration of money. Those who could not afford payment, settled for marriage in exchange.

In fulfilling its responsibility, the Sikh press does not stop at this. Rather it evaluates the loss the community is suffering and is likely to suffer as a result of it. The loss is not one, but many. (1) The rich old men spoil the life of young girls. (2) Young boys maintain good reputation to earn the hand of a good bride, but as a result of this custom they do not bother about their reputation and fall prey to several bad habits, presuming that they will somehow get a bride. (3) The couple fails to be on cordial terms with each other, resulting in mental tension. (4) Sometimes because of money consideration some young boys were tempted

to marry girls who were far older than they. These evil practices could deal a deadly setback to the reform movement.

It was not just one paper which adopted this sort of attitude for the resolution of these problems. In fact, the entire Sikh press had been active in this field. The papers not only apprised the people of the gravity of these problems, but also asked them to send to them their views, in this regard.

These lines have been written so that the Khalsa gives its opinion on them, so that the ideas may take some concrete shape.⁹²

It can thus be said that the Sikh journalism, which facing the problems about marriage, advocated marriage according to Sikh rites. It also strongly condemned the evils of child marriage, ban on widow remarriage, dowry, marriage in exchange, and marriage in lieu of money. While tackling these problems the Sikhs and the Sikh press had to face opposition from the Hindu society. However, this opposition could not hinder the pace of the reform movement launched by the Sikh journalism. It achieved success in its mission and moved ahead.

(4) Sikh Journalism and the Problem of Drugs:

God has made such a beautiful and harmonious synthesis of body and mind that human life is considered the greatest blessing of God. It is also said that even Devas aspire for human life. But intoxicants make human life a curse. They make both body and mind weak and make man helpless. Man's intellectual and physical powers decline and life becomes a burden for him. Therefore, the Sikhism strongly, condemned

the use of intoxicants.⁹³

The use of intoxicants weakens man's sense of discrimination, and he can't distinguish between good and bad. In such circumstances, the possibility of man's moral degeneration increases, as a consequence of which many more evils may possess us. Such evils create enmity among mankind, and harm the society, community and country. The Sikh reform movements have preached for prohibition because 'Sikh society was also a victim of it.'⁹⁴ The Sikh press also published literature against the evil of drinking and other intoxicants.⁹⁵ Many such books as 'Sharab Khana Kharab'⁹⁶ 'Sharab Nikhedh,'⁹⁷ were published to underline the evil of drinking.

No doubt, Sikh journalism had launched serious reform movement against caste system, women upliftment, etc., but there is no evidence to suggest that it, launched any such movement against intoxication. Of course, some articles on the subject did appear occasionally here and there. Once the 'Khalsa Akhbar' wrote:

They got Kingdoms, feudal chiefships and other achievements. Some wasted it on wine and the other on women.⁹⁸

A serious efforts against the evil of drinking was however, made in 1946-47, by the 'Sant Sipahi'. In January 1947, the 'Sant Sipahi' proclaimed that writers should send their articles stories, poems, etc., against the evil of drinking, for their publication.⁹⁹ The writers were also assured that the best write-up will be rewarded as well as

honoured. It was certainly a commendable effort. Some solid work was also done in this direction but it could not go on for a long time, because of the uncertain situation in the country.

Similarly, there have been seen some anti-gambling references in these newspapers. The 'Panth Mitro' (1904) referred to the custom of gambling on the 'Dewali' eve, and wrote:-

These days many of our men and women especially in Amritsar and Lahore, gamble during the Diwali days. Among these gamblers there are not only the ignorant, but some well-educated granthis and secretaries of Ashrams. They say that those who do not gamble during the Diwali days are reborn, getting the life of a donkey.¹⁰⁰

The paper also referred to a woman who lost in gambling the keys of her jewellery-box, and later murdered her rival who had won the game. Thereafter, she felt so ashamed that she committed suicide by drowning. Thus, this evil of gambling ruined two happy families.

It was the policy of the Sikh press which compelled people to revise their opinion about this practice by the publication of news about drinking, gambling, etc., the papers presented them as gross social evils and warned the society to beware of them.

In the end, it can be said that in the social reform movement initiated by the Sikh journalism, the formation of a casteless society was always talked of. The Sikh journalism

always acknowledged the movement for the liberation of women as reflective of progressive thinking. It talked of providing opportunities to women for improving their status in society through education. The way it forcefully spoke against the marriage rituals and rites especially invented for the benefit of the parasite Brahmans was also an attempt at ameliorating the lot of women. It was a result of this reform movement that the Punjab, which earlier had no school for girls, now had a net work of such schools. Alongwith the spread of education among women, these papers also impressed upon men-folk the need to receive education, so that after acquiring good education they could raise the prestige of their community. The Sikh press made drinking and such other social evils as the targets of bitter criticism. In this way, it can be asserted that the Sikh journalism did succeed in its mission and successfully provided a better leadership to the society.

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3. Joginder Singh, Sikh Dharm Te Sikh Panth, Preet Prakashan, New Delhi, 1971, p. 126.
4. Letter; Khalsa Samachar, 19th Nov. 1902, p. 3.
 " - - - ਇਸ ਦੇ (ਸਿੱਖ ਸਮਾਜ ਦੇ) ਹੋਨਹਾਰ ਬਚੇ ਬ੍ਰਹਮੋ, ਦੇਵ ਸਮਾਜ, ਆਰਯਾ ਇਸਲਾਮ ਅਰ ਈਸਾਈ ਆਦਿ ਅਠਮਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੁਛ ਖੇਡ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, (ਧਰਮ ਬਦਲੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਵਲ ਇਸ਼ਾਰਾ ਹੈ) ਇਸ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਕੌਮ ਦਾ ਧਨ ਮਾਲ ਡਿੱਗੇ ਪੈਟ ਪਾਣੂ, ਉਨਕੜੇ ਆਦਿ ਸਵਾਕਸ਼ੀ ਲੋਕ ਬੇਤਰਸੀ ਨਾਲ ਲੁਟ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਅਣਗੈਰਲੀ, ਕੋਤਾਖੀਦੇਸ਼ੀ, ਅਵਿਦਯਾ ਤੇ ਭਰਮ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਜਿਗਰ ਦਾ ਖੂਨ ਪੀ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਨਫਾਕ, ਧੜਦਾਰੀ ਹੰਕਾਰ ਆਦਿ ਖੋਗੁਣ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਸ਼ਕਸਤ ਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਸ਼ਰਾਬ, ਕਬਾਬ ਮਿਰਾਸੀ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਪਵਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਧਰਮ ਦਾ ਨਾਸ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।"
5. Editor, Khalsa Samachar, 19th Nov. 1902, p. 3.
 "ਜਿਨਾਂ ਅਗੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਫੇਲ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ ਉਹ ਤਾਂ ਮੋਏ ਹਨ ਸੁਣੇ ਕੌਣ?"
6. Punjabi Visav Kosh(Vol.5), Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, 1986, p. 132.
7. J.H. Hutton, Caste in India, London Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 79.
8. See; Jagjit Singh, Sikh Inkalab, Babri Publications Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 31.

9. Bikram Singh Ghuman, Assa Di Var Ik Sahitik Adhiyan, New Book Co., Jalandhar, 1972, p. 38.
10. 'The foremost aim before Sikhism was to preach the ideal of human freedom and equality.'
See: Jagjit Singh, Sikh Inklab, Bahri Publications, Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 1.
11. Gurbachan Singh Talib, Sansar De Kujh Mukh Dharam, (Anu: Dr. Darshan Singh), (Sodhak: Dr. Bhai Jodh Singh), Viont Vikas Vibhag(Pb.) Punjabi University, Patiala, 1977, p. 40.
12. Jagjit Singh, Sikh Inkalab, Bahri Publications Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 6.
13. Jagjit Singh, Ibid., p. 94.
14. Hira Singh Dhard, Punjabi Dunia(Guru Nanak Ank) (Part II) Jan-Feb. 1970, p. 14.

"ਰਾਮਾ ਨੰਦ ਭਗਤ ਕਬੀਰ ਚੇਤੀਨ ਆਦਿ ਭਗਤੀ ਨਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਪਰਸਿੱਧ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਨੇ ਕਈ ਪੱਖਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਮਜ਼ਬ ਤੇ ਸਮਾਜ-ਸੁਧਾਰ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਜ ਵਿਚ ਸਲਾਘਾਯੋਗ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਪਰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਨਾ ਤਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਿਤਨੀ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇਸ਼ਾਂਤਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਲੰਮੀ ਚੌੜੀ ਬਿਖਮ ਯਾਤਰਾ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ ਵਾਕਫ਼ੀ ਤੇ ਨਿਜੀ ^{ਆਲੋਚਨਾ} ਪਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਘੇਰੇ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਨਿਕਲ ਕੇ ਸਮਾਜ ਦੇ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਤੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ੰਸਾ ਦੇ ਹੱਲ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਖਾਸ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਪਾਇਆ।"

15. See: Editorial, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 13th May, 1898, p. 3.

16. "ਯੈ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਪੁਛੀਐ ਕਰਣੀ ਸੁਖਦੁ ਹੈ ਸਾਰੁ"

(ਵਾਰ ਮਾਰੂ ਮਾ: ੩-੧੦੨੫)

i.e.

In the Divine Court, deeds and caste,

are asked for; this is the essence of the word.

17. Editorial; Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 13th May 1898, p. 3.

"ਸਿੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖ ਛੱਡਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤਿੰਨੋਂ ਬਕਲ ਖਾਹਮਨ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਕ ਹਨ।"

18. See: Editorial; Khalsa Samachar, 14th Jan. 1903, p. 3.

19. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 16th Dec. 1898, Article--Hindu and Khalsa, p. 4-5.
 "ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕੇ ਦੇਖਾ ਜਾਏ ਤਾਂ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਕੌਮ ਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਨੂੰ ਇਤਨਾ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਪਹੁੰਚਿਆ ਅਰ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਕਬਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਹੈ, ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਘਾਟੇ ਬੌ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਤਦੋਂ ਹੀ ਬਚੇਗਾ ਜਦ ਆਪਦਾ ਜੁਦਾ ਝੰਡਾ ਗੱਡ ਕੇ ਦਸਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸਰਨ ਆਏਗਾ।"

20. See: Jagjit Singh, Sikh Inklab, Bahri Publications, Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 159.

21. See: Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 20th Oct. 1899. p. 2.

22. See: Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 20th Oct. 1899. p. 2.

"ਯਹ ਕਿਆ ਅੰਧੇਰ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ,

ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਚੋਟੀ ਔਰ ਜਨੇਊ ਦੀ ਰੱਛਾ ਕਰਤੇ ਪੁਲੋਕ ਕੇ ਸਿਧਾਰੇ, ਲੋਕਨ, ਆਜ ਕਲ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਮਹਾਤਮਾ ਭਾਈਓ ਕੀ ਮੁਹੱਬਤ ਸੇ ਫੈਜ਼ਾਬ ਹੋਕਰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਸੇ ਪਤਤ ਚੰਦ ਏਕ ਸਿੱਖ ਭਾਂ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਲਾਲ ਮੁਨਸ਼ੀ ਰਾਮ ਸੇ ਸ਼ੀਰੋਸ਼ਕਰ ਹੋ ਰਹੇ ਹੈ ਜਨੇਊ ਤੋੜਨੇ ਮੇਂ ਕਮਰ ਬਸਤਾ ਹੈ, ਉਨੇ ਮੇਂ ਸੇ ਏਕ ਸ਼ਖਸ ਚੰਦ ਦਿਨ ਹੁਏ 21 ਤੇਲੇ ਜਨੇਊ ਉਤਰਵਾਕਰ ਲਾਯਾ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਇਸ ਸ਼ੇਰ ਮਰਦ ਔਰ ਗਾਜ਼ੀ ਕੀ ਖੁਬਰ ਸੇ ਪਤਤ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਮੇਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਕਦਰ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ।"

23. See: Jagjit Singh, Sikh Inklab, Bahri Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 159.

24. "ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕੀ ਜਾਤ ਸਬੇ ਏਕੈ ਪਹਿਚਾਨਬੇ"

25. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 20th Oct. 1899.

"ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਨੇ ਔਰੰਗਜ਼ੇਬ ਦੇ ਜ਼ੁਲਮ ਨਾਲ ਜਨੇਊ ਤੋੜਨ ਪਰ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਰੋਕਿਆ ਅਰ ਨਿਰਬਲ ਆਰੀਯਾ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਕੀਤੀ - - - -"

26. Khalsa Samachar, 4th Feb. 1903, p. 3.

"ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਰਾਜ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਬੀ ਜੌਰ ਤੇ ਜ਼ੁਲਮ ਨਾਲ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਖ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਨਾਇਆ ਸੀ - - - - - ਸਗੋਂ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਰਾਜ ਵੰਨੇ ਵਢੇ ਵਢੇ ਖੁਹਰੇ ਅਕਸਰ

ਕਰਕੇ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਥ ਰਹੇ।"

27. Jagjit Singh, Sikh Inklab, Bahri Publications Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 160.
28. "ਗੁਜਰਵਾਲੇ ਵਿਚ 100 ਦੇ ਕਰੀਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਬੜੇ 2 ਰਈਸ ਅਤੇ ਇਜ਼ਤਦਾਰ ਭੀ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਸਨ ਸੁੱਧ ਰਿਹੇ ਨਾਲ ਦਸਤਖਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਅਤੇ ਤੇ ਰਹਿਤੀਏ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਛੁੱਤ ਛਾਤ ਨਾ ਰੱਖਾਂਗੇ।"
See: Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 13th July 1900, p. 7.
29. Akali, 3rd Jan. 1921, and Editorial, Akali, 26th June 1922. p. 2.
30. Akali, 3rd Jan. 1921.
31. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, Punjabi Pattarkala, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, 1953, p. 54.
32. The History and Culture of the Indian People(Vol.II) Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1894, p. 562.
33. Ibid., p. 458.
34. Punjabi Akhan Kosh, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, 1984, p. 159.
- (i) 'ਜਨਾਨੀ ਦੀ ਮੌਤ ਖੁਰੀ ਪਿਛੇ।'
(ii) 'ਔਰਤ ਦੀ ਕੁਝ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਮਤ।'
35. Ibid., p. 208.
'ਤੀਵੀਂ ਬੁਰੀ ਬਲਾ।'
36. Ibid., p. 159.
'ਜਨਾਨੀ ਮਰਦ ਦੀ ਜੁੱਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੰਡ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ।'
37. See: The History and Culture of the Indian People(Vol.II) Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1894, p. 564.
38. Jagjit Singh, Sikh Inklab, Bahri Publication Pvt.Ltd., New Dehi, 1982, p. 13.
39. "ਜੇ ਕਿਉਂ ਮੈਂਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ, ਜਿਤੁ ਜੰਮਹਿ ਰਾਜਾਨ।।"

(ਵਾਰ ਆਸਾ ਮ: ੧ - ਪੰਨਾ ੪੭੩)

40. Dr. Kala Singh Bedi, Var Kar Guru Nanak (Varan Guru Nanak Da Vishleshan Te Vivachan), Punjabi Book Store, New Delhi, 1989, p. 29.
41. Bhai Kahan Singh, Mahan Kosh (Encyclopaeda of Sikh Literature, Bhasha Vibhag, Panjab, Patiala, 4th Edition 1981, p. 980.
42. Istri Sudhar (Essay series), Khalsa Samachar, 4th Dec. 1899, p. 5.
 "ਘਰ ਦੀ ਨੀਚ ਸੇਵਾ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਿਸੇ ਆਈ ਤੇਵੀਂ ਧਰਮ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਵਰਜ ਕੇ ਜੰਗਲੀ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਬਣਾਈ ਗਈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚੁਲ੍ਹਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਅਸਰ ਇਹ ਹੋਯਾ ਕਿ ਸਰੀਰ ਅਰ ਬੁਧਿ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਤ੍ਰੀਮਤ ਨਸ਼ਟ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਗਈ। ਸਰੀਰਕ ਬਲ ਘਟ ਗਿਆ। ਤ੍ਰੀਮਤਾਂ ਲਿਸੀਆਂ ਪਤਲੀਆਂ ਝੋਲੇ ਮਾਰੀਆਂ ਜਿਹੀਆਂ ਹੁੰਦੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ। ਅਰ ਵਹਮਾਂ ਤੇ ਭਰਮਾਂ ਨੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਿਦਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਐਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਡੇਰੇ ਲਾ ਦਿਤੇ ਕਿ ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੁਵੇ ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਕਹਣੇ ਦੇ ਜਾਲੇ ਤੇ ਘਟੇ ਦੇ ਪਰਤ ਜਮ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ।" - - -
43. Ibid.
 "- - - - - ਐਸੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਪਖੰਡੀ ਲੋਕ ਮਨ ਭਾਉਂਦੇ ਮੌਜੂ ਕਰਿਆ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਸੋ ਪੇਟ ਪਾਲੂ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣਾਂ ਅਰ ਪਖੰਡੀ ਸਾਧਾਂ ਨੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚਾਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਗਿਰੇ ਹੋਏ ਮਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਨ ਘੜਤ ਕਹਾਣੀਆਂ ਅਰ ਵਹਮੀ ਧਰਮ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਦਸ ਦਸ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਠਕੇ ਸਿਧੇ ਕਰਨੇ ਲਈ ਐਸੇ ਢੰਗਾਂ ਤੇ ਤੋਰਿਆ ਕਿ ਸੁਤੇ ਗੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਰਮ ਮਨ ਕਪੋਲ ਕਲਪਨਾ ਦੇ ਠਪਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਛਾਪੇ ਹੋਏ ਕਪੜੇ ਵਾਝ ਗੜ੍ਹੇ ਗਏ।"
44. Under the influence of Singh Sabha Movement, Sikh Society made efforts to improve her lot.
45. Istri Sudhar (Essay series), Khalsa Samachar, 5th Feb. 1900, p. 5.
46. Punjabi Bhain, April 1909, p. 14-15.
 "ਸਾਡੇ ਵਿਚ ਵਿੱਦਯਾ, ਧਰਮ ਪਿਆਰ, ਅਰ ਮੈਤ੍ਰੀ ਮੇਲ ਮਿਲਾਪ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਿਹਾ ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਕਰਤਬ ਨਿਯਮਾਂ ਤੇ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਅਗਾਯਤ ਹੋ ਗਈਆਂ ਹਾਂ ਅਨਜਾਨ ਵੀ ਐਥੇ"

ਤੀਕਰ ਹੋ ਗਈਆਂ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਯਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਅਧਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਰੁਝ ਵੀ ਸੁਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹੀ ਇਹ ਦੇਸ਼ ਕਿਸ ਦਾ, ਸਾਡਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਾਡੀ ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਆਗੂ ਮੁਖੀਆਂ ਮਰਦਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੈ।"

47. Ibid.

"ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਧਕਾਰ ਤਾਂ ਉਚੇਰੇ ਰਖਕੇ ਉਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਯਾ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੂਰਨ ਸੁਖ, ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੂਰੀ 2 ਮਾਨ ਵੱਡਿਆਈ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀ ਦਾ ਸੋਚਕੇ, ਜ਼ਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਲੱਖਾਂ ਰੁਪੇ ਖਰਚ ਕੇ ਕਾਲਜ ਤੋਂ ਹਾਈ ਸਕੂਲ ਦਵਾਰਾ ਪੂਰਾ 2 ਪਰਬੰਧ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਜਦੋਂ ਜਦੋਂ ਅਸਾਂ ਨਿਤ ਪਰਾਧੀਨਤਾ ਹੇਠ ਦਬੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਅਵਿਦਯਾ ਤੇ ਮਤਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਜਮਾਂ ਕਰਿਆ ਜੀਵਨ ਬਿਤਾਉਣ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਨਿਤਾਈਆਂ ਲਈ ਕੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ?"

48. Harbans Singh, Punjab(Ed. Ganda Singh), Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, 1962.

49. Khalsa Dharam Deepak, Batala, 15th March 1906, p. 5.

50. Giani Nahar Singh, Azadi Dian Leharan, Parkashan Giani Haribhajan Singh, 1962, p. 15.

51. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 21st August 1886, p. 6-7.

52. Punjabi Bhain, Jan.-Feb. 1909, p. 13.

"ਸਾਰੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਵਿੱਦਯਾ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, ਬਚਾ 2 ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਵਿੱਦਯਾ ਦੇ ਸੁਭ ਕੰਮ ਦਾ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਹੈ ਲੋਕ ਆਪਣੇ ਤਨੇ ਮਨੇ ਧਨੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰੀਸਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਨਿੱਤਰ ਪਏ ਕਨ।"

53. Giani Nahar Singh, Azadi Dian Leharan, Parkashan Haribhajan Singh, 1962, p. 15.

54. See: Editorial, Khalsa Samachar, 3rd Dec. 1902, p. 3.

"ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕੌਮ ਵਿਚ ਤੁਕੀ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਸੋਚ ਤਾਂ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਹੋਕਨਾ ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਤਰਾਂ ਅਜੇ ਵਿਦਯਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਈ ਜਿਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਅਸੀਂ ਪਿਛੇ ਪਏ ਹੋਏ ਹਾਂ।"

55. Khalsa Akhbar, 25th Jan. 1901. p. 5

"ਪਿਆਰੇ ਐਡੀਟਰ ਜੀ, ਜਦ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਤੁਜੀਗੀ ਜਨਮ ਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਦ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਸੂਤਕ ਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਰ ਜਦ ਲੜਕੇ ਦੀ ਮਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਹਰ ਲਿਆਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਤਦ ਗੋਮੂਤ, ਗੀਰਾ ਜਲ ਅਤੇ ਦੁਧ ਨਾਲ ਇਸਨਾਲ ਕਰਾਉਂਦੇ ਅਰ ਗੋਬ ਅਤੇ ਗੋਮੂਤ ਪਲਾਉਂਦੇ ਭੀ ਹਨ, ਸੋ ਕਿਆ ਇਹ ਗੁਰਗੀਤੀ ਹੈ?"

56. ਸਭੇ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਭਰਮੁ ਹੈ ਚੂਜੇ ਨਗੇ ਜਾਇ
ਜੰਮਣ ਮਰਣਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ ਭਾਣੇ ਆਵੇ ਜਾਇ।
(ਵਾਰ ਆਸਾ, ਮ: - - - -)
57. Bikram Singh Ghuman, Assa Di Var, Ik Sahitk Adhiyan,
New Book Co., Jalandhar, 1972, p. 42.
58. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 25th Jan. 1901.
"ਪਯਾਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਵਿਦਤ ਹੋਵੇ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਗੋਤੀ ਗੁਰ ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਤੇ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ
ਹੈ ਕਿੰਤੂ ਇਹ ਅਨਮਤੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਵਿਚ ਆ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮਤ ਦੇ ਪੁਰਾਣ ਵਿਚ
ਹੈ।"
59. Editor, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 25th Jan. 1901, p. 5.
"ਜਦ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮਤ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਾਸਤ੍ਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਹੋਨਾ ਭੀ ਦੇਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਤਦ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਭੀ
ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਸਮਯ ਲੋਗਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਇਤਨੀ ਭੁੱਧੀ ਅਤੇ ਅਕਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਜੋ
ਅੱਜ ਕੱਲ ਦੇ ਓਮਮਦਾ-2 ਸਾਧੁਨ ਬਨਾਉਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ ਅਰ ਚੰਗੇ 2 ਖਾਰ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰਨੇ
ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਹੈ, ਕਿੰਤੂ ਉਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ ਮੂੜ ਖਾਰ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਹੱਡੀਆਂ ਪੈਨ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ
ਗੀਰਾ ਦਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਇੱਕ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਖਾਰ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਸਨ ਅਰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਖੁਸ਼ਾਕੀ ਦੂਰ ਕਰਨ
ਲਈ ਦੁਧ ਪਾਇ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਸਨ ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਬਦਬੂ ਦੂਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਸੇ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਤਾਂ ਮੂੜ
ਦੀ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਰ ਗੋਬ੍ਧ ਦੀ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਕੜਾਹ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਾਦ ਛਕਕੇ ਥਰਮ ਪ੍ਰਸਿੰਨ੍ਹਤਾ ਹਾਸਲ ਕਰਦਾ
ਹੈ ਅਰ ਜੋ ਸਿੰਘ ਅਜੇ ਭੀ ਇਸ ਮੂੜ ਅਤੇ ਗੋਬ੍ਧ ਤੇ ਘਿਣਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੇ ਅਨਮਤੀ ਗੁਲਾਮ
ਹੈ।"
60. News, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 5th May 1899, p. 1.
"ਹੁਸ਼ਿਆਰਪੁਰ ਵਿਚ ਇੱਕ ਦੇਵੀ ਅਪਣੇ ਸਬੰਧੀਆਂ ਸਮੇਤ ਆਈ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਵੇ
ਚੜਾਏ ਜਦ ਰੂਪਯਾ ਕੱਠਾ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਤਦ ਚੋਗੇ ਹੀ ਨੱਠ ਗਈ ਧੰਨਯ ਚੰਡੀ ਤੂੰ ਧੰਨਯ ਹੈ।"
61. Letter, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 13th May 1898, p. 7.
"ਕੁਛ ਦਿਨ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਭੇਰੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਜਾਹ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਤ੍ਰੈ ਲੜਕੀਆਂ ਦੇਵੀਆਂ ਬਨਕਰ ਆਈਆਂ
ਰਹੀਆਂ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਵੈਸ਼ਨੋ ਦੇਵੀ ਅੰਬਕਾ ਦੇਵੀ ਅਤੇ ਸੀਤਲਾ ਦੇਵੀ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ,
ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਤਥਾ ਬਾਹਰ ਤੋਂ ਸੈਕੜੇ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇਵੀਆਂ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਵਰ ਮੰਗਣ ਲਈ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਸਨ

ਸੁਣਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਦੋ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਦੇ ਲਗ ਭਗ ਲਕਦ, ਗਹਿਣੇ, ਕਪੜੇ ਦੇਵੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਵਾ ਚੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਹੈ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਵਾ ਧੰਨ ਨੁਟਾ ਕੇ ਹੋਰ ਕੁਝ ਹਾਸਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਇਆ ਇੱਕ ਦੇਵੀ ਨੇ ਹਕੀਮ ਦੇਵੀ ਦਿਆਲ ਦੀ ਲੜਕੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਔਖਾਂ ਦਰੁਸਤ ਕਰ ਦੇਣ ਦਾ ਵਾਹਦਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਹਕੀਮ ਦੇਵੀ ਦਿਆਲ ਨੇ ਇੱਕ ਤੇ-ਉਰ ਸੁੱਚਾ ਅਰ ਪੰਜ ਰੁਪਈਏ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਅਰ ਡੇਢ ਸੌ ਰੁਪਈਆ ਪਿਛੋਂ ਦੇਣ ਦਾ ਇਕਰਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਉਹ ਦੇਵੀ ਸਾਰੀ ਰਾਤ ਉਸ ਲੜਕੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਔਖਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਗਲੇਗਲੇ ਨਿਚੋੜਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਅਰ ਕੁਝ ਅਰਾਮ ਨਾ ਕਰ ਸਕੀ ਅੰਤ ਨੂੰ ਹਕੀਮ ਦੇਵੀ ਦਿਆਲ ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਮਾਲ ਛੋੜ ਲਿਆ ਅਰ ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਖੜੇ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਲੈਕਚਰ ਦੇ ਕਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਠੱਕੀ ਦਾ ਖੂਬ ਪੋਲ ਖੋਲਿਆ।"

62. Khalsa Samachar, 19th Nov. 1902. p. 5.

ਪਟਿਆਲਾ— ਭਾਈ ਛਜੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਲਿਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਕੋਈ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਨ ਇਕ ਪਥਰ ਦੀ ਮੂਰਤੀ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਬਸੰਤ ਦੇਵੀ ਰਖਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਿਧ ਕਰਨੇ ਲਗਾ, ਤ੍ਰੀਮਤਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਝੁਕ ਪਈਆਂ, ਆਮਦਨ ਬਨ ਗਈ। ਇਕ ਦਿਨ ਅਸੀਂ ਉਸ ਨਾਲ ਝਗੜਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਹਰਾ ਦਿਤਾ ਤਦ ਦੇਵੀ ਚੁਕ ਕੇ ਗੁੰਮ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ।"

63. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 15th July 1898. p. 3.

"ਅਜ ਅਸੀਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਾਦੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਤਦ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਅਜੇ ਤਕ ਉਹੋ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦਾ ਚਲਯਾ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ।"

64. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 21st August 1886, p. 5.

"ਅਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਖ਼ਬਰ ਨੂੰ ਬੜੇ ਆਨੰਦ ਨਾਲ ਲਿਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ 15 ਅਗਸਤ ਸੰਨ 86 ਈ. ਨੂੰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਚਾਨਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਹਲੇ ਨਾਮਧਾਰੀਆਂ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਿਵਾਹ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਇਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਰਾਮ ਗੜੀਏ ਹਨ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਇਕ ਹਵਨ ਕੁੰਡ ਬਨਾਇਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਹਵਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਚਾਰ ਪਾਸੇ ਸਭ ਸਿੰਘ ਬੈਠੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਗਾਉਂਦੇ ਸੇ ਲੜਕਾ ਅਤੇ ਲੜਕੀ ਭੀ ਬੜੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਨਾਲ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਬੋਲਦੇ ਸੇ ਜਦ ਲਾਵਾਂ ਦੇਣ ਲਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਲੜਕੇ ਅਤੇ ਲੜਕੀ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਹੋਮ-ਕੁੰਡ ਦੇ ਦੁਵਾਲੇ ਫੇਰਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਲਾਵਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਪੜ੍ਹੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਜੋ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਬਿਵਾਹ ਵਿਚ ਖੁਰੇ ਭਲੇ ਗੀਤ ਗਾਉਂਦੀਆਂ ਹੁੰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਾਇ ਭਾਈ ਮਖਣ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਿੰਘਣੀ ਮੁਲੋ ਨੇ ਬੜੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਨਾਲ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਬਾਈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਰਹਾ ਉਪਰ ਗਈ - - - -।"

65. Dr. Man Singh Nirankari, Sikh Dharam Te Sikhi (In Yatharthak Vishleshan), Lok Sahit Parkashan, Amritsar, 1981, p. 70.

66. Nihal Singh, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 28th April 1899, p. 5.

"ਇਸ ਪਿੰਡ (ਬਦੇਵਾਲ ਜ਼ਿਲਾ ਲੁਦਿਹਾਨਾ) ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਸ਼ਾਦੀ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਨਸੀਬ ਹੋਯਾ ਹੈ, 11 ਜਨਵਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਾਪੂ ਧਿਆਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਨੌਕਰੇ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਦੀ ਪਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਭੋਗ ਪਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਸਾਰੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ, ਔਰ ਕੋਈ ਐਨਮਤੀ ਗੀਤੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ।"

67. Editorial, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 10th Nov. 1899, p. 3.

"ਭਾਈ ਜਗਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ (ਆਗੇਯਾ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕ) ਅਪਨੇ ਮਜਮੂਲ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਦ ਭਗਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਰਨੇ ਨਈ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸ਼ਾਦੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਵੇਦਕ ਗੀਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਨਾ ਸਾਬਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ (ਆਗੇਯਾ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਕ) ਦੇ ਸੂਯਾ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਨਾਮ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਦਾ ਹਵਾਲਾ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਦਸਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਨੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਬਿਵਾਹ ਸੰਸਕਾਰ ਵੇਦਕ ਗੀਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਤੇ ਸਨ ਤਾਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਓਹੋ ਮਯਾਦਾ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ। - - - -"

68. Ibid.

"ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਜਦ ਤਕ ਪੁਰਸ਼ ਨਵਾਂ ਮਕਾਨ ਪੂਰਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਣਾ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਉਤਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਓਹ ਪੁਰਾਣੀਆਂ ਝੋਪੜੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਰਹੇ ਹੀ ਗੁਜ਼ਾਰਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਏਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਇਹ ਬਾਤ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਤਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਹਜਰਾਜ ਅਪਨੇ ਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਨੂੰ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਸੇ ਅਰ ਪੰਥ ਪੂਰੇ 2 ਸਮਰਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਇਆ ਸੀ ਤਦ ਤਕ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਝੋਪੜੀਆਂ ਜੋ ਵੇਦਕ ਗੀਤੀ ਹੈ, ਸੇ ਰੱਖੀ ਗਈ ਹੋਵੇ ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਜਦ ਇਹ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਸੰਦ੍ਰ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਤਯਾਰ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਫਿਰ ਕੋਈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਜੋ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪੁਰਾਣੀਆਂ ਕੁਲੀਆਂ ਰੂਪੀ ਵੇਦ ਵਿਧੀ ਨੂੰ ਤਕ ਨਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਏ - - - -"

69. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 14th April 1899, p. 6.

"16 ਫੱਗਣ ਸੰਮਤ 1955 ਬ੍ਰਿਕ੍ਰਮੀ ਨੂੰ ਇੱਕ ਚੇਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਮੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਕੰਠਯ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਦੀ ਸੀ ਜਿਸ ਪਰ ਗੁਰ ਮੁਯਾਦਾ ਸੁਨ ਕੇ ਐਨਮਤੀ ਅੱਗੇ ਹੀ ਰੋਕ ਟੋਕ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ ਅਰ ਜਿਸ ਸਮਯ ਜੰਝ ਆਈ ਉਸ ਸਮਯ ਐਨਮਤੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਅਜੇਹਾ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਪਾਇਆ ਕਿ ਭਾਈਚਾਰ ਭੀ ਸਭ ਡਰਦੇ ਤਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ - - - -"

70. Khalsa Samachar, 15th Nov. 1902, p. 12.
Khalsa Akhbar, 21st April 1899, p. 1.
71. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 26th May 1899, p. 6.
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ਨਵਾਂ ਵਰਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਆਹਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਦੇਵੀ, ਜੇ 11 ਦੀ ਤਦ ਕੰਠਯਾ ਜੇ ਬਾਰ੍ਹਵਾਂ ਵਰਾ ਟਪ
ਗਿਆ ਤੇ ਤੂੰ ਵਿਆਹ ਕੀਤਾ ਤਦ ਪਾਪੀ।"
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ਮਾਸ਼ ਪਤਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਧਵਾ ਵਿਆਹ ਦੇ ਹੱਕ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਲੇਖ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ।"
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ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਪੰਥ ਹਿਤੈਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਹਟਾਵਨ ਦੀ ਸਿਰ ਤੋੜ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਕਈ ਇਕ ਐਸੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਨ ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਧਰਮ ਤੋਂ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਹਨ ਬਲਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਣਾ ਇਕ ਬੜੇ ਸ਼ਰਮ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਹੈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਠਕੇ ਦੇਵੇਯਾ ਨੇ ਕੇ ਸਾਕ ਕਰਕੇ ਅਤੇ ਦਵਾਉਣੀ (ਵੱਟੇ ਦਾ ਸਾਕ) ਬਿਆਹ ਕਰਕੇ ਹੈ।"

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ਜਿਤੁ ਪੀਤੈ ਖਸਮੁ ਸਿਰੇ ਦਰਗਾਹ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ
ਝੂਠਾ ਮਦੁ ਮੁਲਿ ਨ ਪੀਚਈ ਜੇ ਕਰ ਪਾਰ ਵਸਾਇ।।

(ਸਲੋਕ ਮਾਝ)

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Chapter-IV

Sikh Journalism, Politics and Sikh Politics

1. Ghadr Movement
2. Akali Movement
3. Babbar Akalis
4. Nehru Report
5. Era of Communalism
6. Communal Award
7. Assembly Elections

References

Sikh Journalism Politics and Sikh Politics

Two divergent views are prevalent about the origin of the Sikhism. One, is that the Sikhism is an off-shoot of Vaisnava Hinduism, which originated as a reform movement in Hinduism. The second, is that the Sikhism is a distinct tradition, born in the light of new and distinct ideas and principles. In fact, it is a separate, independent religion. 'It was not born as a reform movement within Hinduism.'¹ Nor is it a form of Hinduism influenced by Islam.² That is why we are in agreement with the latter view.

The former view about the origin of Sikhism can well be called a contribution of the Hindu orthodox society. It was undoubtedly the independent entity of the Sikh faith, which helped it to remain active in the political field, from the very beginning. To oppose the oppressive policies of Mughals indicates the firm footing of the Sikhs in the political field. It was the political power of the Sikhs that the rulers and their men like Zakariya Khan and Massa Ranghar had to oppose them by disrespecting Sikh religious shrines. While the Sikhism took up the cause of social reforms, it also adopted a militant posture to set right the already deteriorated political situation in the country, so that the political bigwigs should not crush the rights of common masses, by misusing their power. In other words, the Sikhism, apart from

advocating the ethical values for human welfare, showed mankind the way to struggle for protecting their rights. It shows how intimately intertwined were the Sikh religion and politics.

The situation in which Sikh journalism was born has been analysed in the preceding chapter. Under those conditions, Sikh journalism can be divided into two categories. One, the pro-government and second, the anti-government. Alongside the changing social and religious conditions, both the categories of Sikh journalism came to the fore. In the beginning, we find no direct reference in Sikh journalism, against the British government in India (except in the case of one or two religious matters). The greatest reason behind it could possibly be that the era of 1849-1920 in Sikh history provided only those religious and political leaders to the Sikh community who were either feudal lords or otherwise affluent.³ The middle class consciousness, which generally became the cause of a revolutionary change, in Sikhs came much later. That is why the leadership of the Sikhism remained for quite a long time in the hands of feudal dynasties. The British government also supported them because these people always co-operated with the government. 'We can also say that they were ever ready to dance to the tune of the government.'⁴ In such conditions, the government conspired to popularize among the Sikhs, the 'theory of 'natural leader,' so that the middle class might not get any political power. It was either the rulers of the states or the feudal lords who led the

community at that time. 'This kind of leadership was elected for each institution or organisation.'⁵ Therefore journalism belonging to this category was a specimen of loyalty to the British Government.

It is advisable to know something about the political situation in India at that time, to enable ourselves to talk about the essence of politics in the Sikh journalism. The year 1907 was of great significance in Indian politics. In this year, many such events took place which caused several political agitations throughout India. It is the common man who largely participated in them. The partition of Bengal, which was the result of a British conspiracy to fuel communal fire, caused the birth of several underground revolutionary parties in Bengal. The press used to publish the gory news of the murder of government officials in which pistols and bombs were used.⁶ It was bound to influence the Punjab where the Muslims were in majority. This agitation in Bengal was still on when the 'peasant movement' in 'Bar' began in the Punjab. With the help of 'Canal Colonization Bill,' the government had effected a rapid increase in the revenue. Laws about canal were made more stringent. Many restrictions were imposed on the rights of peasants. According to this newly legislated Act, the status of the tillers of the land was nothing more than that of tenants. They could neither construct houses on the land, nor cut down a tree, nor could they sell the land.⁷ In such a condition, it was quite natural for the peasant to oppose this Act. 'The first such gathering

of the peasants was made at 'Sangli' on 27th January 1907.⁸ Lala Lajpat Rai and S. Ajit Singh supported the cause of the peasants, but this made the government more firm in its resolve to crush the movement.⁹ The result was that the Punjab, which happened to be the last state to be annexed by the British, became the first to oppose the British government. In this context, Gopal Singh says:

"The Punjab which was the last to fall to the British was also the first to rise against them in full fury."¹⁰

The economic condition of India depended on agriculture, industry and trade, but due to the fatal policies of the government, the economic condition of the country became very bad. 'In the economic field, the British capitalists enjoyed full freedom to enter into any economic field, and do whatever they wished.'¹¹ The changes sought in the agriculture field in India were not aimed at improving the agriculture system. Rather they were aimed at collecting more and more of revenue. 'This further strengthened the roots of colonialism in India.'¹² That was the reason why Indian workers and peasants in the beginning of the 20th century started sailing towards America and Canada. Living in the free atmosphere of those countries and finding the natives of those countries so deeply attached to their motherland, the Indians were inspired to see their motherland free. This feeling was transformed into the 'Ghadar Movement'. However, this movement was ruthlessly crushed. The Indians were made

to plunge into the First World War, even against their wish: it was a conspiracy hatched by the British. On such occasions, the British government's attitude was such as was bound to give rise to the feeling of patriotism in the hearts of the Indians. 'It was the result of this attitude that many social, ethical, material and intellectual situations developed which gradually turned into a powerful political movement.'¹³ After the end of World War I in 1918, the British government in India simply forgot about the promises made to the Indian people. On the other hand, they passed the Rowlatt Act. People protested against this Act, but the government enforced martial law to suppress this protest and consequently tragedies like that of Jallianwala Bagh occurred. All this added fuel to the fire.

This was the general milieu of India, but the conditions in Punjab were more complex. The reason behind this complexity was perhaps the habitation of three communities in the region. The Muslims were a majority community, and their number exceeded that of the Hindus and the Sikhs even put together. The Hindus came next to the Muslims, numerically, the Sikhs were in minority. At other places in India, the Hindus and the Muslims were the only two dominant communities. So the problem there was not that complex. The English also tried to reap benefit from it. To counter the increasing feeling of nationalism and patriotism, they adopted the policy of 'divide and rule'. So, the seed of communalism and hatred was gradually sown. 'Hindu-Muslim riots used to take place

at times.¹⁴ The Sikhs were also compelled to take certain decision under communal considerations. This further complicated the situation.

Under the Act of 1909, the Election Law was introduced in India for the first time. As the Hindus being in majority, the Muslims were given (under this Act) some weightage, but nothing was done to safeguard the interests and rights of the Sikhs.¹⁵ In 1916, the congress and the Muslims League arrived at an agreement at Lacknow. It was given the name of 'Lacknow Pact'. According to this pact, the Muslims were pleased, conceding to them more seats in the Muslim minority states. But the Sikhs were completely ignored. They were accepted as a part of Hinduism, and thus no separate seats were reserved for them. While arriving at this decision, neither any Sikh leader was invited to the meeting nor any of them was consulted.¹⁶ In such conditions, it had become necessary for the Sikhs to struggle for safeguarding their rights while struggling for country's independence. The British government was also aware of it.

The Chief Khalsa Diwan, which was the representative Sikh Organization, had been doing commendable work in the Sikh renaissance through its activities aimed at social reform and spread of education. But this organization always avoided taking up openly, through press or platform, the political issues concerning the Sikhs. After the 'Gurdwara Rikabganj episode,' when the common Sikh realized that the Diwan

supported the government policy openly, the first political organization of the Sikhs, the 'Sikh League,' was born.¹⁷ In fact, the formation of the Sikh League was also a deep conspiracy of the British. They founded this organization with a view to control the Sikh political movement. 'The founders of this organization were the touts of the government.'¹⁸ When the first session of this League was held at Lahore in 'Bradla Hall,' this political party was brought under the control of young and patriotic Sikhs led by Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Mangal Singh and Master Tara Singh. At that time, speaking of the aims and objects of the League, the Sikh press clearly stated that this organization will serve the Sikh community, in the political field.¹⁹

The understanding existing between the Sikhs and the government since the days of the 1857-Ghadar virtually ended towards the second decade of the 20th century. Majority of the Sikhs now plunged into the political agitation. In 1920, the annual session of All India Congress was held at Amritsar. At this session, the Congress adopted the militant posture.²⁰ The session of the Sikh League was also held at Amritsar during these days. This session was attended by prominent Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Madan Mohan Malviya. As a result of it, the Sikhs not only participated in the non-cooperation movement sponsored by the congress in 1921, but also launched their own morchas under the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement'. 'These Morchas continued for several years, and at the end the government had to yield.'²¹

The revolt in Punjab against the oppression under the Rowlett Act further gained momentum after the Jallianwala massacre. The mutual differences and distrust were forgotten at such juncture, and fight against the British started on a single front. Independence of India was its major objective. The oppression by the British government broke the shackles of casteism and untouchability, and the whole India became one nation. The Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims used one tumbler to drink and one salver to eat.²²

That was the time when the daily 'Akali' was born which transformed the Sikh journalism and gave it a revolutionary orientation.²³ In this way, the 'Akali' started a new era in the history of Sikh journalism, the seed of which was sown by the 'Ghadar' (newspaper) launched by the 'Ghadar Movement'. 'It was with the publication of the Ghadar that political journalism had begun in Punjabi.'²⁴ The 'Akali' took it to the top. It is essential to know, at this stage, the achievement of the Ghadar Movement in the field of journalism. Because it was the spirit of this journalism (i.e. Ghadar paper) which moved the 'Akali'(paper), during the 'Akali movement', ahead its foot prints.

(1) Ghadar Movement and Sikh Journalism:

When the Imperialist government felt that the moneylenders (belonging to the trading community), had been usurping the agricultural lands of peasants who owed heavy loans to them.

The government passed the 'Colonization Bill' in 1907, to check this rising capitalism. According to this Act, the traders were debarred from claiming ownership of the land. Thus the Punjab's society was divided into two categories—the peasants and the traders.²⁵ This policy of government was not aimed at ameliorating the lot of the peasants, but at checking the increasing influence of the trading community. As a result, the gulf between the peasants and the traders widened still further, after 1907. Now the peasants felt the need of finance all the more bitterly. 'The national movement for freedom reached Punjab that very year.'²⁶ Under the influence of which the peasants launched an agitation to express their resentment both against the traders and the government. This agitation came to be known as peasants movement (Kisan Lehar).

The lack of financial resources compelled the Punjabis to seek their fortune in alien lands. Among those who left for foreign countries, the Sikhs were numerically the largest. By 1910 more than 10,000 Indians reached Canada and America. Out of them 90% were the Sikhs from Punjab.²⁷ When these people themselves tasted the air of freedom in those countries, they realized more intensely and bitterly their slavish life at home. This further intensified their feeling of patriotism. The Ghadar Movement originated from this very feeling.

The 'Ghadar Party', a revolutionary Organization, was founded in 1913. The Hindus and the Muslims were also its members, but the Sikhs constituted 90% of its total numerical

strength.²⁸ As a result of this movement and the ever increasing number of the Indians settling abroad, the government made emigration rules very strict. On 23rd May 1914 Baba Gurdit Singh reached Vancouver alongwith 321 other passengers in the Kamagatamaru ship. They had reached there after fulfilling all the conditions laid down by the government. This episode shook the Indian government. The ship was seized some distance away from the port, and the passengers were not allowed to get down. The ill-treatment meted out to them there, and thereafter the massacre of many passengers on 29th September 1914, when they returned home at the Bajbaj port²⁹ added fuel to the fire of hatred in the hearts of the Punjabis against the government. This accelerated the pace of the 'Ghadar Movement'.

Under the influence of the 'Ghadar Movement', the paper 'Ghadar' started coming out in November 1913. After two months in January 1914, a gurmukhi press was installed, and the 'Ghadar' was published regularly in Punjabi. This paper survived for about 36 years till 1949. The journalism related to the 'Ghadar Movement' though apparently seemed distinct from the Sikh journalism then prevalent in the Punjab. Yet implicitly it was influenced by the Sikh journalism. The Sikh press in the Punjab sought social and religious reforms to protect human rights, whereas, the journalism under the influence of Ghadar Movement sought to protect human rights through reforms in the political sphere. It is clearly stated in the draft of the 'Hindustan Association';

Object of the association is to establish liberty, equality and fraternity of the Hindustanis.³⁰

That is why this journalism did not take up the cause of religious reform. It was possessed by the patriotic feeling. To fulfil this objective, it persuaded the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims to jointly participate in the fight for independence.

Some scholars are of the view that the 'Ghadar Movement' sought inspiration for revolution (Ghadar) from those writings of Bhai Vir Singh which tell of the deeds of bravery performed by the Sikh men and women.³¹ Journalism of 'Ghadar Movement' mentioned with pride, the rich heritage of the Sikhs, and also the events from Sikh history. So much so that the following verses from the Sikh Scripture used to be printed prominently on the top of the front page, so as to illustrate the objective;

If thou are desirous of expressing thy love
come to me with thy head in thy hand.³²

The tone of the contemporary Sikh journalism in the Punjab, however, was not like the tone adopted by the 'Ghadar', which invariably carried on its front page, a column titled "Angrezi Raj da Kacha Chitha" (True stories from the British Rule). In this column there were given details of the exploitation of the Indians and Indian resources by the Britishers. It also unravelled the economic and political conspiracies of the government. Besides, 'Whatever else was

published in the paper was meant to convey the anti-government sentiment.³³ Talking of its religion, the paper says that its religion is to stop tyranny.³⁴ Certainly, the Sikh history and the sacrifices made by the Sikhs kept alive this ideology. Contrary to this, the Chief Khalsa Diwan, though a religious body of the Sikhs, never took a slant against the British government. Rather it condemned the movement. The 'Khalsa Samachar' was its most prominent organ: it denounced the Ghadarites as terrorists and misled.³⁵ At that time, the sacrifices made by the Ghadarites were not mentioned openly in any Sikh paper. Rather there were some papers such as 'Khalsa Advocate' and 'Punjabi Bhain' which under the influence of Chief Khalsa Diwan condemned the movement. In this context, Hira Singh Dard says, "It should have been a moment of pride for the Sikhs that the Sikh youth, following the revolutionary foot-prints of Guru Gobind Singh, waged a war for national independence and made many sacrifices. However, the Sikh leaders of the day condemned them as people incited by the non-Sikhs, misled and degenerate Sikhs."³⁶ It was because of these reasons that the 'Ghadar journalism' was required to be evaluated independently of the 'Sikh journalism'; inspite of the fact that the 'Ghadar' (paper) gives instances from Sikh Scripture and history to persuade the Sikhs to join the freedom struggle:

"Words from the mouth of the **Guru**."

Real brave is he who fights for dharmā (righteousness)
Dies minced into pieces but never flees from field.

O Sikhs, Khalsa was created for the welfare of others
You fought bravely for the protection of others.

O Sikhs, you battled so bravely, and so often
You removed tyranny from the soil of India.

O Sikhs, it was for the protection of this India
That the Guru sacrificed his four sons.³⁷

The paper referred to the deeds of bravery performed by the Sikhs in the past, and thus inspired them to fight against the British. It wrote:

Had the Brave Deep Singh been alive today,
he would have taken up the sword, O Sikhs.

Had Matab Singh Mirankotia alive today,
he would have confronted the English, O Sikhs.

We are the sons and the grandsons of such warriors
But we feel no shame at all, O Sikhs.³⁸

For the fulfilment of the aim of 'securing freedom for the country',³⁹ which the 'Ghadar Party' had set before it the 'Ghadar journalism' sought the cooperation of people from all religious hues. It impressed upon them to bury their mutual differences and get united:

Beware the sons of Hind,
They have denuded it of all resources.
Sowing distrust/disunity among us,
The British have looted the country.⁴⁰

O Hindus, Sikhs, Pathans and Muslims,
Listen ye all those who lead armies
Our country has been looted by Firranghis
We will now fight them out.⁴¹

In 1915, the Ghadar Party made a very great effort to dethrone the British in India, but due to certain reasons it

failed. Many Ghadriles were hanged, some were killed in encounters, and many were exiled. Consequently, the Ghadar Movement slowed down. However, this failure did not mean that the Ghadriles failed to achieve their aim. Rather the sacrifices made by them showed to the rest of India that the Punjab and the Sikhs there, were far ahead of all others in the struggle for freedom. More than that, this movement provided a militant posture to the country and to the Sikh community, with a view to dealing with the contemporary situation. Later on, under the influence of this movement, many new movements such as 'Akali movement', 'Babbar Akali movement', 'Naujawan Bharat Sabha', 'Kirti Movement', 'Azad Hind Fauj', etc., were born.⁴² It can thus be said that the 'Ghadar Movement', no doubt, failed, but it had its impact in the political field till the independence of the country. The 'Akali Movement' which was a pioneer Movement in the Punjab, accepted the influence of the Ghadarites. When Teja Singh Chuharkana and Kartar Singh Jhabbar reached Amritsar on 12th October 1920, after their exile, they addressed a congregation at the Akal Takhat. They declared that 'the Ghadarites are true Sikhs. They contended that Rur Singh was in the wrong when he had had an edict issued from the Akal Takhat that those people (Ghadarites) who fight against the British were not Sikhs. They asserted that the Mahants who issued that edict were, in fact, not Sikhs.'⁴³ It is against this background that the 'Akali' came out openly in support of the 'Ghadar Movement'. The Paper declared that the Ghadarites are doing a great political service to the country and the

Sikhs should be proud of it:

Our brothers from Canada have done a work which in itself is a great political service, keeping it in view, none dare say that the Sikhs do not participate in political affairs.⁴⁴

So, it will be appropriate to say that the 'Ghadar Journalism' was a part of the 'Sikh journalism', which bore impress of the 'Ghadar Movement', in the years to come. That is why the Sikh journalism took politics in its purview and started talking about political rights.

(2) The Akali Movement and the Sikh Journalism:

In the field of the Sikh journalism, the 'Akali' (newspaper) not only provided leadership to the Akali movement but also inspired the community, after enabling it to get rid of the old, orthodox leadership, to take part in the freedom struggle.⁴⁵ The statements of new leadership as they appeared in the 'Akali' were believed to be absolutely correct by the common masses.⁴⁶ It is thus obvious that the paper had tightened its grip over the people. At the same time, old leadership and old papers had lost much of their image.

The boldness and fearlessness with which the 'Akali' unravelled the tyranny of the British and propagated Hindu-Sikh unity for the freedom of the country was not to be seen in other paper. Some Hindus and Muslims learnt Gurmukhi so that they could read the 'Akali'.⁴⁷ In this way, the Sikh journalism of that time revolved around the 'Akali'.

Up to 1920, the Sikh papers had been terming the British regime as an era of peace and of progress for the Sikhs.⁴⁸ Reiteration of this view time and again, strengthened the idea that the Sikhs were loyal to the British. This misconception persisted for about 70 years. After 1920, the Sikh journalism felt it its duty to correct this misconception. The 'Akali' wrote about the changed situation and called out to the Sikhs to come out of their dilemma , and join the war of independence:

Both the Hindus and Muslims have resolved to achieve independence, and to achieve it just and now. Having resolved this both the communities have devoted themselves to moral confrontation with the government. The Khalsa has also decided, that they will live or die with their Hindu brothers When the Khalsa has already taken a decision, it seems futile on our part to ponder as to which side we should take. The Sikhism was born when tyrannical conditions prevailed. To annihilate injustice and tyranny is its first priority. . . . The religion of the Khalsa is to protect the poor and the helpless, rather than to side with the oppressor and thus indirectly to support oppression⁴⁹

According to Nirranjan Singh (Principal) 'Akali' newspaper stirred the community out of its slumber.⁵⁰ At the same time it also advocated peaceful non-cooperation. It inspired the Sikhs to join this movement. Commenting on the aims and objects of the Congress, the paper wrote:

The resolution states that the aim of the National Congress is the achievement of independence for Indians through lawful and peaceful means

The best thing that comes to sight in this resolution is that it has been drafted in such a way as no one with any ideology can turn his back on the Congress.⁵¹

The Sikh press was, no doubt, very much alive to its role in the struggle for the country's independence. But at the same time, it took upon the responsibility of awakening the Sikhs about their political rights. By referring to the 'Bande Matram,' the 'Akali' wrote:

In a resolution at the session of the Congress, our Sikh brothers have been assured of the protection of their rights as in the case of the Muslims and the minorities in other states.⁵²

Besides, the 'Akali' gives a direct warning to the government that now the Sikh community will neither be taken in the inducement of its pro-government leadership, nor will it give up its aim of attaining the freedom:

We admit that there is dire need of unity and complete understanding among the Sikhs. But not even a single Sikh is prepared to compromise with the Majithia Sardar and thereby sink the boat of the community. After continuous hard work in the last Sikh League session that the community has now get rid of the seekers after titles and estates. The rulers had also realized that the community was gone out of their hands.⁵³

It goes to the credit of the 'Akali', that some scholars call it the founder of the 'Akali Movement.'⁵⁴ It became the spokesman of the common man and provided them the required guidance. Thus, it becomes clear that the reins of the Sikh leadership were taken away from the feudals by the middle-class people. The government did not like this development at all. So it was not something unnatural for the government to adopt oppressive measures. The Sikh journalism was well aware of the fact that the era of oppression was just to dawn,

and that nip the newly-acquired consciousness among the Sikhs in the bud. The 'Akali' is one of its editorial, described one such situation when it stated:

The era of oppression has dawned. Efforts are being made to undo the Sikh renaissance. The Sikhs should now be prepared to bear all sorts of oppression and tyranny, because now the government has an excuse to sink our boat⁵⁵

By now, the non-cooperation movement had taken roots among the Sikhs. Government offices, courts, etc., were completely boycotted. The government was doing its level best, to keep the Sikhs off this movement. However, the movement went on gaining strength among the Sikhs. In such conditions, the press advised the Sikhs to form their own panchayats to resolve their problems:

Bhai Mohinder Singh writes to say that there should be some arrangement for deciding cases of the Sikh by the Sikhs themselves, through the formation of panchayats, because the Akalis have boycotted the official courts. The officialdom is forcibly snatching any of our things they wish to. On the 18th, my mare worth Rs. one thousand was conspired to be stolen. The mare is with the police, but the thief has not yet been challaned.⁵⁶

In response to this letter, what the editor published in his paper amounted to the demand for independence. And it was a bold step on the part of journalism:

The only remedy to all these sufferings is independence. Brother, try to achieve it. Simultaneously, form your own panchayats in all villages. Live unitedly and harmoniously.⁵⁷ Thieves and robbers then will not get near you.

Besides, the press stressed on Sikh members of the council the need to resign their seats in the Assembly and join the political reform movement. They were also warned that failure to do so would amount to their being called opponents and traitors of the community:

If you failed to join, within one month, with the community, it will be considered that your presence in the Councils is treachery with the community.⁵⁸

The government adopted a stiff attitude towards the 'Sikh Press' due to the policy adopted by the press. Reacting to this attitude, the 'Akali' wrote in an ironic tone:

Since the day the paper was born, the officialdom has been bestowing its grace in an increased measure, with the passing of each day The officialdom is helpless otherwise the first round of fire from 'the canon of Bhangia' would have come to the share of the 'Akali.'⁵⁹

The securities of the 'Akali' were confiscated several times. The government did its level best to see it closed down.⁶⁰ However, the contemporary journalism, unmindful of such things, continued its march ahead on the well-marked path.

There were some among the Sikhs who did not favour the idea of Sikhs' participation in the Congress sponsored movement for non-cooperation. This group was known as the moderate ; whereas, the Akali group was known as the nationalist or militant . Bhai Jodh Singh wrote articles in the 'Khalsa Akhbar' against the non-cooperation movement.⁶¹ Also the Chief Khalsa Diwan did not join the non-cooperation

movement. This was one of the major reasons which gave rise to differences between the 'Akali' and the 'Khalsa Akhbar'. In this context, Bhai Jodh Singh wrote in the 'Khalsa Akhbar':

The Sikhs are the dry gun-powder. They simply cannot follow the policy of peaceful non-cooperation. They will soon burst into flames, and thus suffer great losses.⁶²

This was something difficult for the 'Akali' to digest. It took exception to this write-up and wrote:

Bhai Jodh Singh has insulted the Sikhs by calling them the dry gun-power. He should seek forgiveness of the Panth, or, otherwise, Panth should boycott the reading of the Khalsa.⁶³

A wave of resentment overtook the common Sikh because of the 'Khalsa Akhbar's' attitude. In the forthcoming agitation, in which the Sikhs had to suffer much of oppression, they amply proved that they were not dry gun-power. But the differences between these two groups persisted.

As a result of the non-cooperation movement launched by the Congress and the bold stand taken by the 'Akali' paper, the Sikhs were so inspired that the 'Gurdwara Reforms Movement' was born against the mahants, who were responsible for the mismanagement of the Sikh shrines. When the Sikhs found the government backing these mahants, they started tearing to pieces the laws of the land, in a state of almost religious frenzy.⁶⁴ In this way, the 'Akali movement' transformed it-self into a revolutionary movement. Several agitations were launched against the British imperialism, and some very

significant victories were also won.⁶⁵ This struggle continued till 1926. The Akalis set an example of peaceful agitation for the entire India. About the Sikh agitation started at the Guru-ka-Bagh, Dr. Rajindra Prasad writes "Whatever I saw there can never be forgotten."⁶⁶ This was the reason that impact of this 'morcha' being fought by the Sikhs did not remain restricted to the Punjab or the Sikhs alone. It became a popular subject of discussion throughout India. The newspapers propagated further this sympathy wave so that the struggle could be taken to its logical conclusion. In this respect, the 'Kirpan Bahadur' wrote :

. . . although there are only the Sikhs and the Punjab to bear the consequences of what is now happening in the Guru Ka Bagh, yet it will leave its mark on the whole of India, because it shows the victory of that principle which is so dear to the modern Mahatma leader of India. During this struggle, the Akalis have presented to the nation a very fine specimen of peaceful struggle.⁶⁷

In the political sphere, the greatest benefit was that now the Sikhs stood ahead of all others in the freedom struggle, It won't be out of content to observe that before the 'Akali movement', the Sikhs had come to be considered as excessively loyal to the British government -- the loyalist warrior people, the supporter of slavery, responsible for getting arrested their own brothers from Canada, hindrance in the Congress movement for freedom, etc. With a view to maintain the tempo of newly generated enthusiasm among the Sikhs, the Sikh press published articles and poems on their religious heritage.

About the relationship between religion and politics, the 'Akali' declared that politics is maimed and handicapped without religion.⁶⁸ There is ample testimony to the Sikhs that the Sikhism had always stood against the misrule. It was this spirit that motivated the Sikh press to support all those persons who fell victims to the oppression of the government. The 'Ghadar movement' had been completely suppressed and crushed by the British government. The stand taken by the 'Akali' in this regard showed its guts and boldness. The paper declared the work done by the Ghadrates as a great political service, and stated that the Sikhs should take pride in it:

Our brethern from Canada have done something which in itself is a great political service. Keeping it in view, none should dare to say that the Sikhs avoided participation in political activities.⁶⁹

Similarly, a message of Baba Gurdit Singh of Kamagatamaru fame was also published by this paper:

I have not forgotten you. I have never forgotten your suffering, even for a moment. Do not get scared of the suffering and do not be annoyed with anyone. With God's grace, good will come out of it. If your sufferings and sacrifices are not valued by the community or the country, they will certainly be valued in the Divine Court. I shall pray that God may give you credit for all this.⁷⁰

Another example of the boldness of the Sikh press is that the government has spread much disinformation about Baba Gurdit Singh, the manager-organizer and hero of the Kamagatamaru ship, but it was only the 'Akali' which started publishing a series

of articles in support of Baba Gurdit Singh. Through these efforts, the public got, for the first time, correct information about this tragic incident.⁷¹ In this way the press did its duty commendably in the political field also.

The 'Gurdwara Reform Movement' was still going on, when the government dethroned Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha. The sympathy of the Sikhs was with the Maharaja. Therefore, a feeling of resentment spread among the Sikhs. The S.G.P.C. resolved that suitable efforts be made to help the Maharaja regain his throne.⁷² The 'Gurdwara Movement' was like a religious battle, but the re-installation of the Maharaja was a political matter. Ordinary Sikhs failed to comprehend this complexity. So, in a sort of religious frenzy, a movement was born which was not fated to win. On one hand, there was a struggle going on in the country for democratic freedom in which feudal royalties were bound to vanish. On the other, the Sikhs started an agitation for the installation of a monarch. These were contradictory things. Some scholars are even of the view that the Jaitu agitation somewhat lowered the prestige of the Sikhs.⁷³ But the attitude of the Sikh journalism then was different. The Sikh Press published details of the arrests of the Akalis and the oppression and torture perpetrated on them.⁷⁵ In this way, the Sikhs were provoked by the press and this agitation was treated at par with the 'Guru Ka Bagh Morcha'.

The police and the army has given the challenge like the one at Guru Ka Bagh by manning all entrances to Jaitu and by stopping eatables to the diwan.⁷⁵

During the course of this agitation, several Sikhs including women suffered martyrdom, but nothing was gained from this Jaitu agitation. After the first victory which the Sikhs and Sikh press had won on 19th January 1922 in the agitation launched to get the keys of Shri Darbar Sahib, (even 'Mahatma Gandhi had called it the first decisive battle of India's independence,'⁷⁶) it was the Jaitu agitation which brought the first major disappointment to the Sikhs and the Sikh press.

(3) Babbar Akalis and Sikh Journalism:

During this period, the 'Babbar Akali Movement' which originated in the Doaba region of Punjab also contributed its share to the freedom struggle. 'It was a movement which was influenced by both the Akali and the Ghadar Movement.'⁷⁷ For full three years i.e. from 1921 to 1923, this movement heavily strained the nerves of the government. After 1924, a chain of arrests and martyrdoms of the 'Babbars' started, and it dealt a fatal blow to it. Writing about the aims and objects of the 'Babbar movement' Jathedar Labh Singh -- a Babbar Akali, said that Babbars liquidated the touts and contributed their mite to the freedom struggle.⁷⁸ A paper named 'Babbar Akali' was launched under the influence of this movement. The tone of this paper was quite sharp, because it was followed the style of the 'Ghadar'.

(Poem)

Form Jathas at every place
and start liquidating the adulators.

Those who caused community's sink
treat them as guilty.

You saw the humiliation with your own eyes
and yet cowardly pass away the time.

If you had to adulate the 'monkeys',
why did you get the name of a Singh.⁷⁹

In fact, this movement followed the path shown by Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji, i.e. "When all other means fail, it is the religious duty of the Sikh to take recourse to the sword."⁸⁰ In the eyes of the government, the members of this movements were extremists, and for their liquidation it was working on war-footing. So, the 'Babbar Akali' (a monthly) was printed secretly.

It was because of the militant attitude of the Babbars that the S.G.P.C., which advocated peaceful agitation, was against them even if it fully sympathized with their aims and objects. In this connection, the 'Akali te Pradesi' stated:

We have ideological differences with the Babbars. They believe in the efficacy of violent methods; whereas, we are in favour of peaceful means. But we know that they have done all this after getting fed up with the oppressive policies of the government and for the freedom of their mother-land-India. If the government had refrained from unleashing terror and oppression, they should not have reached the stage, where they have.³¹

Whenever the news of the death of a Babbar, in an encounter with the police reached, the Sikh press expressed its fear about some foul play. For instance, the 'Akali te Pardesi' wrote:

You might have read the news yesterday that the police and army killed four of the Babbars. We have been told that an encounter took place.

But it has been said that none of the government officials was harmed. So, we learn from it as to what sort of encounter took place Had the Babbar Akalis confronted the police, the latter had every right to fire at them.⁸²

Since, this movement survived for a very short while, and its activists always worked underground, this movement could make little contribution to journalism. However, whatever it did for the Sikh press was very significant in itself. Although the Babbars do not find much place in the history of the struggle for independence, yet they have always been an object of veneration for the Sikhs. Today, the Sikh community is proud of the Babbars and their movement.

(4) Nehru Report and Sikh Journalism:

In November 1927, an announcement was made by the British Cabinet, with a view to finding out the possibilities of establishing an independent democratic set-up in India. Accordingly, a Royal Commission, headed by the well known British politician-Sir John Simon had to submit his report about the above possibilities in India. M.A. Ansari, the president of the Madras Unit of the Congress, declared to boycott this commission. He asserted that the 'Indians have the right to frame their own constitution which they can do either by holding a round table conference of all the groups or by Lok Sabha convention. The formation of the Commission is against both these methods.'⁸³ Another major reason for the boycott of the Commission was the humiliation heaped upon the Indians, by keeping them out of it. That is why when the Commission

landed in Bombay on 3rd February 1928, it was greeted with such slogans as 'Go Back Simon'.

A Committee was unanimously constituted in July 1928 under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru. The report prepared by it contained a draft of the constitution. This report was named Nehru Report. The report said that the status of Dominion be given to India, wherein the budget should be controlled by the elected organizations. Britain should retain the matters relating to foreign policy and defence. In the light of this report, the Sikhs felt that the Muslims have been given more rights at their cost. The contemporary Sikh press expressed regret over it. Realizing that they will be losing their rights, the Sikh papers raised a hue and cry saying that "the Sikh community has from the very beginning been of the view that it should neither rob others of their rights, nor let others rob them of theirs."⁸⁴ Opposition to this 'Nehru Report' never meant that the Sikhs had become pro-government, because the Sikh press spared no pains to oppose the Simon Commission as well:

Simon Commission has been formed to strengthen the chains of slavery. The Sikhs will never cooperate with it. Those, who co-operating with it are simply sycophants.⁸⁵

Although the Sikh journalism did not see eye to eye with the 'Nehru Report', yet it did commend the steps taken for its preparation. In this context the press said that 'as a result of the completion of this report, the Europeans have

acknowledged the intellectual greatness of the Indians.⁸⁶ Thereafter, it pointed out that while it has been acknowledged in this report that communalism is an evil, even then it had made a provision for the reservation of seats for the Muslims, with a view to please them. However, they were not happy even then. When the Sikhs and Sikh press protested against such objectionable points in the Report, no body could accuse the Sikhs or the press of acting so to please the authorities. The Sikhs disagreed with the report because it was matter of principles.

As S. Mangal Singh had already signed the Nehru Report, he did not protest against it. But on finding a large number of Sikhs standing in opposition to the report, he left the 'Akali Party'. He also resigned from the editorship of the Urdu 'Akali'. The Sikh papers admitted that some difference of opinion had cropped up among the Sikhs, on the issue of this report. Other communities might have looked at this report, from whichever perspective they wished, but it did cause restlessness among the Sikh community. In protest, many telegrams and resolutions were sent to Nehru. About the reasons behind this type of situation, the 'Fateh' wrote:

1. Instead of eliminating communalism, Nehru Report has complicated the matter. It means that although they consider communalism bad yet to keep the Muslims on their side, they have agreed to concede them the communal and minority community rights.

2. If the Muslims have been conceded certain rights because they are in minority at certain places, why have the Sikhs been given step-motherly treatment?

3. Either the principle to completely abolish communalism in India be accepted or the Sikhs in Punjab be given those rights which have been given to the Muslims at other places.⁸⁷

These were the reasons which created a wide chasm between the Congress and the Sikhs. Since the Sikhs were also the citizens of India, they had every right to raise their voice for the protection of their rights. In fact, there was nothing wrong to raise voice in this manner or to ask for their rights. After all, India was struggling for democratic freedom. If one community dominated the other, the oppressed and the dominated community had the right to express itself and to be listened to. The Sikhs had already been given the assurance during the Nagpur session of the Congress that in any future policy of India, the rights of Sikhs would be protected in the manner in which rights of minorities in other states were to be protected.⁸⁸ The total number of seats in Punjab was 207. Out of them the Muslims were bargained 120 seats. The remaining 87 seats left to the share of the Hindus, the Sikhs could bargain for not more than 16 or 17 as they come to be counted among the Hindus. In such a situation, justice demanded that the Sikhs, who lived mainly in Punjab should have been given those rights in Punjab which the Muslims enjoyed in those states in which they were in minority. Moreover the assertion that the Sikhs were included among the Hindus was not only dangerous for the distinct entity of the Sikhs but was also an excess committed by the Hindus on the Sikhs.

The orthodox Samajists also felt that the Congress was

yielding to the Muslims more than it was necessary. Therefore, it also started opposing the report seeking justice for the Sikhs. Mahasha Krishan, the proprietor of the 'Milap', wrote:

Justice demands that the Sikhs be given all those rights which were given to the Muslims in U.P. Every Indian should calmly consider this. Those among the Sikhs who oppose the Nehru Report are not pro-government. Also included among them are men like Master Tara Singh⁸⁹ whose nationalism can never be doubted.

Earlier, excess was committed on the Sikhs at the time of Lucknow Pact. The same story came to be repeated again. How much injured an ordinary Sikh feel can be seen from the poem, published in the 'Fateh' (4th Oct. 1928):

Our Punjab

Years together were spent in subservience,
the era of independence was about to dawn,
Arrived there the Simon Commission,
and Nehru set himself to prepare Report.
Each got eager for his rights,
the country willingly sought division.
We had annoyed the British already,
now Nehru is also against us.
Remember just the Lucknow Pact,
and limit your rights.
Ask the third share for the Sikhs,
'Vaid' decide this during the Sikh League
Conference.⁹⁰

An after-effect of this 'Nehru Report' was that several

Akali leaders who had earlier co-operated and sympathized with the Congress now opposed it. A letter appeared in the 'Moji', in which Baba Kharak Singh openly opposed the Nehru Report, and termed it a report of Semi-slavery. The report was also said to be unjust to the Sikhs. The letter ran as under:

. . . . much injustice has been done to the Sikhs in that Report. Before writing anything about it, I would like to say that all demands of the Sikhs have been most genuine and useful for the nation. It was and it still is our demand that communalism should be fully eradicated from the country. Some Indians, as true Indians should hold elections, and contest in a friendly manner. Even if we fail to secure a single seat in them, we shall not grudge. . .⁹¹

It becomes obvious from this that the Sikhs never liked communalism, but this Report was compelling them to follow this path. The letter goes on to say:

Going through the Report, one gets a clear-cut hint of special favour and attention shown by it to the Muslims. It has conceded the Muslim demands for the creation of a separate state of Sindh, full rights to the frontier line areas as to other states, and blatant denial of this right to the Sikhs by conceding a permanent majority community status to the Muslims in the Punjab. By conceding these demands, five states have been assured of permanent majority of the Muslims. In other words, these states will always be ruled by the Muslims. In the rest of India, naturally the Hindus will be the rulers.⁹²

In 1928, a convention was held in Calcutta in which this report was approved of by the Congress. It was resolved in that convention that in case of government's failure to implement the Report by 1929, non-cooperation movement will be restarted after the next convention at Lahore. Some Sikh

leaders also went to attend the Calcutta convention, in order to present their own point of view, but there they were not treated well. Mohamad Ali Jinnah, who had been a Congress leader till 1921 and had by 1928 become an acknowledged communal leader, and Mr. Jaikar, the well known Hindu leader told the Sikhs blatantly that 'this agreement is between the Hindus and the Muslims, and the Sikhs have nothing to do with it.'⁹³

Although the Simon Commission paid no heed to the Moti Lal Nehru Report, yet one obvious effect of the report was that the gulf between the Congress and the Akalis started widening. To do away with the misgivings of the Sikhs about their political future and to seek their support and cooperation, the Congress, in its 1929 session at Lahore, passed a resolution which said:

The Congress party gives a certain assurance to the Sikhs that in future it will not accept any constitution which does not satisfy the Sikhs.⁹⁴

Even then, there emerged a group within the Akali party which flatly refused to cooperate with the Congress in future. This group had leaders like Kharak Singh who said:

If the Congress cannot accommodate us at this time of slavery, then they will not bother for us; once they get independence.⁹⁵

At this stage, the Sikhs were divided into three groups. S. Mangal Singh was in favour of the report. Master Tara Singh opposed it. Baba Kharak Singh was so unhappy that he suggested

the total boycott of the Congress. Master Tara Singh was of the opinion that it will not be proper to boycott the Congress which is a national party. However, he firmly believed that 'Nehru Report' must be opposed. But, Baba Kharak Singh remained adamant in his stand. In Sikh journalism also, three similar groups came into being, and they noiced their respective view points. If 'Moji' adopted Baba Kharak Singh's point of view, the 'Akali te Praḍesi' served as a spokesman of Master Tara Singh. Similarly the different papers adopted the different views. In this way, the Nehru Report failed to satisfy the Sikh community and the Sikh Press. Therefore, the Sikh press started advocating a policy, that exhorted the Sikhs to fight for the freedom of the country and for the rights of the community.

(5) Era of Communalism and Sikh Journalism:

The report of Simon Commission was published in June 1930. It contained recommendations about the future constitution of India. It did not accept any of the basic demands sought by the national movement. The rights of the Viceroy were left untouched. In Nov. 1930, the British Government summoned the first round-table conference. The Congress boycotted it. Later when the Gandhi-Irwin Pact⁹⁶ was signed and the Congress decided to participate in the second round-table conference, tension further mounted up between the Congress and the Muslim League. It had already created bitterness in their ranks as a result of Hindu-Muslim

riots in Kanpur in March 1930. The Congress was considered as a Hindu organization, even though it had a very large number of Muslim as members. 'In fact, the Muslim League had come up as a communal force. It had, as its aim, the creation of a separate and independent entity of the Muslims, in religious and political fields.'⁹⁷ When the entire Indian nation was protesting against the division of Bengal, the opposition of the Muslim League to such nation-wide protest was a living example of its communal leanings.

In 1930, the Sikh press started propagating more vigorously against the communal thinking of the Muslims, to reveal its effects on the Sikhs. In the League meeting at Allahabad, Dr. Iqbal delivered his presidential address, and said:

I want that a single empire be created by merging together Punjab, Frontier Province (Suba Sarhad) North West Sindh and Balochistan. Whether the right to rule this united empire is ensured remaining within or without the British Empire, I feel that a strong, organized state of the Muslims in the north-west of India is the only destiny of Muslims. This proposed empire will, no doubt, be much smaller in comparison with some states of India. If the Ambala region is taken out of it, its area will get further squeezed, but from the viewpoint of population, it will be a much better Islamic empire On listening to this view, neither the Hindus should feel up-set nor should the British mind it. India is the largest Islamic country in the world. The survival of a special culture and civilization of Islam in this country depends only on concentrating the Muslim population in one specific region. . . .⁹⁸

Such views could never be acceptable to the Sikhs because they are the natives of Punjab. How could the Sikhs

accommodate his views which meant that they should sacrifice their Sikh entity simply for the survival of Islamic culture and civilization? At this moment, it was only Sikh journalism, which made the Sikhs aware of such communal thinking and conspiracies. Reacting to this statement of Dr. Iqbal, the 'Akali' said:

Strange are the ways of God! Dr. Iqbal who once wrote: 'We are the Hindies, our country is Hindustan' has now become so fanatic Muslim that he prefers the division of the country, so as to create a separate homeland for the Muslims.⁹⁹

The 'Kirpan Bahadur' also reacted to this statement. He blamed those leaders for this condition, who had earlier sympathetically listened to such communal demands:

Has all this not been happening simply because these crazy communalists were, in the first instance, listened to? We feel that if our leaders had not let such communal forces near them, not cared for their threats come and continued working towards a united community, we could have been spared the misfortune of facing all this.¹⁰⁰

The Sikh Press accused the Congress, because it was only the 'Lucknow Pact' which gave birth to this monster of communalism. Even after this, the Congress nurtured it, by giving unnecessary importance to the Muslims, in the name of Hindu-Muslim Unity. 'Nehru Report' also did not try to get out of this communal thinking. When the Muslims rigidly adopted the communal line, the Sikhs could also become communal, if they had wished to do so. But the question before them was of national independence. That is why the Sikh journalism was

in a dilemma. The sane journalists advocated the idea of self-control at this juncture, realizing it well that it was easy to add fuel to the fire, but very difficult to extinguish it later on.

On one side, the war of independence is being fought, thousands of Indian young men are suffering in jails. On the other, the British Government, with a view to diverting the people's attention, has enchanted the communal monster to the extent of craziness. Therefore we say that the present moment is a moment of a crucial test for India, and the need is that we should have check on ourselves.¹⁰¹

But the fact is that the Sikh journalism by then had also started adopting the communal lines, even if it was primarily because of the attitude of the Muslims and the Congress.

At that time, the granting of rights had been directly related to the numerical strength of a community. The Sikhs in Punjab (who were numerically in minority vis-a-vis Hindu and Muslims) were more worried in this respect, because the Sikhs in the Punjab were further divided into 'Kesadhari' Sikhs (baptized) and 'Sahajdhari' Sikhs (non-baptized Sikhs). The latter were considerable in number, in the Punjab. It had been observed that these people always got themselves recorded as the Hindus during every Census, which took place after every ten years. This had an adverse effect on the numerical strength of the Sikhs. Keeping these things in view, the Sikh journalism was bound to adopt the communal line of thinking though very much against its will. Because it was a question of attaining the political rights at the time of 1931 census,

therefore, all Sikh papers issued appeals to the Sikhs (specially to sahejdhari Sikhs) to record themselves as the Sikhs of Guru Nanak. Touching the cord of religious sentiments the Sikh press referred to those non-baptized Sikhs who had laid down their lives for the cause of Sikhism.

. . . You already know that there have been in the Sikh tradition many Sahajdhari Sikhs such as Bhai Mati Dass, Bhai Diala, Bhai Nand Lal and many others. The rulers of those time caused them much harrasment and torture and asked them to give up their Sikh faith, but they refused to do so. They sacrificed their lives, but did not allow their names to be scrapped from the list of the Sikhs.¹⁰²

In this connection the S.G.P.C. also issued an appeal through various newspapers, under the title: 'The Need of a Joint Effort in the Panth'. It read:

. . . In it (census), besides the counting of the entire population, counting of different communities is also done. In the end, all this has a deep effect on the right of a particular community. Generally, some of our ignorant brethern consider themselves as Hindus and record themselves as such. All this has harmed us a lot in the past, and it is feared to harm us even now.¹⁰³

The 'Moji' brought out a special Census number. It published an article entitled "Find Means to Live," In this article it appealed to the Sikhs to record themselves as such and thereby take their numerical strength, in the Census Report, to crores:

Get yourselves recorded as Sikhs. Of course, you may give yourself as Kesadhari Sikh, Namdhari Sikh, Udasi Sikh, Nirmala Sikh, Nihang Singh, etc. Under the heading of sects within the same religious tradition. Record yourselves as Sikhs only, and take your number to crores.. . . .¹⁰⁴

The Hindus also prepared a volunteer group of 25,000 people. Its aim was to ask people to record themselves as Hindus.¹⁰⁵ In this connections, many articles by the Sikh scholars also appeared in newspapers. The Sikh press was impressed upon to launch another movement so that the nation's progress could be made certain. In his article 'Numerical Strength and the Sikhs,' Master Sujan Singh expressed regret that 'the Sikh Press was acting most irresponsibly. Everybody was working for his own ends. They had tainted the mental attitude of the Sikhs. The national papers should get together to work out their principles and decide what possible harm could come to the Sikhs public, by misleading them. For the sake of national welfare, they must not mislead the Sikhs. All papers should tend towards preaching Sikh faith.'¹⁰⁶ Thus, it becomes very clear from it that the contemporary scholars were not fully satisfied with efforts, which the Sikh press was putting on to secure rights for the Sikhs. They sincerely wanted that the propaganda should be stepped up all the more in this field, in order to ensure that the Sikhs might carve out a very solid niche for themselves in the political field.

The birth of such thinking among the Sikhs might appear to be communal to some extent. Since every community has the right to improve upon its prevalent conditions and aspire for better plight, the Sikhs also had every right to do so. But it was also necessary to hold a check on such thinking, so that it does not dominate or harm any other community, which seeking to march on the road to progress. Thus, such thinking

of the Sikhs was certainly not meant to harm others, nor did it (thinking) rob people, belonging to any other community, of their rights. In fact, the Sikhs were making efforts only to secure their rights of which they were deprived of in the past and were likely to be deprived of in the future. So, inspite of the fact that the Sikh journalism also adopted a little bit of communalism, we can say that the Sikhs and Sikh journalism were not so communal as others were.

(6) Communal Award:

In August 1932, the British Supreme Court gave such a decision about the Punjab as increased the restlessness among the Sikhs even further. It forced the Sikhs to go communal, despite their wishes to do so. 'In the light of this communal Award, the British Prime Minister had, acknowledged that the Muslims formed the majority community in Punjab.'¹⁰⁷ In this way, the political condition of the Sikhs was further weakened. Even the pro-government Sikh Sardars opposed it. The Panth got united in its opposition to the Award, but this unity could not survive long. When some pro-Sikh Sardars started a dialogue with the Muslims at Simla to arrive at some agreement and the Akali leader Master Tara Singh was also invited there for consultation, the Muslims spread the rumour through English journalists that the Sikhs have accepted the communal Award.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the Akali resented it so much that nothing fruitful could come out of those negotiations. Rather it made the Akali leadership doubt the bona-fides of the Pro-Government

Sardars. The party led by Giani Sher Singh also could not side with the Akali Party for along time. Both adopted their own different paths. Master Tara Singh, on behalf of the Akali Party, continued his opposition to the Award till the very end. But no such powerful movement could be launched by the Sikhs which could compel the government to withdraw the Award. It is true that the Sikh journalism persisted with its opposition to the Award, but could not get an substantial success, in its mission to create an awakening among the Sikhs to get ready to give such a tough fight to the Government which force it to withdraw the Award.

(7) Sikh Journalism and Assembly Elections:

According to newly legislated Act of 1935, assembly elections were to be held in 1937 as per the regional sovereignty granted. 175 members were to be elected from 29 districts of the Punjab. Out of them, 42 were general seats (34 for the Hindus and 8 for the untouchables), 31 Sikh and 84 Muslim seats. Of the remaining 18, one was for the Anglo-Indian community, one for the Europeans, 2 for the native Christians, one for the traders and industrialists, 5 for the farmers, one for the Universities, 3 for the labourers, one for women in general and one for the Sikh women and 2 for the Muslim women.

The most important feature of this election was that the Hindus were to vote for the Hindu and Untouchable candidates, the Sikhs for the Sikh candidates and the Muslims for the

Muslim candidates. The Indians called it Judagana Niaabat Da Constitution.¹⁰⁹ One natural consequence of it would have been that in a state like Punjab where the three communities which had co-existed so far were now expected to identify themselves with their own respective community, instead of with the entire brotherhood as a whole. And, this is what really happened. This damaging policy of the government amply fanned the flame of communalism. The Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims, living in Punjab, began to be alienated from one another. In this connection the 'Phulwari' wrote:

According to the new India Act, the state assembly elections will be held in 1937, and from April 1937 action will be initiated in the states according to the New reform scheme. At the moment, the whole of India is under election fever. Different parties and groups are girding up their loins for the election battle. There is also a lot of hustle and bustle in the Punjab, for the Punjab Assembly election. On the one side is the Congress, and on the other there are groups and parties from different communities. Election will be on communal lines. Therefore, most of the election propaganda is in the name of protecting rights of the respective communities.¹¹⁰

The communal situation that now developed had already been anticipated and discussed by the Sikh Press. Talking of such a possibility, the 'Akali' wrote in 1931:

. . . . It is quite clear that we are not communal. Nor are we more inclined towards community. But the pace of the news pouring in from different quarters compels us to move along the nation, while still remaining firm on our stand. The modern political structure or the prospective government which is expected to be formed: both fail to generate the basic sentiments of nationalism and unity. In every aspect of management, communal division has been and is being accepted as a manner of principle.¹¹¹

The paper went ahead to express its fear about the take-over of the Punjab by the Muslims. It says:

If we remain silent at this juncture and do not raise our voice, it will be construed that we ourselves are inviting fanaticism and communal rule. And an obvious consequence of it will be that the sword of communal monster will always remain hanging on our heads.¹¹²

Another major problem that the 'Panth' faced was the mutual groupism which weakened the political fabric of the Panth. It was also feared that it would possibly cause more harm to the Panth in future. According to the 'Punjabi Panch' (1936) the Shromani Akali Dal (Khalsa Darbar), the Khalsa Party, the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the Gur Sewak Sabha, and the Sikh Nationalist were such groups as were likely to participate separately in the election.¹¹³ This groupism in the Panth did not leave even the Sikh Press untouched. Consequently, the press failed to maintain its standards during the election. The Papers made such unfounded allegations against one another and some time they went to extent of using abusive and vulgar language against the opponents. The Sikh scholars were sad at this turn of events. After the elections were over, Kartar Singh Advocate painfully remarks, "Although the elections are over, yet the mud thrown at each other will stick for a long time to come. There has been heat and tension between the Hindus and the Muslim Press, but low level of vulgarity to which the Sikh Press had fallen is highly deprecable and unprecedented. In fact there had been no limit to falsehood, mis-statements and abuses, in the Sikh Press."¹¹⁴

Some wise journalists who did not allow themselves to fall in that trap were also unhappy at this unhappy turn of events. In the Feb. 1937 issue of the 'Phulwari', Hira Singh Dard wrote:

During the Punjab Assembly election, the way the newspapers of important Sikh religious and Panthic leaders and some hired journalists have tainted journalism, righteousness, morality and sincerity, is unprecedented. They left no stone unturned in levelling false allegations to condemn the others. They never hesitated from putting into words even the most vulgar abuse and other non-sense The strangest change that has been observed is that the leading newspapers went farther down than those papers which were earlier considered to be of fallen reputation.¹¹⁵

The weekly 'Fateh' which claimed to be impartial stated that the Sikhs, as a result of their groupism, made the question of election propaganda an issue of personal prestige. About the Sikh newspapers, the 'Fateh' wrote that "Some papers in Punjabi are busy in over-taking each other in the matter of throwing mud at each other." In this regard, the 'Akali', the 'sevadar', the 'Akali Patrika' and the 'Sher-i-Punjab' are more active than others. Although all these papers are owned by responsible leaders and organizations, yet they are unfortunately bringing bad name both to the Panth and the journalism, by launching personal tirades. In throwing mud at each other, they are smearing not only the others, but themselves also.¹¹⁶ It will be appropriate to mention here that not all the Sikh papers had fallen prey to this unhealthy trend during the election days. Some of them continued asserting their impartiality by being quite outspoken against groupism. Supporting this line

of thinking, the 'Fateh' committed itself in favour of those candidates who were the best and the most suitable for the Panth:

The Fateh has written in support of only those candidates who can prove to be the best for the Panth.¹¹⁷

It was in accordance with this policy that this paper supported Baba Gurdit Singh, the consensus candidate of the Congress-Akali alliance. While doing so, it took exception to its contemporary, 'Akali Patterica' because while it committed itself to favour the implementation of the Congress-Akali agreement, it even went to support Partap Singh Kairon, who contested against Baba Gurdit Singh. The 'Fateh' referred to the sacrifices made by Baba Gurdit Singh, and sought votes for him for the sake of Panthic progress.¹¹⁸ In this way, during the elections while most of the Sikh papers swayed by groupism used their pen against one another, there were definitely some other papers also which kept themselves far from this suicidal trap. At least, the 'Fateh' and the 'Phulwari' did claimed to do so. The 'Preetlari', the 'Pritam' etc., were also adopted a neutral stand and wrote about the widening gulf between the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims as a result of the heat generated by election.¹¹⁹ The 'Preetlari' spot lighting the way the public was being misled.

We find that the entire propaganda is simply brutish. Neither the voter knows any thing, nor do the candidates. Someone is talking of Shahidganj, another of the Shahukara Act, the other of being a Jat....¹²⁰

In the elections, the 'Unionist Party', founded by Sir Sihandar Hayat Khan, emerged as the strongest party. While the Akalis won 16 seats, the 'Khalsa Nationalist Party' of S. Sundar Singh Majithia was not much successful. According to Piara Singh Padam, "Sir Sundar Singh Majithia himself won, with his money-power and government contacts; but his newly-formed 'The Khalsa Nationalist Party' was failed miserably."¹²¹ Even then, Sir Sikander formed the government with the help of Sir Sunder Singh's Khalsa Nationalist Party and of course, with some Jat support from Haryana region. From the very beginning, this government adopted anti-Akali policies, and tried to harm the Panth.

The services of four Professors of Khalsa College, Amritsar who were the sympathizers of the Akali Party, were terminated.¹²² The offices of the S.G.P.C., the 'Akali Dal', the 'Darbar Sahib Committee', the 'Shahid Sikh Missionary College' and the 'Nankana Sahib Committee', were raided. Their records were confiscated, but nothing substantial was found against the Akalis.¹²³ In this way, the Unionist Government was always on the look out to suppress the Akalis. With the support of a handful of Pro-government feudal Sikhs, this Muslim government of Punjab fully robbed the Sikh of their due rights. Simultaneously, the Muslim masses were also incited against the Sikhs. At this juncture the Sikh journalism remained very much alive to its duty to continue making the Sikhs aware of the anti-Sikh policies of the Muslims the Muslim-Government.¹²⁴

Giani Gurcharan Singh wrote that 'the excesses of the

Muslims begun right from the day government was installed. At the instigation of the Nawab of 'Kot Bhai Than Singh', the Muslims attacked the Sikhs and killed one of them.¹²⁵ The tragic happening took place the day Sir Sikandar and his ministerial colleagues had taken the oath of office. Later on, the Nawab of 'Kot Bhai Than Singh' stoped the sevadars of Sikh shrine to take water from outside. Although the government's attention was invited to this problem, yet it preferred not to act. Moreover, when the Akalis legislators brought forward several Bills such as the freedom of Jhatka meat, the Gurdwara amendment Bill and several other Bills for spreading of Punjabi, the Sir Sikandar government did not let any one of them to be carried out. In this way, the tension between the Punjab government and the Akalis increased.

One thing was obvious from this anti-Sikh attitude of the Government; led by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, that it was out to establish a permanent Muslim sovereignty in Punjab even if outwardly it claimed to be non-communal with the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs sharing the government. Master Tara Singh, who was an Akali leader, as journalist of great renown was fully aware of this danger to the Sikhs. He openly lashed at the anti-Sikh policies of Sir Sikandar's government, with the help of the Sikh Newspapers.¹²⁶

In order to know the situation of the Sikhs and the Sikh Press in Punjab, it becomes necessary to learn how this government unfurled the flag of 'Muslim League' in the Punjab.

During the session of the Muslim League held in 1937 at Lucknow, Sir Sikandar accepted the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, but in the newspaper he gave a statement only to the effect that his government would keep itself aloof from all communal problems. So much so that even Sir Chhotu Ram issued a statement in support of Sir Sikandar. But after the Muslim league session in Calcutta, when Sir Sikandar resolved to bring his government under the banner of Mr. Jinnah, the Punjab government which had earlier tried to take credit for being neutral, now came out in its true colour. In the session of the Council of the Muslim League held in Bombay on 6th June 1938, the decision was taken, about the full and final entry of the 'Muslim League' in the Punjab. As a result, Sir Sikandar started summoning meetings of the members of his party. Consequently, the party which he had earlier been termed as the unionist group now lost its identity, and a new 'Muslim League' group was formed in the Punjab. The strength of this group was larger than that of any other party. In such a situation, the Sikh Press openly came out in condemnation of Sir Sikandar.

After all, the Chief Minister of Punjab Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan has come out before the masses unmasked, though he had been trying to keep this mask on. Whenever it was referred to in the past, his supporters had given many justifications.¹²⁷

Referring to the dream that the fanatic Muslims had been entertaining the paper further wrote:

It is a very simple and straight forward matter. Sir Sikander has unfurled the Muslim League flag in the Punjab. And, the

dream of a Muslim rule which these fanatics had been nourishing for long has come out to be true.¹²⁸

The Press also opposed those members of the Khalsa Nationalist Party, who sided with Sir Sikander even after his exposure as a communal leader. Earlier, these members were supporting him, on the pretext that Sir Sikandar's party was non-communal, but their co-operation with him even there after proved that these people were out to harm the Panth, and that all the slogans raised by the 'Khalsa National Party' to protect the rights of the Sikhs were a mere hoax. All their slogans were meant only to mislead the innocent people and to gain the office. How could the press, always at the service of nation, tolerate it? So the Sikh journalism condemned the Khalsa National Party in very harsh terms:

We are not much concerned about the others, except the Khalsa National Party which had vowed to the beat of the drum to protect the Sikh rights, and the leading lights of which were among those who had taken an oath to the effect at the tomb of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Why and on what grounds are its members now dancing to the tune of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. What is that Panthic Welfare for which they are strengthening the newly established Muslim rule. So far as the welfare of the Panth and of the state is concerned, the Khalsa National Party should not have, from the beginning, aligned itself with a party which dream of Muslim rule. But now when everything has come out clear and they have even learnt that Sir Sikandar is a mere puppet in the hands of Mr. Jinnah, there is no reason to justify their continuation on this sinful path, forgetting all those promises which they had made to their voters at the time of elections.¹²⁹

The victory of the Akali Party in the 1939 Gurdwara

elections was a severe blow to the Unionist 'Government, because in these elections the Akalis were opposed by the Khalsa National Party, the Baba Kharak Singh's Party, the Communists and other employees terminated from the Gurdwaras. Moreover all these groups had the blessings of the Punjab government.¹³⁰ All this resulted in the gradual improvement in the political condition of the Sikhs.

Sundar Singh Majithia died in 1940. The election to the seat that had thus fallen vacant, was held in 1941. For this seat the Sikandar Hayat Khan government fielded Kirpal Singh as its candidate. He was the son of Sir Sunder Singh Majithia. On the other hand Akali Party chose Gurbakhsh Singh as its candidate. In fact, the real contest was between Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Master Tara Singh. The Akalis won this seat, and it dealt a severe set-back to Sir Sikandar.

During the Second World War, the British government, with a view to securing the help of the Sikhs tried to revive its good relations with them. The Akali leadership smelt it and geared up to make the most of it. Since the Sikhs were disappointed at the attitude of the Congress towards the communal Award and they had absolutely no hope from the Muslims too, they found it a golden opportunity to seek the sympathy of the British Government for the protection of the Sikh rights in the political field. Although the Congress had decided not to extend any help to the British during the War, yet the Sikhs decided otherwise especially because they feared their quote in the armed forces might go down in comparison with

that of the Muslims.

The announcement by the feudals of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, to support the government during the war, was no surprise. Their paper published prayers for the British success in the War. Resolutions were also passed by them to offer similar prayers in the gurdwaras.¹³¹ On the contrary, the well-wishers of the community wanted to oppose the British. But keeping in view; the situation in Punjab and the fear of the possible increase in the share of the Muslims in the army, they felt that it was in the interest of neither the country nor the community to weaken the Sikh army power. Therefore, the Akalis formed a Khalsa Defence League and declared its support for recruitment in the army, so that the Sikhs could have a better strength in the army, as it could be of great use to the country in the hour of need.¹³² The Sikh press also supported this move.

The situation so developed that the Sikandar Hayat Khan government was also obliged to satisfy the Akalis. In June 1942, 'Sikandar--Baldev Singh Pact' was signed. According to it Master Tara Singh managed to get all of his demands accepted.¹³³ This development helped the Sikhs to become politically strong once again.

The Sikh Journalism and the Demand for Pakistan:

Like the Congress, the Akali Party also opposed the Muslim Leagues demand for Pakistan. Consequently, the Akali Party once again established its equation with the Congress.

Naturally, the Sikhs opposed the demand of the Muslim League, because it signified freedom for the Muslims on one hand and indicated the enslavement of the Sikhs at the hands of Muslims, on the other. The Sikh Press openly opposed this demand of the Muslims:

On the one hand, the Muslim community has risen against its domination by the Hindus. On the other hand, it wants to establish Muslim rule over the Sikhs by virtue of its majority. If the 74% Hindus cannot establish their rule in India, how come the 56% of Muslims (even this number is doubtful because the census were conducted by the Muslim government with religious sentiments on the high) can ever aspire to rule in the Punjab?¹³⁴

During this period many suggestions were floated for the partition of country. It was suggested by Jinnah that the area with 65% Muslim population be transferred to the newly created state of Pakistan. The Sikh leaders roughly calculated that the area on the other side of Chanab was to be covered under this scheme. Keeping this in view, Master Tara Singh also made a positive move in regard to this demand. But the Hindus of the Punjab opposed it. Out of disappointment, the Sikhs also presented the Azad Punjab scheme, which could ensure their own freedom. Azad Punjab meant a region in the Punjab which would be free from the domination of any religious community. Under this scheme, the demand was raised to reorganize the Punjab in such a way that no single religious community might dominate the other.¹³⁵ However, this effort proved in vain. The Simla conference of June 1945 also failed because Jinnah did not agree to accept anything less than Pakistan, and the

Sikhs were not prepared to concede this demand. In this context, Editor Master Tara Singh wrote in 'Sant Sipahi' (January 1947):

We want to get free from British imperialism not just to become slaves of the Muslims . . . Today, the British rule over us. They attained it either with their own power or because of our weakness and not because we willed it. We consider the Muslim rule for worse than the British rule . . . The Muslim League is determined to impose the Muslim rule on us. Therefore, there are fundamental differences between us.¹³⁶

The result of such thinking of the press and the leaders was that, after 1946 elections, the Akali never supported the League, despite of its best efforts. In March 1947, a meeting of Sikh legislators took place in the Assembly Hall at Lahore. Master Tara Singh addressed this meeting and said, "We will never allow the rule of the Muslim League in the Punjab."

When they came out of the Assembly Hall, they raised slogans, in the presence of large gathering of people, against Pakistan and in favour of the Khalsa rule.¹³⁷ Giani Gurcharan Singh acknowledged this fact when he said, "If Master Tara Singh had not raised slogans on 3rd March 1947 against Pakistan and persuaded the Hindus and the Sikhs of Punjab for a righteous battle against Pakistan, the whole of Punjab would have joined Pakistan and the Indo-Pak border would have been at the Jamuna instead of Wagah, and our leaders would have been in Allahabad or Banaras instead of in Delhi."¹³⁸

In the field of journalism, it was rather a trying time

because all the papers were actually supporting the demands of their respective communities. The bitter attacks on one another terribly vitiated the atmosphere in the Punjab. About this tense atmosphere, the 'Preet Lari' said:

Slogans in favour of India and Pakistan are being raised. Newspapers owned by the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs simply pour out venoun It seems as if we have never shared the grief at the death of a dear; nor shared the joys of others. We seem to be irritating and injuring one another for the cause of Pakistan, Khalistan and Hindustan. . .¹³⁹

In such an atmosphere, the Sikh journalism forcefully talked of putting an end to communal thinking, But this could be realized only through the joint efforts of the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. The 'Sant Sipahi,' which was the spokesman of Master Tara Singh, laid stress on the point that the initiative should come from the Hindus. It could then be seconded by the Muslims and later supported by the Sikhs. In this regard, the paper argued:

One reason for it is that the Hindus constitute the largest community. Secondly Hinduism is so flexible that one is never sure of its principles or of the presence of any principles at all. Such a religion should have no fear in discarding nationalistic and communal views. The Muslims, even if they give up their communal stance, are difficult to be absorbed in Hinduism. However, if the Sikhs do so, the communal Hindus will soon eat up their religion. Therefore, until the Hindus give up their communal approach, it is dangerous for any Sikh to think of doing so.¹⁴⁰

It is apparent that keeping in view the attitude of other religions, the Sikh Press advised the Sikh society to

continue its approach with communalism, so as to keep alive the Sikh entity. Thus, whatever little hope was there for a change also disappeared. On the other hand, the papers of the League were preparing the Muslims for a possible civil war or rebellion. The 'Dawn' of the League said:

When man fails to get himself heard in the court of justice, he takes recourse to sword so as to win a decision.¹⁴¹

The 'Khilafat' from Bombay wrote:

The Muslims are ready for civil war and rebellion.¹⁴²

Almost the same was true in the case of the Hindu Press, which made bitter attacks on the Muslims. Thus, the fire of hatred spread further. Keeping in view the March riots in the Punjab, the Congress Working Committee in its meeting in Delhi held on 8th March 1947, decided in favour of the bifurcation of the Punjab. But Sikh journalism continued, even at this stage to preach against the division. It termed this decision a wrong and unjust solution to the Punjab problem:

This solution presented by the Congress is not a proper solution to the political, social and communal conflicts in the Punjab. Through this resolution, the Congress has accepted the principle for division of the country. We will, in no case, accept any such scheme as aims at the partition of the country.¹⁴³

At this moment, the Sikh journalists felt sure that in case Pakistan became a reality, the area beyond Chenab will form the Muslim state called Pakistan. On this side of the Chenab right up to Ambala, where the Hindus and the Muslims will constitute

40% each of the total population and the Sikh will form 20% of the total. Thus no single religious community will ever be able to establish their rule, and the value of the Sikh votes in the formation of any government will certainly increase.¹⁴⁴ But it was all useless thinking. In 1947 at the time of the partition of the country, the Punjab witnessed the worst kind of riots. After the concept of Pakistan was turned into a reality, the chain of loot and killings brought an unimaginable transformation in the social and political conditions. The exodus of population from one side to the other brought forth untold new problems before the country. Thus the attention of Sikh press was concentrated on this tragedy that the country happened to face.

Is there any cruelty, oppression and tyranny which has not happened in the newly created state of Pakistan, craved out of India. It is the land where thousands of persons have been penalized for no fault of their own.¹⁴⁵

An estimate of the Muslim hatred for the Sikhs can be made from the title of a poem that appeared on the front page of famous Urdu paper the 'Zamindar' on 5th Sept. 1947. It was 'Let no Sikh be left alive in the West Punjab.'

In the wake of the partition of the country, about 40% of the people in the Punjab had to desert their hearth and home. During the months of July and August in 1947, only some rare issue of any paper came out. As a result of this partition, the Sikhs had to suffer in the religious field also. The Sikhs lost some of their famous historical shrines at Nankana Sahib,

Punja Sahib, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Sialkot. In the Nov. 1947 when the dust had partially settled the Sikh press expressed its sence of grief over the loss of life and property. It also expressed its shock as this horrible loss had terribly hurt the religious sentiments of the Sikhs. In this context the 'Panjabi Panch' wrote:

The injustice done to the Sikhs finds no parallel in history. We have been robbed of the Gurdwara Nankana Sahib, which in itself was a large state, and of the shrines at Lahore, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Sialkot, and Panja Sahib. Thus a royal community has been turned into a pauper.¹⁴⁶

The Sikh journalism had to pay a very heavy price for attaining independence, as the Sikh community did. In fact, the Sikh journalism had failed to establish its goal after 1940. Even if it demanded 'Khalistan',¹⁴⁷ the demand was put up in such a lukewarm fashion that it had had no effect. On the contrary, the Muslim League continued marching ahead to wards a well-set destination. About such a situation, the 'Khalsa Samachar' said:

What led to plight of ours?

The absence of unity in the Panth the consequent weekness of its organisation and the incompetence of the Sikh leadership have been largely responsible for the inability of the Sikhs to be sure of any set goal. We were not definite about what our demands were and also about the way to attain them.¹⁴⁸

Referring to the contribution of the Sikh journalism in the political field, we can say that after 1920, it grew stronger and stronger with the active participation of more and

more sikhs in this field. In the political sphere, in the beginning, it made a rich contribution to enlighten and to arouse the Indians to fight for the freedom of the country. But with the passage of time, the Sikh felt that their rights were being sacrificed on the alter of various Hindu-Muslim agreements, and that the congress was also unduly yielding to the Muslims. The Nehru Report also failed to satisfy the Sikh community and the Sikh journalism. When the Sikh press saw that other communities had mainly adopted the communal course fully, it began to preach the same line of action. However the Sikh Press never became that communal in its approach as the organs of other communities had become.

During the two elections held before independence, the mutual differences among the Singh papers lowred their prestige. The leaders of different groups exploited the Sikh press for launching bitter attacks on their opponents within the community. To sum it up, we can say that during the last 27 years of the said period, the Sikh journalism (passed a crucial phase) was obliged to take cognizance of political movement launched for resolving the religious matters, and also made to taste the fruit of another movement launched on communal lines for the attainment of political power.

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"ਜੇ ਚਿਤ ਪਰੇਮ ਖੇਲਣ ਦਾ ਚਾਉ। ਸਿਰ ਧਰ ਤਲੀ ਰਲੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਉ।"

33. Ibid., p. 95.

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'ਸਾਡਾ ਧਰਮ ਹੈ ਜੁਲਮ ਨੂੰ ਰੋਕਣੇ ਦਾ ਐਵੇਂ ਧਰਮ ਗਵੋਣ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਕੀਏ
ਜੇਕਰ ਹੋਏ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਤੇ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਐਵੇਂ ਕਾਇਰ ਕੈਲੋਣ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਕੀ ਏ।'

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"ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਵਾਕ"

ਸੂਰਾ ਸੇ ਪੈਹਚਾਨੀਏ ਜੋ ਲੜੇ ਦੀਨ ਕੇ ਹੀਤ

ਪੁਕਾ ਪੁਕਾ ਕਟ ਮਰੇ ਕਛੂ ਨਾ ਛੋੜੇ ਖੇਤ

"ਪਰ ਉਪਕਾਰ ਕਾਰਨ ਗੁਰਾਂ ਸਾਜਿਆ ਸੀ, ਰਾਖੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ਜੰਗ ਕਮਾਲ ਸਿੰਘੇ,
ਭਾਰਤ ਵਰਸ ਤੋਂ ਜੁਲਮ ਹਟਾਇਆ ਸੀ, ਬਹੁਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਜੰਗੋ ਜੁਦਾਲ ਸਿੰਘੇ
ਏਸ ਹਿੰਦ ਦੀ ਰਖਿਆ ਕਰਨ ਖਾਤਰ, ਵਾਰ ਦਿਤੇ ਸੀ ਜਿਗ ਦੇ ਲਾਲ ਸਿੰਘੇ।"

38. Ibid., p. 11.

"ਜੇਕਰ ਔਜ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਦੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੂਰਾ ਹੱਥ ਪਕੜ ਦਾ ਤੇਗ ਤੇ ਢਾਲ ਸਿੰਘੇ
ਮੀਰ ਕੋਟੀਆ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੁਤਾਬ ਹੁੰਦਾ, ਦਿੰਦਾ ਗੋਰਿਆ ਹੱਥ ਵਿਖਾਲ ਸਿੰਘੇ
ਅਸੀਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੁਤ ਤੇ ਪੋਤਰੇ ਹਾਂ, ਸਾਨੂੰ ਆਵੇ ਨਾ ਸ਼ਰਮ ਹੁਵਾਲ ਸਿੰਘੇ।"

39. See: Ghadr Di Goong, No. 2, 1936, p. 26.
 "ਗਦਰ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਬੀੜਾ ਚੁਕਿਆ ਹਿੰਦ ਆਜ਼ਾਦ ਕਰਾਵਨ ਦਾ
 ਆਓ ਸ਼ੇਰੇ ਗਦਰ ਮਚਾਈਏ ਮੌਕਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਖੁੰਜਾਵਨ ਦਾ।"
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 ਅਸਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਕੇ ਵੀਰੇ ਖਾਨਾ ਜੰਗੀਆਂ,
 ਖਾ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ ਦੇਸ਼ ਲੁਟ ਕੇ ਫਰੀਗੀਆਂ।"
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 ਦੇਸ਼ ਲੁਟ ਫਰੀਗੀਆਂ ਲਿਆ ਸਾਡਾ,
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 ਰਾਜਸੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਰਖਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਆਖਣ ਦਾ ਗੀਆ
 ਨਹੀਂ ਪੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਕਿ ਸਿਖ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਕੰਮ ਵਿਚ ਹਿਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ।"
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- - - - - ਜਦ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਚੁਕਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ ਇਹ ਕੱਲ ਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕਰਨਾ ਕਿ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕਿਹੜਾ ਪਾਸਾ ਫੜਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਸੀ ਬਿਆਬ ਹੀ ਮਲੂਮ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਜੁਲਮ ਦੇ ਰਾਜ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਦਾ ਜਨਮ ਹੋਇਆ ਤੇ ਜੁਲਮ ਹਟਾਣਾ ਹੀ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਪੈਹਲਾ ਧਰਮ ਬਣਿਆ। - - - - ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦਾ ਧਰਮ ਗ਼ੀਬਾਂ ਤੇ ਮਜ਼ਲੂਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਕਛਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ ਨਾ ਕਿ ਡਾਢਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਭਾਈਵਾਲੀ ਪਾਕੇ ਜਬਰ ਵਿਚ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਨਾ - - - - -।"

50. Niranjana Singh (Principal), Jiwan Yatra Master Tara Singh, Singh Brothers, Mai Sewan, Amritsar, 1968, p. 67.

51. Editorial, Akali, 6th Jan. 1921, p. 2.

"ਇਹ ਮਤਾ ਪਾਸ ਹੋਇਆ ਕਿ, ਹਿੰਦ ਦੀ ਕੌਮੀ ਕਾਂਗਰੈਸ ਦਾ ਆਸ਼ਾ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਰੇ ਜ਼ਾਇਜ਼ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼ਾਂਤਮਈ ਤਰੀਕਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਵਰਾਜ ਮਿਲੇ। - - - -
ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਹਿੰਦਰ ਕੱਲ ਜੇਹੜੀ ਇਸ ਮਤੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਆਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਉਹ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਮਤੇ ਨੂੰ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰਖਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਹਿੰਦੀਆਂ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਖਿਆਲ ਰੱਖਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਕਾਂਗਰੈਸ ਵਲੋਂ ਮੂੰਹ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੋੜ ਸਕਦਾ।"

52. See: Akali, 6th Jan. 1921, p. 3.

"ਕਾਂਗਰੈਸ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਗਮ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਮਤ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਡੇ ਸਿਖ ਭਰਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਦਿਵਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਵੀ ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹੀ ਰਾਖੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਜਿਹੇ ਜਹੀ ਕਿ

ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਸੂਬਿਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਛੋਟੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀਆਂ ਦੀ।"

53. Editorial, Akali, 9th Jan. 1921, p. 2.

"ਅਸੀਂ ਮੰਨਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਸਿਖ ਕੌਮ ਵਿਚ ਮਿਲਾਪ ਅਤੇ ਏਕੇ ਨੂੰ ਪੱਕਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਡਾਢੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਕੌਮ ਦਾ ਬੇੜਾ ਤੋੜ ਕੇ ਮਜ਼ੀਠੀਏ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਇਤਫਾਕ ਕਰਨ ਨਈਂ ਤਾਂ ਇਕ ਵੀ ਸਿਖ ਤਿਆਰ ਨਹੀਂ। ਸਾਰੀ ਕੌਮ ਨੇ ਦਸ ਸਾਲ ਨਗ਼ਤਾਰ ਮੇਹਨਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਮਗ਼ਰੋ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਲੋਗ ਦੇ ਜਲਸੇ ਵਿਚ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਸਾਬਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਦਸ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਕਿ ਖਿਤਾਬ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਮਹੱਬਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਚਾਹਵਾਨਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਕੌਮ ਹੁਣ ਸਵਤੰਤ੍ਰ ਹੋ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਹਕਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਨਿਸਚਾ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਸਿਖ ਕੌਮ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਨਿਕਲ ਗਈ ਹੈ।"

54. See: Niranjan Singh (Principal), Jiwan Yatt-ra Master Tara Singh, Singh Brothers, Mai Sewan, Amritsar, 1968, p. 65.

55. Editorial, Akali, 9th Jan. 1921, p. 2.

"ਸਖਤੀ ਦਾ ਦੌਰ ਆਰੰਭ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਗ੍ਰਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਚਲ ਸੁਟਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਬਾਹਨਣੂ ਝੰਨੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਹੁਣ ਹਰ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਖਤੀਆਂ ਝਲਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਹੁਣ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਬੇੜਾ ਤੋੜਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਕੋਲ ਬਹਾਨਾ ਹੈ।"

56. Akali, 25th Nov. 1921, p. 6.

"ਭਾਈ ਮਹਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਲਿਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਦਮਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਚੇਤ ਬਣਾ ਕੇ ਪੰਥ ਵਲੋਂ ਨਜ਼ਿਠਣ ਨਈਂ ਕੋਈ ਖਾਸ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਅਦਾਲਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਬਾਈਕਾਟ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ। ਇਧਰੋ ਨੌਕਰਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਧਕੇ ਜ਼ੋਰੇ ਜੋ ਚੀਜ਼ ਦਿਲ ਆਵੇ ਸਾਥੋਂ ਖੋਹ ਲਿਆਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਹੁਣ 18 ਤ੍ਰੀਕ ਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੀ 1 ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਦੀ ਘੋੜੀ ਸ਼ਰਾਫਤ ਨਾਲ ਚੁਰਾਈ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਘੋੜੀ ਪੁਲਸ ਕੋਲ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਚੋਰ ਦਾ ਚਾਲਾਨ ਫਿਰ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਇਆ।"

57. Ibid.

"ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੁਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਨਵਿਰਤੀ ਦਾ ਇਕੋ ਇਲਾਜ ਸਵਰਾਜ ਹੈ। ਭਰਾਓ ਹੰਬਲਾ ਮਾਕੇ ਸਵਰਾਜ ਲੈਣ ਦਾ ਜਤਨ ਕਰੋ, ਸਾਥ ਹੀ ਪਿੰਡ 2 ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਪੰਚੇਤ ਬਨਾਓ, ਏਕੇ 'ਤੇ ਇਤਫਾਕ ਨਾਲ ਰਹੋ, ਚੋਰ ਧਾੜਵੀ ਡਰਕੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਢੁਕਣਗੇ।"

58. Akali, 24th Oct. 1921, p. 2.

"ਜੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਕ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਅੰਦਰ 2 ਕੌਮ ਨਾਲ ਨ ਆ ਰਲੇ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਮਝ ਲਵਾਂਗੇ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕੌਮ ਨਾਲ ਧੋਹ ਕਮਾਣ ਲਈ ਕੌਸਲ ਵਿਚ ਦਿਖਾਵਾ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ।"

59. Akali, 8th Dec. 1921, p. 1.

"ਜਿਦਨ ਤੋਂ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਨੇ ਜਨਮ ਧਾਰਿਆ ਹੈ ਨੌਕਰਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਇਸ ਉਤੇ ਵਧੀਕ ਤੋਂ ਵਧੀਕ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਦਿਸ਼ਟੀ ਕਰਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, - - - - - ਨੌਕਰਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਦੀ ਪੇਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ 'ਭੰਗੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਤੋਪ' ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਕੋਲਾ ਸ਼ੇਦ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦੇ ਦਫਤਰ ਦੇ ਵੰਡੇ ਹੋ ਆਵੇ।"

60. Niranjn Singh (Principal): Jiwan Yattra Master Tara Singh, Singh Brother, Mai Sewan, Amritsar, 1968, p. 66.

61. Hira Singh Dard, Bhai Jodh Singh Abhinandan Granth (Ed. Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Patiala, 1962, p.168.

62. See: Hira Singh Dard, Merian Kujh Itehasak Yadan, Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Jalandhar, 1955, p. 197-198.

63. Ibid.

64. Niranjn Singh (Principal) Jiwan Yatt-ra Master Tara Singh, Singh Brother, Mai Sewan, Amritsar 1968, p. 70.

65. Sohan Singh Josh, Akali Morchian Da Itehas, Arsi Publishers, Delhi, 1977, (See Introduction, p.ਅ.)

66. Dr. Rajinder Parshad, Attam Katha (Anu: Amrita Pritam) Sahit Academy, New Delhi, 1958, p. 255.

67. See Editorial: Kirpan Bahadur, 26th Oct. 1922, p. 3.

"- - - - ਜੇ ਕੁਝ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਬਾਗ ਵਿਚ ਵਾਪਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਸਾਰਾ ਵਾਸਤਾ ਦੇਖਨ ਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਸਿਖ ਧਰਮ ਅਤੇ ਕੇਵਲ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਅਸਰ ਸਾਰੇ

ਰਿੰਦ ਉਤੇ ਪੇ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਏਹ ਉਸ ਅਸੂਲ ਦੀ ਜਿੱਤ ਵਿਖਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਰਿੰਦ ਦੇ ਵਕਤਮਾਨ ਸੰਤ ਮੁਖੀਏ ਨੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ। ਏਸ ਖਿਚੇ ਖਿਚੀ ਵਿਚ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਰਿੰਦ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਚਲਤ ਸ਼ਾਂਤਮਈ ਅਸੂਲ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਵਧੀਆ ਨਮੂਨਾ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀਆਂ ਆਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਮਣੇ ਰਖਿਆ ਹੈ।"

68. See: Akali, 5th Nov. 1921, p. 3.

69. Editorial, Akali, 2nd Jan. 1921, p. 2.

"ਕੈਨੇਡੀ ਵੀਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਉਹ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਵਿਖਾਇਆ ਜੇਹੜਾ ਇਕੱਲਾ ਹੀ ਇੱਕ ਵੱਡੀ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਰਖਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਆਖਣ ਦਾ ਹੀਆ ਨਹੀਂ ਪੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਕਿ ਸਿਖ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਕੰਮ ਵਿਚ ਹਿਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ।"

70. Baba Gurdit Singh, Akali, 25th Nov. 1921, p. 1.

"ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਭੁਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਗਿਆ ਹਾਂ, ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਦੁਖੜਾ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮਿੱਟ ਮਿੱਟ ਪਿਛੋ ਯਾਦ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਦੁਖੜਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਘਾਬਰਨਾ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨਾ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਭਲੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ। ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਘਾਲ ਦਾ ਮੂਲ ਜੇ ਕੌਮਜਾਂ ਦੇਸ਼ ਨੇ ਨਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਤਾਂ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਪਵੇਗਾ। ਮੈਂ ਉਥੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਘਾਲ ਨਈਂ ਸੱਚੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਪ੍ਰਾਰਥਨਾ ਕਰਾਂਗਾ।"

71. See: Akali, Papers published in Nov. 1921.

72. Hira Singh Dard, Bhai Jodh Singh Abhinandan Granth (Ed. Ganda Singh), Khalsa College, Patiala, 1962, p. 169.

73. See: Harcharan Singh Bajwa, Punjab Di Rajniti De 60 Sal, Modern Publishers, Chandigarh, 1985, p. 26.

74. See: Akali Te Pardesi, 16th April 1925, 9th April 1925, ect.

75. See: Akali Te Pardesi, 5 Sept. 1923, p. 2.

"ਜੈਤੋਂ ਵਿਚ ਫੌਜ ਤੇ ਪੁਲਸ ਨੇ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਨਾਕੇ ਰੋਕ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਰਸਦ ਬੰਦ ਕਰਕੇ ਪੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਫਿਰ ਭੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਬਾਗ ਵਾਲਾ ਚੈਲੀਜ਼ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ।"

76. Gurcharan Singh, Jiwani Sewa Singh Theekriwala, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1974, p. 9.
77. Ganda Singh, Punjab, Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, 1962, p. 59.
78. Jathedar Labh Singh (Babbar Akali), Babbar Akali (Sankhep Twarikh) (See: Introduction, p.ਅ.)
79. Ibid.
 "ਬਾਉਂ ਬਾਈ ਬਣਾ ਕੇ ਜਥਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀਰੋ, ਜਾਲਮਾਂ ਤਾਈ ਖਧਾਨ ਨਗ ਪਓ।
 ਬੇੜਾ ਕੌਮ ਦਾ ਜਿੰਨ੍ਹਾ ਨੇ ਗਠ ਕੀਤਾ, ਸਿਰੀ ਜਾਲਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਖਾਨੇ ਪਾਣ ਲਗ ਪਓ।
 ਅਖੀਂ ਵੇਖ ਬੇਅਦਬੀਆਂ ਚੁਪ ਬੈਠੇ, ਕਇਰ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਝੱਟ ਟਪਾਇਆ ਕਿਉਂ ?
 ਮੁਹਰੇ ਬਾਂਦਰ ਦੇ ਕਰੋਂ ਹਜ਼ੂਰ ਵਾਲੀ, ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਮ ਤੂੰ ਅੱਜ ਸਦਾਇਆ ਕਿਉਂ ?"
80. "ਚੂ ਕਾਰ ਅਜ ਹਮ : ਹਿਲਤੇ ਦਰ ਕੁਜਸਤ,
 ਹਲਾਲ ਅਸਤ ਬੁਰਦਨ ਬ-ਸ਼ਮਸ਼ੀਰ ਦਸਤ॥"
 (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ) [ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਸਮ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸ਼ਬਦਾਰਥੀ, ਸਫ਼ਾ 1247]
81. See: Akali Te Pardesi, 6th Sept. 1923, p. 2.
 "ਸਾਡਾ ਤੇ ਬੰਬਰ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਪਾਲਸੀ ਵਿਚ ਮਤ-ਭੇਦ ਹੈ ਉਹ ਤਲਵਾਰ ਤੇ ਖ਼ੀਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ, ਅਸੀਂ ਸ਼ਾਂਤਮਈ ਤੇ। ਪਰੰਤੂ ਇਹ ਅਸੀਂ ਜਾਣਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਾਬਰਾਨਾ ਪਾਲਸੀ ਤੋਂ ਤੰਗ ਆ ਕੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਜੇ ਕੁਝ ਕੀਤਾ ਅਪਨੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਮਾਤਾ ਦੀ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਲਈ ਕੀਤਾ। ਜੇ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਜੁਲਮ ਨ ਕਰਦੀ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਇਥੋਂ ਤਕ ਨ ਪੁਜਦੇ।"
82. Ibid.
 "ਕਲ ਵੀ ਖਬਰ ਤੋਂ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਲਿਆ ਹੋਨਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ 4 ਬਬਰ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਪੁਲਸ ਅਤੇ ਫੌਜ ਨੇ ਮਾਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਹਨ। ਦਸਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਲੜਾਈ ਹੋਈ, ਪਰ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਨੂੰ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਪੁਜਾ। ਜੇ ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਲੜਾਈ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਹੋਈ - - - - -"

ਜੇ ਕਰ ਬਬਰ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਪੁਲਸ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣਾ ਬਚਾ ਲਈ ਬੇਸ਼ਕ ਕੋਲੀ ਚਲਾਨ ਦਾ ਹਕ ਸੀ।"

83. Bipan Chander, Sutantarta Sangram, (Anu: Gulzar Singh Sandhu) National Book Trust India, New Delhi, 1972, p. 143.

84. See: Fateh, 30th Jan. 1929, p. 5.

85. Fateh, 4th Nov. 1928, p. 5.

"ਸਾਈਮਨ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਗੁਲਾਮੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਜੰਜੀਰਾਂ ਪਕੀਆਂ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਬਣਾਈ ਗਈ ਹੈ, ਸਿਖ ਕਦੇ ਬੀ ਸਾਈਮਨ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਨਾਲ ਮਿਲਵਕਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨਗੇ, ਜੇ ਮਿਲਵਕਤ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਉਹ ਝੋਲੇ ਚੁਕ ਹਨ।"

86. Ibid.

87. Editor, Fateh, 16th Sept. 1928. p. 3.

"(੧) ਨੈਹਰੂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੇ ਫਿਕਕੇਦਾਰੀ ਦਾ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਇਕ ਝਮੇਲਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਪਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਮਤਲਬ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਫਿਕਕੇਦਾਰਾਂ ਨੈਹਰੂ ਨੂੰ ਬੁਰਾ ਸਮਝਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਬੀ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਲ ਮਿਲਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਫਿਕਕੇਦਾਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਘਟ ਸੰਮਤੀ ਦਾ ਹਕ ਮੰਨ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ।

(2) ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਦੂਜੀਆਂ ਥਾਵਾਂ ਪੁਰ ਘਟ ਸੰਮਤੀ ਸਮਝਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਹੱਕ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ, ਤਾਂ ਫਿਰ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਓਪਰਿਆਂ ਵਾਲਾ ਸਲੂਕ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਕੀ ਹੈ ?

(੩) ਜਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਰੇ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਫਿਕਕੇਦਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਅਸੂਲ ਮੰਨ ਲਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ, ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਓਹ ਹੱਕ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਜੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਦੂਜੀਆਂ ਥਾਵਾਂ ਪੁਰ ਮਿਲੇ ਹਨ।"

88. Article, Nayak, 22nd Jan. 1921, p. 2.

89. See: Fateh, 14th Oct. 1928, p. 5.

"ਇਨਸਾਫ਼ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਓਹ ਸਾਰੇ ਹੱਕ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਜੇ ਸੂ.ਪੀ. ਦੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਹਰ ਇਕ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਠੰਡੇ ਦਿਲ ਇਹ

ਵੀਚਾਰ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ। ਸਿਖਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਨਹਿਰੂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਰਿਪੋਰਟ ਦੀ ਮੁਖਾਲਫ਼ਤ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਸ਼ਕਾਰ ਪਸਤ ਨਹੀਂ, ਸਗੋਂ ਮਸਟਰ ਤਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਵਰਗੇ ਸੱਜਣ ਬੀ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਕੌਮ ਪ੍ਰਸਤੀ ਤੇ ਕਦੇ ਸ਼ੱਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ।"

90. Vaid Buddha Singh Giani, (Poet), Fateh, 28th Oct. 1928.

(ਵੈਦ ਬੁੱਢਾ ਜੀ ਗਿਆਨੀ) ਸਾਡਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ

ਢੇਰ ਸਮਾਂ ਗੁਲਾਮੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਿਘਿਆ, ਮੁੜਕੇ ਦੌਰ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਦਾ ਆਉਣ ਨੱਗਾ
ਓਧਰ ਸੈਮਨ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਦੀ ਹੋਈ ਆਮਦ, ਏਧਰ ਨੈਹਰੂ ਸਕੀਮ ਬਨਾਉਣ ਨੱਗਾ।
ਹੋਇਆ ਹੱਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਰਾਮ ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਸਾਰੇ, ਮੁਲਕ ਜਾਣਕੇ ਵੰਡੀਆ ਪਾਉਣ ਨੱਗਾ
ਬੇਠੇ ਨਾਲ ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ ਵਿਗਾੜ ਉਧਰ, ਏਧਰ ਨੈਹਰੂ ਜਵਾਬ ਦਵਾਉਣ ਨੱਗਾ।
ਚੇਤੇ ਕਰੋ ਸਮਝਾਉਤਾ ਲਖਨਊ ਵਾਲਾ, ਹੱਕ ਆਪਣੇ ਰਖ ਕਿਆਸ ਅੰਦਰ।
ਸਿੱਖ ਲੋਗ ਤੇ ਤੀਸਰਾ ਮੰਗ ਹਿਸਾ, 'ਵੈਦ' ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰੋ ਇਜਨਾਸ ਅੰਦਰ।

91. Moji, 26th Jan. 1931, p. 4.

"- - - ਉਸਦੇ ਵਿਚ (ਰਿਪੋਰਟ 'ਚ) ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਖਤ ਬੇ-ਇਨਸਾਫ਼ੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਕੁਝ ਲਿਖਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਦੱਸ ਦੇਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਸਾਡੀਆਂ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੁਲ ਮੰਗਾਂ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਮਾਕੂਲ ਤੇ ਮੁਲਕ ਦੇ ਫਾਇਦੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਸਾਡੀ ਇਹ ਮੰਗ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਵੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਫਿਕਰਦਾਰੀ ਮੁਲਕ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਹਟਾ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਤੇ ਕੁੱਝ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੀ ਸੱਚੇ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੀ ਬਣਕੇ ਸਾਡੀ ਚੋਣ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਏਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਮਿਲਕੇ ਭਰਾਵਾਂ ਵਾਂਗਰ ਚੋਣ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਸੀਟ ਵੀ ਨਾ ਮਿਲੇ ਫੇਰ ਵੀ ਅਸੀਂ ਕੋਈ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਇਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ - - - -।"

92. Ibid.

"ਨੈਹਰੂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਰਿਪੋਰਟ ਪੜ੍ਹਦਿਆਂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਖਾਸ ਰਿਆਇਤ ਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਵੱਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਖਾਸ ਤਵੱਜੋ ਜ਼ਾਹਰ ਪਈ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਏ। ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਿੰਧ ਦਾ ਸੂਬਾ ਵੱਖਰਾ ਬਨਾਣ, ਸਰਹੱਦੀ ਇਲਾਕਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਸੁਭਿਆ ਵਾਂਗ ਪੂਰੇ ਹਕੂਕ ਦੇਣ ਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਭਰਦਨ ਤੇ ਸਖਤ ਬੇ-ਰਹਿਮੀ ਨਾਲ ਡੁਗੇ ਫੇਕੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੱਕੀ ਬਹੁ-ਗਿਣਤੀ ਕਾਇਮ ਕਰਨ, ਆਦਿ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੰਗਾਂ ਮੰਨਕੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨਈਂ ਪੰਜ ਸੂਬੇ ਅਜੇਹੇ ਬਨਾ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਯਕੀਨੀ ਤੇ ਪੱਕੀ ਬਹੁ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਰਹੇ। ਯਾ ਐਉ

ਆਖੇ, ਕਿ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਲਈ ਪੱਕੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਰਾਜ ਕਾਇਮ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ।
ਤੇ ਬਾਕੀ ਸਾਰੇ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਦਰਤਨ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦਾ ਰਾਜ ਪੱਕੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਾਇਮ ਹੋਈ
ਜਾਣਾ ਹੋਇਆ।"

93. See: Moji, 26th Jan. 1931, p. 4.

94. Banerjee A.C. Indian Constitutional Documents, Part II,
p. 317, (as quoted by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal in his
open letter dated 27.7.83 addressed to the member of Indian
Parliament)

95. Moji, 26th Jan. 1931, p. 5.

"ਜੇ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਵਾਲੇ ਐਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਹੁਲਾਮੀ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਵੀ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਹਿੰਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇ ਸਕਦੇ ਤਾਂ ਜਦੋਂ
ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਥ ਸੱਚੇ ਮੁੱਚੇ ਸਵਰਾਜ ਆ ਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਕਦ ਪੁੱਛਣ ਲੱਗੇ ਹਨ?"

96. See: Bipan Chandr, Sutantarta Sangram (Anu: Gulzar Singh
Sandhu) National Book Trust India, New Delhi, 1972, p. 174.

97. Ajit Singh Sarhadi, Quamivad Ik Samasya, 'Ajit', 23rd
April 1989.

98. Akali, 4th Jan. 1931, p. 11.

"ਮੈਂ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ, ਸੂਬਾ ਸਰਹੱਦ ਉਤਰੀ ਪਛਮੀ ਸਿੰਧ ਅਤੇ ਬਲੋਚਸਤਾਨ ਨੂੰ
ਮਿਲਾਕੇ ਇਕ ਇਕੱਲੀ ਸਲਤਨਤ ਕਾਇਮ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ। ਹਕੂਮਤ ਖੁਦ ਅਖਤਿਆਰ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ
ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਰਹਿ ਕੇ ਮਿਲੇ ਜਾਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਰਹਿਕੇ, ਮੈਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਇਕ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਤੇ ਜਥੇਬੰਦ
ਉਤਰੀ ਪਛਮੀ ਸਲਤਨਤ ਘਟ ਤੋਂ ਘਟ ਉਤਰੀ ਪਛਮੀ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਦੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਆਖਰੀ
ਤਕਦੀਰ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਇਸਲਾਮੀ ਸਲਤਨਤ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਦੇ
ਬਾਜੇ ਸੂਬਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਟਾਕਰੇ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਛੋਟੀ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਅਤੇ ਜੇ ਕਿਸਮਤ ਐਬਾਲਾ ਦੇ ਇਲਾਕੇ
ਨੂੰ ਏਸ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕੱਢ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਏਸ ਦਾ ਕਰਬਾ ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਘੱਟ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਰ ਆਬਾਦੀ
ਦੇ ਲਿਹਾਜ਼ ਨਾਲ ਉਹ ਵਧੀਕ ਬਿਹਤਰ ਇਸਲਾਮੀ ਸਲਤਨਤ ਬਣ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ। - - - -

ਏਸ ਖਿਆਲ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਣ ਕੇ ਨਾ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਰੇਸ਼ਾਨ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖੁਰਾ ਮਨਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ। ਹਿੰਦੂਸਤਾਨ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਭਰ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਡਾ ਇਸਲਾਮੀ ਮੁਲਕ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਖਾਸ ਸਭਯਤਾ ਤੇ ਕਲਚਰ ਦੇ ਇਤਬਾਰ ਠਾਠ ਇਸ ਮੁਲਕ ਵਿਚ ਇਸਲਾਮ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਇਸੇ ਗੱਲ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਏਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਖਾਸ ਇਲਾਕੇ ਵਿਚ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਤੇ ਲਿਆ ਇਕੱਠਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ - - - -।"

99. Ibid.

"ਈਸ਼ਵਰ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਡਾਕਟਰ ਇਕਬਾਲ ਕਦੇ ਇਹ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ ਕਿ 'ਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਹਮ-ਵਤਨ ਹੈ ਹਿੰਦੂਸਤਾ ਹਮਾਰਾ', ਉਹ ਅਜ ਏਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁਤਅਸਬ ਫਿਕਰ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਹਿੰਦੂਸਤਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਦੋ ਹਿੱਸਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਵੰਡ ਕੇ ਵਖਰੀ ਗੀ ਇਸਲਾਮੀ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਕਾਇਮ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਸੁਫਨੇ ਲੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।"

100. Editorial, Kirpan Bahadur, 11th Jan. 1931, p. 3.

"ਕੀ ਇਹ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਏਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ-ਫਿਕਰੂਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਭਰੂ ਨਾਲ ਸੁਣੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ ਹਨ ? ਅਸੀਂ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਨੇਤਾ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਹੀ ਏਸ ਫਿਕਰੂ ਝਗੜੇ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਸ ਨਾ ਫਟਕਣ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਅਤੇ ਫਿਕਰੂ ਚੋਧਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਡੂਮ ਡਰਾਵਿਆਂ ਵਲ ਉਕਾ ਕੰਨ ਨਾ ਦੇ ਕੇ, ਹਿੰਦ ਦੀ ਸਾਂਝੀ ਕੌਮੀਅਤ ਬਣੋਣ ਵਲ ਲੱਕੀ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਅੱਜ ਦੇ ਇਹ ਬੁਰੇ ਦਿਨ ਕਦੇ ਵੇਖਦੇ ਹੀ ਨ। - - - -"

101. Ibid.

"ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਦੀ ਲੜਾਈ ਲੜੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਬਾਕੇ ਠੋਠਿਹਾਲ ਜੇਲਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠ ਤਪ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਅਮ ਜਨਤਾ ਦੀ ਕੁਚੀ ਉਸ ਪਾਸੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਉਖੇੜਨ ਲਈ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਨੇ ਫਿਕਰੂ ਭੂਤ ਦੇ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਜਾਦੂ ਫੂਕ ਕੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ, ਏਸ ਲਈ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਵੇਲਾ ਹਿੰਦੂਸਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਕਠਨ ਪ੍ਰੀਖਿਆ ਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਹੈ ਏਸ ਗੱਲ ਦੀ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਉਤੇ ਪੂਰਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਾਬੂ ਰੱਖੀਏ।"

102. Akali, 25th Jan. 1931, p. 5.

"- - - - ਇਹ ਤਾਂ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਅਗੇ ਵੀ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਭਾਈ ਮਤੀ ਦਾਸ ਤੇ ਭਾਈ ਦਿਆਲਾ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਭਾਈ ਠੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਬੇਅੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਹਿਜਧਾਰੀ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਕਤ ਦੇ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਨੇ ਬੜੇ ਦੁਖ ਦਿਤੇ ਤੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਅਖਵਾਣਾ ਛੇੜ ਦਿਓ"

ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਕੱਲ ਨਾ ਮੰਨੀ, ਸਿਰ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ ਪਰ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਨਿਸ਼ਟ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣਾ ਨਾਮ ਕਾਇਮ ਰੱਖਿਆ। - - - - -"

103. Ibid., p. 20.

"- - - - ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਸਮੂਹ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਤੋਂ ਛੁੱਟ ਵਖੇ ਵਖ ਕੌਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਵੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਕੌਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਕਾਂ ਪਰ ਬੜਾ ਅਸਰ ਪੈਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਆਮ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਭਾਲੇ ਵੀਰ ਅਪਨੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਹੀ ਸਮਝਕੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਅਪਨੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਹੀ ਲਿਖਵਾ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਪਿਛੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਬੜਾ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਪੁਜਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਪੁਜਣ ਦਾ ਡਰ ਹੈ।- - - - -"

104. Moji, 12th Jan. 1931, p. 15.

ਹਾਂ 'ਮਜਹਬ' ਦੇ ਨਾਲ 'ਫਿਕਾ ਮਜਹਬ' ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਕੇਸ਼ਾਧਾਰੀ ਸਿੱਖ, ਨਾਮਧਾਰੀ ਸਿਖ, ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸਿਖ, ਨਿਰਮਲੇ ਸਿਖ, ਨਿਰੰਗ ਸਿੱਖ ਆਦਿ ਬੇਸ਼ਕ ਲਿਖਾਓ ਪਰ ਉਸ ਸਾਰੇ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਕੇਵਲ ਸਿਖ ਲਿਖਾਓ ਅਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਲੱਖਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਕਰੋੜਾਂ ਤੱਕ ਨੇ ਜਾਓ।

105. See: Moji, 12th Jan. 1931, p. 8.

106. Ibid.

107. Giani Gurcharan Singh, Ankhi Soorma, (Jiwani Master Tara Singh), Sikh Literature Distributor, Delhi, 1950, p. 107.

108. See: Master Tara Singh, Mari Yaad, p. 106-107.

109. See: Bhagat Singh Bilga, Ghadr Lehar De Anfolay Varke, Des Bhagat Yadgar Committee, Jalandhar, 1989, p. 214.

110. Fulwari, Sept. 1936, p. 583.

"ਨਵੇਂ ਇੰਡੀਆ ਐਕਟ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਸੂਬਕ ਅਸੰਬਲੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ 1937 ਵਿਚ ਹੋਣਗੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ 1937 ਤੋਂ ਨਵੀਂ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਸਕੀਮ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਸੂਬਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਅਮਲ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਸਾਰਾ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਚੋਣ-ਤਾਪ ਨਾਲ ਗਰਮ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਵਖ ਵਖ ਧੜੇ

ਤੇ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਚੋਣ-ਘੋਲ ਲਈ ਕਮਰ ਕਸੇ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਪੰਜਾਬ ਅਸੈਂਬਲੀ ਦੀ ਹੋਣ ਲਈ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਖੂਬ ਕਹਿਮਾ ਕਹਿਮੀ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਹੈ, ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਵਖ ਵਖ ਫਿਰਕਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਧੜੇ ਅਤੇ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਚੋਣ ਫਿਰਕੂ ਵੰਡ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਹੋਣੀ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਆਪਣੇ ਫਿਰਕੇ ਦੇ ਹਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਖੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਂ ਤੇ ਚੋਣ-ਘੋਲ ਦਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।

111. Akali, 25th Jan. 1931, p. 3.

"- - - ਇਹ ਤਾਂ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਸਪਸ਼ਟ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਉਕੇ ਹੀ ਫਿਰਕੂ ਠਹੀਂ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਫਿਰਕੇ ਵੱਲ ਸਾਡਾ ਵਧੀਕ ਝੁਕਾਓ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਸਮਾਚਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਫ਼ਤਾਰ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੱਖ ਨੂੰ ਲੈਣੇ ਹੋਏ ਹੀ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਠਾਲ ਠਾਲ ਟੁਗੀਏ। ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਰਾਜ ਬਣਤਰ ਜਾਂ ਬਣਨ ਵਾਲੀ ਕੋਈ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਜਿਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਆਸਾਂ ਕਿ ਬੰਨੀਆਂ ਜਾ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਦੋਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁਢ ਅਸੂਲ ਹੀ ਕੌਮੀਅਤ ਦੇ ਸਾਝੇ ਭਾਵਾਂ ਤੇ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਠਹੀਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਪਰਬੰਧ ਦੀ ਹਰੇਕ ਕੋਲ ਵਿਚ ਫਿਰਕੂ ਵੰਡੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਅਸੂਲ ਹੀ ਮੰਨਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਤੇ ਮੰਨਿਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।

112. Ibid.

"- - - ਅਸੀਂ ਏਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਜੋ ਰੂਪ ਰਹੀਏ ਤੇ ਕੋਈ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਵੀ ਨਾ ਉਠਾਈਏ ਤਾਂ ਏਸ ਦੇ ਅਰਥ ਇਹ ਸਮਝੇ ਜਾਣਗੇ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪ ਮੁਤਅੱਸਬ ਫਿਰਕੂ ਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਉਦਰਾ ਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ ਅਰ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਸਾਫ਼ ਸਿੱਟਾ ਇਹ ਨਿਕਲੇਗਾ ਕਿ ਫਿਰਕੂ ਰਾਕਸ਼ ਦੀ ਤਲਵਾਰ ਅਸਾਂ ਸਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਲਟਕ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ।"

113. See: Punjabi Panch, 26th May 1936, p. 7.

114. See: Fulwari, Feb. 1937, p. 57.

'ਚੋਣ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਮੁਕ ਕਈ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਜੋ ਕੰਮ ਮੰਦ ਉਛਾਲਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਅਸਰ ਬੜੀ ਦੇਰ ਤਕ ਰਹੇਗਾ। ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਪਰੈਸ ਵਿਚ ਕਹਿਮੀ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਸਿਖ ਪਰੈਸ ਨੇ ਜਿਸ ਕੰਮੇ ਮਜ਼ਾਕ ਦਾ ਸਬੂਤ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਏਹ ਬੜਾ ਹੀ ਸ਼ਰਮਨਾਕ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਮਸਾਲ ਠਹੀਂ ਮਿਲਦੀ। ਝੂਠ, ਕਲਤ ਬਿਆਠੀ, ਗਾਲੀ ਕਲੋਚ ਚ ਕੋਈ ਹਦ ਠਹੀਂ ਰਹੀ।"

115. Fulwari, Feb. 1937, p. 56.
- "ਪੰਜਾਬ ਅਸੈਂਬਲੀ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਬੜੇ ਬੜੇ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਤੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਮੁਖੀ ਲੀਡਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਅਤੇ ਕੁਝ ਭਾੜੇ ਦੇ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਨੇ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਨਵੀਂਸੀ, ਧਰਮ ਇਖਲਾਕ ਤੇ ਈਮਾਨਦਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਜੋ ਮਿਟੀ ਪਲੀਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਮਸਾਲ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਕਿਤੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਿਲੇਗੀ। ਇਕ ਦੂਜੇ ਨੂੰ ਝੂਠੇ ਇਲਜ਼ਾਮ ਲਾ ਕੇ ਭੰਡਣ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਕਸਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਖੀ ਅਤੇ ਕੋਈ ਗੋਦੀ ਤੇ ਗੋਦੀ ਗਲ ਅਤੇ ਬਕਵਾਸ ਲਿਖਤ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਆਵਣ ਤੋਂ ਸੰਕੋਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ। - - - - ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਅਜੀਬ ਤਬਦੀਲੀ ਏਹ ਵੇਖੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਤੇ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗਿਰਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਖਿਆਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਐਤਕਾਂ ਲੀਡਰ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਅਗੇ ਵਧ ਗਈਆਂ ਸਨ।"
116. See: Fateh, 30 Dec. 1936, p. 3.
117. Labh Singh Narang, Fateh, 13th Jan. 1937, p. 3.
- "ਫਤਹ ਵਿਚ ਕੇਵਲ ਓਹਨਾਂ ਹੀ ਉਮੈਦਵਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਹਮੇਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਪੰਥ ਲਈ ਬੇਹਤਰੀਨ ਸਾਬਤ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ।"
118. See: Fateh, 13th Jan. 1937, p. 5.
119. Article, Preetlari, Nov. 1936, p. 1057.
120. Preetlari, Sept. 1936, p. 1012.
- "ਅਸੀਂ ਵੇਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਸਾਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਪੇਗੈਂਡਾ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਮੂੜ੍ਹ ਜਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਨਾ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਪਤਾ ਹੈ ਨਾ ਉਮੈਦਵਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਸਮਝ ਹੈ। ਕੋਈ ਸ਼ਰੀਦ ਗੰਜ ਦਾ ਵਾਸਤਾ ਪਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਕੋਈ ਸ਼ਾਹੂਕਾਰੇ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਦਾ, ਕੋਈ ਜਟ ਹੋਣ ਦਾ - - - - ।"
121. Piara Singh Padam, Sankhep Sikh Itahas, (1469-1962) Sardar Sahit Bhavan, Patiala, 1963, p. 386.
122. See: Gurcharan Singh, Ankhi Soorma (Jiwani Master Tara Singh), Sikh Literature Distribution, Delhi, 1950, p. 118.
123. Ibid., p. 117.

124. See: Fateh, 18th April, 1937, 3rd Nov. 1937.
125. Gurcharan Singh, Ankhi Soorma, Jiwani Master Tara Singh, Sikh Literature Distribution, Delhi, 1950. p-120.
126. See: Prithipal Singh Kapur, Jiwani Master Tara Singh, Singh Brothers, Mai Sewan, Amritsar, 1968, p. 36.
127. Editorial, Fateh, 30th June 1938, p. 7.

"ਆਖਰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਆਜ਼ਮ ਸਰ ਸਿਕੰਦਰ ਹਯਾਤ ਖਾਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਉਸ ਅਸਲੀ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਆਮ ਜਨਤਾ ਦੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆ ਗਏ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਲੁਕਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਕਈ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਜਦ ਵੀ ਹੋਇਆ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਮਾਇਤੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਫ਼ਾਈਆਂ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ।"

128. Ibid.

"ਸਾਫ਼ ਤੇ ਸਿੱਧੀ ਫਲ ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਰ ਸਿਕੰਦਰ ਹਯਾਤ ਖਾਂ ਨੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਉਤੇ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਝੰਡਾ ਝੁਲਾ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਰਾਜ ਦਾ ਉਹ ਸੁਫਨਾ ਜੋ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਫਿਕ੍ਰੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਕਈ ਚਿਰ ਤੋਂ ਵੇਖ ਰਹੇ ਸਨ, ਉਹ ਪੂਰਾ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।"

129. Editorial, Fateh, 30th June 1938, p. 7.

"ਸਾਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਨਾਲ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਗੜਜ਼ ਨਹੀਂ, ਪਰ ਉਹ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਚੋਣ ਦੇ ਰੰਗਮੌ ਸਮੇਂ, ਸਿਖ ਹੱਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਖੀ ਦਾ ਢੋਲ ਪਿਟਿਆ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਆਗੂ ਉਸ ਪ੍ਰਤਿੱਠਿਠਾ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਸਨ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਨੇ ਸ਼ੇਰੇ-ਪੰਜਾਬ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸਮਾਥ ਉਪਰ ਬੈਠ ਕੇ ਕੀਤੇ ਸੀ, ਉਸ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਕਿਹੜੀ ਮੁਸਲਿਹਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਰ ਸਿਕੰਦਰ ਹਯਾਤ ਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਫ਼ਾਰਿਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਤੁਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਕਿਹੜੀ ਉਹ ਪੰਥਕ ਭਲਾਈ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਰੇ ਚਾੜ੍ਹਨ ਲਈ ਉਹ ਨਵੇਂ ਕਾਇਮ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਅਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਬਣਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਜਿਥੋਂ ਤੱਕ ਪੰਥ ਲਾਭ ਤੇ ਸੂਬੇ ਦੀ ਭਲਾਈ ਦਾ ਸਬੰਧ ਹੈ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਢ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਰਾਜ ਦਾ ਸੁਫਨਾ ਲੈਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਮਿਲਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ, ਪਰ ਹੁਣ ਜਦ ਕਿ ਸਾਰੀ ਕੱਲ ਸਾਫ਼ ਹੋ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਲਗ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਰ ਸਿਕੰਦਰ ਹਯਾਤ ਖਾਂ ਮਿ: ਜਿਨਾਹ ਦੀ ਕਠ ਪੁਤਲੀ

ਹਨ, ਕੋਈ ਅਜੇਹਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਭਦਾ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਭਲਾਹ ਕੀਤੀ ਚੱਲਣ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਇਕਰਾਜ ਜੋ ਆਪਣੇ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਤੇ ਸਨ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਕਾ ਭੁਲਾ ਗੀ ਦੇਣ।"

130. See: Giani Gurcharan Singh, Ankhi Soorma, (Jiwani Master Tara Singh), Sikh Literature Distributor, Delhi, 1950. p.124.
131. See: Khalsa Samachar, Jan;, Feb., March 1940's Papers.
132. See: Piara Singh Padam, Sankhep Sikh Itahas(1469-1962), Sardar Sahit Bhavan, Patiala, 1963, p. 388-389.
133. See: Master Tara Singh, Mari Yadd, p. 132-134.
134. Sant Sipahi, Jan. 1947, p. 37.
 "ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਲੀਡ ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਤਾਂ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਬਹੁਸੰਮਤੀ ਦੇ ਕਲਬੇ ਤੋਂ ਬਚਣ ਲਈ ਉਠ ਖੜੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਬਹੁਸੰਮਤੀ ਦੀ ਦਲੀਲ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਰਾਜ ਕਰਨਾ ਮੰਗ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਜੇਕਰ 74 ਫੀਸਦੀ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦਾ ਰਾਜ ਹਿੰਦੂਸਤਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਇਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਤਾਂ 55 ਫੀਸਦੀ (ਜੇੜੀ ਖਰਦਮ ਸੁਮਾਰੀ ਵੀ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਨੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੀ ਤਾਅਸਬ ਵਿਚ ਰੰਗ ਕੇ ਕਰਵਾਈ ਹੈ) ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਰਾਜ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਇਮ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ। - - - - -"
135. See: Prithipal Singh Kapur, Jiwani Master Tara Singh, Singh Brothers, Mai Sewan, Amritsar, 1968, p. 41.
136. Master Tara Singh, Sant Sipahi, Jan. 1947, p. 36.
137. See: Prithipal Singh Kapur, Jiwani Master Tara Singh, Singh Brothers, Mai Sewan, Amritsar, 1968, p. 47.
 "ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਰਾਜ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਖੁਲਾਸਾ" (ਮਾਸਟਰ ਤਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ)
138. Giani Gurcharan Singh, Ankhi Soorma(Jiwani Master Tara Singh), Sikh Literature Distributor, Delhi, 1950, p. 153.

139. Preetlari, March 1946, p. 7.

"- - - - ਕਿਤੇ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਤੇ ਕਿਤੇ 'ਜੇ ਹਿੰਦ' ਤੋਂ ਕੋਲੀਆਂ ਚਲ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਹਿੰਦੂ ਸਿੱਖ, ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਬਿਜਲੀ ਕੜਕਾ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਤਰ ਸਤਰ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਛੁਰੇ ਲਿਖ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। - - - - ਜਾਪ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਜੀਕਰ ਅਸਾਂ ਕਦੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਦੀ ਮੌਤ ਉਤੇ ਅਥਰੂ ਸਾਝੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੇ। ਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਾਂਝੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਵਿਚ ਹਾਸੇ ਰਲਾਏ ਹਨ ਜੀਕਰ ਅਸਾਂ ਅਜਲ ਤੋਂ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ, ਖਾਲਿਸਤਾਨ, ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਨਈਂ ਇਕ ਦੂਜੇ ਦੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਛਿਲਦੇ ਆਏ ਹਾਂ। - - - -"

140. Sant Sipahi, June 1946, p. 12.

"ਇਸ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਦਲੀਲ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵਧ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਦੂਜੀ ਦਲੀਲ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦਾ ਧਰਮ ਇਤਨਾ ਲਿਚਕਦਾਰ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਗਦਾ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਧਰਮ ਦੇ ਕੀ ਅਸੂਲ ਹਨ ਜਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਅਸੂਲ ਹਨ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਨਹੀਂ। ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਹਦਬੰਦੀ ਤੇ ਖਾਲੀ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਧਰਮ ਨੂੰ ਕੌਮੀਅਤ ਅਥਵਾ ਫਿਕਰਦਾਰੀ ਛੱਡਣ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਖਤਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਤਾਂ ਜੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਜਹਬੀ ਕੌਮ ਛੱਡ ਦੇਣ ਤਾਂ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਛੇਤੀ ਜਜ਼ਬ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੇ ਪਰ ਸਿਖ ਜੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਜਹਬੀ ਕੌਮੀਅਤ ਅਥਵਾ ਪੰਥ ਪੂਜਾ ਛੱਡ ਦੇਣ ਤਾਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਛੇਤੀ ਫਿਕਰਦਾਰ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਧਰਮ ਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਖਤਮ ਕਰ ਦੇਣਗੇ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਜਦ ਤੱਕ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਆਪਣੀ ਫਿਕਰਦਾਰੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਛੱਡਦੇ ਤਦ ਤਕ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿਖ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥਕ ਹਸਤੀ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਆਵਣਾ ਭੀ ਸਖਤ ਖੁਤਕਨਾਕ ਹੈ।"

141. See: Preetlari, May 1946, p. 25.

"ਆਦਮੀ ਜਦੋਂ ਇਨਸਾਫ਼ ਦੀ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੀ ਸੁਣਵਾਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਫੈਸਲੇ ਲਈ ਅਲਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਰਨ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹੈ।"

142. Ibid.

"ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਖਾਨਾ ਜੰਗੀ ਤੇ ਬਗ਼ਾਵਤ ਲਈ ਤਿਆਰ ਹਨ।"

143. Baba Kharak Singh, Fateh, 21 March, 1947, p. 7.

"ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਵਲੋਂ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਇਹ ਹਲ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਸਮਾਜੀ ਤੇ ਫਿਕਰੂ ਝਗੜਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਯੋਗ ਹਨ ਨਹੀਂ। ਇਸ ਮਤੇ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਨੇ ਵੰਡੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਅਸੂਲ ਨੂੰ

ਪਰਵਾਨ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੇ ਅਸੂਲ ਨੂੰ ਪਰਵਾਨ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ, ਅਸੀਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਕੋਈ ਸਕੀਮ ਕਿਸੇ ਹਲਤ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਪਰਵਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਮੰਤਵ ਮੇਰੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀਆਂ ਵੰਡੀਆਂ ਹੋਣ।"

144. See: Editorial, Fateh, 21st March 1947, p. 7.

145. Punjabi Panch, 27th Nov. 1947, p. 11.

ਅਜ ਕੇਹੜਾ ਜੁਲਮ ਜਬਰ ਤੇ ਧਕਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਖਰਾ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਤੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਇਆ - - - - - ਜਿਥੇ ਲਖਾ ਇਨਸਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਿਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਜੁਰਮ ਦੇ ਭਿਆਨਕ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਦਿਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ।"

146. Ibid.

"ਸਿਖ ਕੌਮ ਨਾਲ ਜੋ ਅਠਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਕਈ ਤੁਲਾਫੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ, ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਕੁਰਦਵਾਰਾ ਨਲਕਾਣਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੋ ਇਕ ਵਡੀ ਸਟੇਟ ਸੀ, ਨਾਹੌਰ, ਕੁਜਰਵਾਲਾ, ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰਾ, ਸਿਆਲਕੋਟ ਤੇ ਪੰਜਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਕੁਰਦਵਾਰੇ ਖੋਹ ਲਏ ਗਏ। ਤੇ ਇਕ ਤਾਜਵਰ ਕੌਮ ਨੂੰ ਫਕੀਰ ਬਣਾ ਦਿਤਾ ਗਿਆ।"

147. See: Akali, 21st May 1940, p.

148. Khalsa Akhbar, 19th June 1947, p.

"ਸਾਡੀ ਹਲਤ ਇਹ ਕਿਉਂ ਹੈ ? ਪੰਥਕ ਏਕਤਾ ਤੇ ਜਥੇਬੰਦੀ ਦੀ ਕਮਜ਼ੋਰੀ ਤੇ ਨੀਤਰਸ਼ਿਪ ਦੀ ਨਾਅਹਿਲੀਅਤ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਣ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਮੰਗ ਦਾ ਨਿਸਚੈ ਜਨਕ ਕੋਈ ਪਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿ ਸਾਡੇ ਯੋਗ ਤੇ ਅਸਲ ਮੰਗ ਕੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਸਿਰੇ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ।"

Conclusion

What has emerged as the most significant feature in all our discussion is that the advent of the newspapers in Punjabi was an invaluable contribution made by the 'Singh Sabha Movement' -- a renaissance movement among the Sikhs. That is why journalism born under its influence has been termed as the Sikh journalism. Barring one or two almost all the editors, working in this field, were Sikhs. It will, however, be pertinent to point out here that these non-Sikh editors were associated with those papers which always worked for the propagation of the Sikh faith. Dhani Ram Chatrik, who served as the editor of the 'Khalsa Samachar' for some time, stands in the front-rank of such editors. The nomenclatures of the Punjabi papers also indicate that they aimed at the propagation of the Sikh faith. The spotlighting of the select holy verses, from the Sikh Scripture, at the top of the front pages of these papers, also reflects the basic aim of the Sikh press. Another important point to be laid stress on is that it is only the Sikhs who adopted Punjabi language, and single-handedly struggled for the promotion of the Gurmukhi script. There is no denying the fact that the goal before all the Punjabi papers, published out between 1876 and 1947, was the propagation of the Sikhism. After 1910, some such newspapers in Punjabi did come out as were markedly influenced by politics and had absolutely nothing to do with the preaching of the Sikh tenets. But the number of such papers

was quite negligible. Therefore, there is every reason to acknowledge the Punjabi journalism till 1947 as the Sikh journalism. To call it in question by viewing it only from a communal perspective, would simply amount to be unjust to it.

When the polemic nature of the reform movements among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs came in forefront, the relationship between the Punjabi papers and the Sikhs become even more intimate. The 'Arya Samaj' and the 'Singh Sabha' opposed each other as representatives of the two different communities of the Punjab. In the sphere of journalism, the Hindi papers of the 'Arya Samaj' and the Punjabi papers of the 'Singh Sabha' took up positions against each other. As a result of it, the Hindus got further alienated from Punjabi. In inverse proportion, the Sikhs got nearer to Punjabi. In the field of journalism, all the papers in Punjabi owe their birth to the efforts of the Sikhs. That is why we call the Punjabi journalism as the Sikh journalism.

During the first few years after its inception, the Sikh journalism concentrated on religious sphere alone. It was silent on the political front. Political dissent was inconceivable as all the movements going on at that time were reformative in nature. In spite of it, the Sikh press did protest against the interference by the British Government, in the religious affairs of the Sikhs. Such a protest could well be taken as symbolic of the inherent political dissent, rather than an explicit or open political opposition. Besides,

a group had arisen within the Sikh journalism which eyed the policy of the British Government. The 'Chief Khalsa Diwan' constituted one group. In the sphere of journalism, it was called the Amritsary Party. The 'Khalsa Samachar' was its chief spokesman. Another group which was not pleased with this loyalty of the Diwan towards the British called itself the Panthic Party, and was popularly known as the Lahore Party. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' of Lahore was representative of its opinion. Whenever a new paper was born in the field of Sikh journalism, people termed it as supporter of one or the other party. Undoubtedly, it was a hard fact. Even the papers which declared themselves neutral in the beginning, come out their true colours sooner or later. In this way, the differences of these two groups at ideological level, resulted in differences within the Sikh journalism. Such a situation was, no doubt, detrimental to the interests of the Sikhs. However, both the groups did make a useful contribution for introducing social reforms and preaching the Sikh faith.

After the advent of the British rule in Punjab, the Sikh suffered a set-back both in the religious and political fields. . Result of Negligible work of preaching Sikh tenets, caused the influence of the English society and the effects of Hinduism on sacred shrines of the Sikhs. Many Sikhs (who were not very well familiar with Sikh principles), fell victims to observe such practices which caused religious degeneration among them. In the years of its infancy, the Sikh press published articles to underline how the Sikh code (i.e. maryada)

was being violated in the gurdwaras. This way they tried to build up a sort of movement for reforms in the Gurdwaras. The Sikh press strongly denounced the ill-effects of the Hinduism on the Sikh religion. The Hinduism and newly-established 'Arya Samaj' could not digest this denunciation. So, the papers sponsored by the 'Arya Samaj' made several mis-statements, as a reaction to it. The result was that a polemic started between the Sikh papers and the papers sponsored by the 'Arya Samaj'. This wordy-war sometimes touched the low nadir. In this way, the Sikh papers had to wage ideological fights on two fronts-- one within the Sikh journalism and the other against the outside forces. Both these fights proved equally fatal, because the establishment of high standards of writing was what we needed to preach and propagate, a higher ideology. It called for the use of attractive idiom so that the writing might spell a charm on the reader's mind and thus leave its permanent impact on him. However, the prevalent unhealthy wordy-war made it impossible either to keep the higher standards of ideology or to maintain suavity of expression. This happened with Sikh journalism on several occasions. The Sikh journalism was not ignorant of it. That is why, it occasionally made appeals for the Panthic Unity.

On the one hand, the Sikh journalism started a movement against the violation of Sikh code in the Sikh sacred shrines, and on the other, it made multi-pronged attempts for the propagation of Sikh precepts. The sole aim of preaching the Sikh tenets was to enlighten its ignorant followers, so that

the Sikhism might regain its pristine glory, especially at a juncture when the Sikhs were accepting proselytization in a very large number and thus sending a shock-wave in the Panth. Naturally the efforts were made to stop this unhealthy trend. All efforts made by Sikh journalism in this regard deserve kudos. The press published articles, stories, etc., on Sikhism. Exposition of sacred hymns, the publication of news and reviews about religious functions, etc., were a part of this series of efforts. The establishment of the 'Khalsa Tract Society' was another useful step taken in this direction. The subjects of tract series, brought out by this tract society, were mainly Sikh exegesis and the Sikh history.

The most important work done by the Sikh journalism with regard to the propagation of Sikh precepts was the taking up of a certain Sikh cause and seeking its fulfilment. The Sikh press got wind of the planned conspiracy by the British government to weaken the Sikhs by usurping the control of their shrines. To undo this, it propagated that the management of the Sikh shrines be entrusted fully to the community. Gradually, these efforts took the shape of the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement', and a chain of morchas against the government got underway. During these morchas also, the role of the Sikh press was quite significant. On the one hand, the Sikh papers published reports of the excessive oppression by the government; on the other, it encouraged the Sikhs to continue with their fight with renewed vigour and zeal. Among the religious affairs of the Sikhs are included, the affairs

of the wall of Gurdwara Rikabganj; the issue of Kirpan, the reforms in gurdwaras, and the Gurdwara Act. Among the agitations launched by the Sikhs are those of the keys, the Guru Ka Bagh, the Jaitu Moment etc.

After 1920, due to religious affairs of the Sikhs, the Sikh journalism adopted a militant posture. This brought a significant change in the Sikh press. That is why the Sikh journalism, born in this age, started pre-eminently adopted the politics as its field. The credit for this goes to the 'Akali' paper. Its existence proved to be a significant mile-stone in the field of Sikh journalism. Many new papers came into being under the impact of the militant idiom of the 'Akali'. However, none of them could touch the heights of the 'Akali'.

Like the preaching of religion, social reform was also included among the first priorities of the Sikh journalism. The propagation of the Sikh percepts implicitly stood for the establishment of a social order where ethnic, social and political equality would prevail. Such a set-up is certainly free from the concepts of caste and class distinctions. That is why the question of social reform went on to be addressed alongwith the propagation of faith (Sikhism). The press published analytical articles seeking reforms in the social condition of women and the removal of caste system as well as the wasteful and unwanted ceremonies connected with marriage. The press did a lot for female education and for

the betterment of womanhood. Since they formed half of our society, it was, therefore, necessary to pay special attention to the improvement of their lot, so as to make social development in general meaningful. Some papers such as the 'Punjabi Bhain,' the 'Istri Sudhar,' the 'Istri Samachar,' etc., were born specifically for the purpose of uplifting the women's status. It was mainly because of such efforts by the Sikh Press that several schools for girls were opened in the Punjab, within a few years.

The 'Ghadar movement' launched by the Punjabis in the far-away countries of America and Canada gave birth to the first political paper in Punjabi. In spite of the fact 90% of the activists of this movement were the Sikhs of the Punjab, this movement is not known as the Sikh movement, nor has anybody called the journalism, born under its influence, as the Sikh journalism. It is, no doubt, a fact that this movement did nothing for the propagation of the Sikh faith. But the spirit working behind this movement was definitely that religious spirit which had always been a source of inspiration to the Sikhs to fight against tyranny and oppression. The ideal which guided the journalism of the 'Ghadar Movement' was deeply influenced by the religious and political direction provided by Guru Gobind Singh Ji. That is why we have termed this as the Sikh journalism. In fact, the Akali and the Babbar Akali movements determined their field of activity under the influence of the 'Ghadar Movement'.

The Sikh press in Punjab entered the political arena only after 1920. Due to anti-government movement current throughout the country and the new political situation in the Punjab, a very significant transformation had then taken place in the Sikh journalism of Punjab when the 'Akali' was born under the influence of the Akali Movement. The tragedy of Baj-Baj, the matter of the wall of Gurdwara Rikabganj, the Rowlatt Act after World War I, the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, division of Bengal, peasant agitation etc., were among the major events which left a deep impact on the Sikhs, as on the members of other communities. All this brought the Sikhs in the forefront of the freedom movement. Simultaneously, the Sikhs had also been fighting for their communal rights. When the Sikh people realized that they were being made the victim of the mutual tussle going on between the Hindus and the Muslims, the Sikh Press did not lag behind in raising its voice for securing the rights of the Sikhs, while struggling for the freedom of the mother land. The rigid communal posture of the Muslims, and the undue surrender to it by the Congress, led the Sikhs to lean towards the path of communalism as it happened with the Hindus in general. In this way, the Sikh Press was sometimes obliged to adopt communal posture, of course, very much against its will. The Nehru Report weaned the Sikhs away from the Congress. In the political field, the Sikh press started discussing several new possibilities as a result of which the Sikhs felt that

their political future was uncertain. At that time, the Sikhs developed a fear that after the British left India, the Sikhs will have to suffer the subjugation of the Muslims. It was because their dominance in Panjab became almost certain after they had been granted more and more privileges. At this stage the demand of the Sikhs for their due rights can neither be called communal nor a hindrance in the way to the independence of the nation. However, their demands were ignored on the plea that these demands smacked of communalism. Consequently, the Sikhs started asking for 'Khalistan' while the Muslims were demanding for 'Pakistan'. This demand was, however, put in such a subdued tone that it failed to build itself in a mass movement. The major reason why this demand was made in such a feeble voice, was the Sikhs by and large were against secessionism.

The Sikhs also suffered huge losses in the political field, due to groupism among them. Three different political groups had emerged in the course of time. One of them adopted pro-British Government stance. The other two were anti-government; but they differed on the question of lending co-operation to the Congress. Baba Kharak Singh had completely boycotted the Congress after the Nehru report. But Master Tara Singh felt that complete alienation from the Congress was not a right step. So, he continued to invite the attention of the Congress to the Sikh demands. Naturally the Sikh papers supported the policies of the groups that

sponsored them, thus the Sikh journalism was also split into three groups. The Chief Khalsa Diwan represented the pro-government section of the Sikhs. That is why the 'Khalsa Samachar' never published any item that went against the government. The 'Akali' and 'Akali Te Pradesi' belonged to the Master Tara Singh group. The 'Moji' was the spokesman of Baba Kharak Singh group. In this way, every paper was aligned to one group or the other. Sometimes fierce wordy-duel took place between the 'Moji' and the 'Akali'. They often stooped too low, in their expression of anguish against each other. During the 1936-37 election, the standard of these papers reached its nadir. The internal warfare among these papers was further intensified. Some Sikh papers deplored this unhealthy trend in the Sikh Journalism.

The Sikh journalism, during Akali Movement, had definitely come of age and at that time it enjoyed an unenviable position in the political field. But here this is also true that if the Sikh felt cheated in the post-independence era, it is the Sikh press which should largely be held responsible for it. It was the ever growing bickering among the Sikh papers that landed the community in such a predicament. It was also because of this internal fighting that during the third and fourth decades of this century, the Sikh press could not make substantial contribution even in the field of religious work. It can thus be concluded that the ideals and the objects which the Sikh journalism had set forth in the past were gradually lost in the sandy desert of unfounded mutual bickerings and cheap politics.

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