

**'HISTORY' IN POPULAR MOVEMENTS :
BRITISH PUNJAB, 1849-1947**

A THESIS

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**IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this **'History' in Popular Movements: British Punjab, 1849-1947** embodies the work carried out by Ms. Harwinder Kaur herself under my supervision. It is worthy of consideration for the award of the Ph.D. degree.

Navtej Singh
Supervisor

DECLARATION

I hereby affirm that the work presented in this thesis **'HISTORY' IN POPULAR MOVEMENTS : BRITISH PUNJAB, 1849-1947** is exclusively my own and there are no collaborators. It does not contain any work for which a degree/diploma has been awarded by any other university.

Dated: (Harwinder Kaur)

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Dedicated
TO
The Great Scarcifice
of the
People of Punjab

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- 1. Movements**
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- 3. Glorification**
- 4. Sacrifice**
- 5. Emphasis**

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(HARWINDER KAUR)

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INTRODUCTION

The process of the interaction of human beings with themselves and also with the environment became the basis of the knowledge of human experience. The accumulated wisdom and information also emerged as a terminology to be assigned as the discipline of history. In fact the continuous interaction of understanding and sharing the accumulated experience provided growth to new formations of human interactions. In other words, 'history' becomes the study of 'intercourse' in a particular time and space. In that sense it becomes a perception and hence interpretation. Moreover, the objective of history is to create a specific understanding of the human past with focus on the identification of truth, reality or actuality of the happenings. Although this evaluation process of recognizing the past of society has its inherent limitations because of a variety of forces influencing this process.

Yet no one can deny the fact that this exercise of understanding the past is important and significant because this 'collective knowledge' could be utilized in shaping the human present and also laying the foundation of the future of society. At the same time the nature of sources available to the historian in constructions of the historical account also exerts constraints on the process of capturing of actuality of the past happenings along with the prevalence of a number of perceptions of interpretations.

Thus while there is least debate on the utility of the discipline of the history, despite its variant interpretations, the subject itself survives both in memory and history. This process of remembering the human past and then utilizing it in the contemporary existence and also to the formation of the human future is the subject of research for this dissertation. The evaluation or examination of this utilization of 'history' has been chosen under the British rule in Punjab. The choice is centered

on two factors: one, that it is near contemporary past, and secondly, the period was marked by the conditions of slavery which necessitated a large scale utilization of 'history' against the foreigners. Moreover, a large number of anti-British agitations emerged. The area of utilization has been taken from the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 to the end of the British rule in 1947. The province of Punjab has been chosen because it was the last province to be annexed by the British imperialism and also owing to the fact that three different religious communities existed predominantly. Further the focus is on the British controlled areas and the territories under the possession of the princely rulers remain beyond the scope because of the variation in the nature of control mechanism.

It may be mentioned here that the early historiographical writings on British Punjab are preoccupied with political or diplomatic processes. Subsequently, other aspects of human activities in the domain of economy, religion, social and cultural life along with the gender and identity issues became integral part of colonial historiographical research. As a result, the students of British Punjab now have access to wider spectrum of perceptions on the relationship between the region of Punjab and imperialism. Yet there remains certain areas which need further exploration both in terms of source materials and interpretations. This establishes scope for further enquiry and research in the available components of human activities: political, economic, religious and socio-cultural.

Under the imperial regime political developments occupied crucial and wider space that began with the nature of British annexation of the Punjab, early opposition by the ruling nobility in the form of two Anglo-Sikh Wars, Bhai Maharaj Singh, Namdhari movement, activities of Maharaja Dalip Singh, the Ghadr revolt of 1913-16, the Gurdwara reform movement and the Shiromani Akali Dal, Babbar Akalis, The Hindustan

Socialist Republican Association, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, The Kirti Party, The Communist Party and the Indian National Army.

Besides the activities of Indian National Congress in Punjab such as Non-cooperation movement, the Martial Law agitation, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Quit-India movement have also attracted attention of the historical academics. Various agrarian/peasant protests and movements, including the opposition to the Punjab Land Alienation Bill 1900, The Punjab Disturbances 1907, Anti-moneylenders Agitation, 1915, Harse-Chhina agitation of 1938, Punjab Kisan Sabha 1937 and Anti Bandobast agitation 1938. Apart from political and agrarian upheavals, there appeared a number of socio-religious and cultural manifestations; some of these included the Namdhari Lehar, Brahamo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha, the Nirankaris and the Ahemadias. Further there are historical works on British education system, judicial setup, administrative structure, police organization, communication network, gender and identity issues, and certain other related transformations in the tertiary sector.

So far the various anti-colonial movements in the field of politics, economy and culture are concerned, their major thrust is on events, causes, effects, and the British response towards these developments. None of the works on the above mentioned subjects and issues had attempted to analyse the use of 'History' in such anti-colonial manifestations. This demands analysis and hence constitute significant justification of further research and exploration in this direction.

Mention may be made of some of the important contributions on colonial Punjab. These include Ganda Singh, *The Kuka Lehar*, K.W. Jones, *The Arya Dharma*, N.G. Barrier, *The Punjab Disturbances of 1907*, Mahinder Singh, *The Akali Movement*, Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab*, Master Hari Singh, *Punjab Peasant in Freedom*

Struggle, Ganda Singh, *Deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh*, B.N. Dutta, *Jallianwala Bagh*, J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of Punjab*, Himmadri Benrjee, *Agrarian Society of Punjab*, Navtej Singh, *Starvation and Colonialism*, Navtej Singh, *Challenge to Imperial Hegemony* and Ganda Singh, *The Singh Sabha and The Other Socio-Religious Movements in the Punjab*.

Although these writings contribute significantly to understand transformation of the British Punjab society under imperial backdrop, yet as mentioned earlier, none of these works have tried to examine and analyze the use of 'history' by various anti-imperial protests and movements. Therefore, the aim of the present research is to evaluate and critically examine the use of 'History' by the organizers of these political, agrarian and religio-cultural assertions in order to locate the significance and importance of its utilization impregnating such anti-colonial resentments and also to understand the nature of 'History' used, the modes and methodology, extent and scope along with its impacts in accelerating these movements.

In the area of writing this type of utilization of history not much literature in the form of articles or monographs and books is available. Except for some articles by Navtej Singh and a recent book by Michael Nijhawan on *Dhadi Darbar : Religion, Violence And The Performance of The Sikh History*, in the year 2006. The book deals with the use of religious and cultural traditions in situations of crises and violence. It is the first systematic analysis of the Dhadi tradition of song performance. A study of the socio-cultural history and ethnography of this tradition it traces significant changes in generic form and ideological content. Analyzing key performative texts themes such as Sikh martyr histories and ethnographic narratives, the author demonstrates different ways in

which this genre has become related to agendas of religious and political identity formation in 20th century in Punjab.¹

In one of his articles by *Navtej Singh on Indian Fiction on Partition : projection of 'History' with stress on humanism published in the Punjab History Conference, Proceedings* in March 1996, argued that the literary writings in English on partition of Punjab, though viewed the phenomena as a human tragedy and stress on humanitarian elements, yet these ignore the actual causes of the partition. These remained more emotional than a critical analysis of the historical developments which accentuated the crisis leading to the partition. Hence these writings projected the 'History' as humanitarian manifestations rather than the historical truth.² In the second article by Navtej Singh on, 'History' in popular movements: 'Use' against the British, he emphasized on the examination of the Ghadr Party literature and commented that the utilization of 'history', as technique to mobilize people for their participation against the British comes out to be the favourite *modus operandi*. He argued that majority of these writers being Punjabi and especially the Sikhs migrated to foreign land captured the imagination of their heritage. However, they used Sikh and non-Sikh history of India. Among the Sikh heritage, it is the life of Guru Gobind Singh, sacrifices of the sons, creation of the *Khalsa*, attract attention as the models against injustice, repression and tyranny and the ideals of equality, peace and justice. Also the heroes of post Guru period including Banda Bahadur, Bhai Mani Singh and others attract space in the process. The martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadur in the context of 'Hind' along with the major events

¹ Michael Nijhawan, *Dhadi Darbar : Religion, Violence and the performance of Sikh History* by Michael Nijhawan, Published by Oxford, New Delhi, 2006.

² Navtej Singh, 'Indian Fiction on Partion : Projection of 'History' with stress on humanism', Published in the *Proceedings, Punjab History Conference*, 1996.

related to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Namdhari movement, heroes of 1857 and S. Ajit Singh get repeated mention. In other words, these writers made use of those developments of our regional and national history which have the capacity to challenge the existing scenario of repression, injustice, plunder and loot along with the provision of alternate modal of peace, equality and prosperity. Being Sikhs, it was quite natural for them to utilize much of their Khalsa heritage who had given continuous battle for survival during its process of evolution and consolidation. Thus the urge to live with freedom and dignity has been often revived in popular movement against both the alien and native slavery and exploitation.³

In his third article on *1857 And The Ghadr Party : Image and Utilization* Navtej Singh has examined the use of the events of the revolt of 1857 by the Ghadr Party. He concluded that the image of 1857 to the Ghadr Party was one major inspirational role modal among other previous historical events. To the extent that it began to publish its newspaper in the same name and popularity acquired by the paper later on becomes name of the Party. There is criticism of the role played by princely states of Nabha and Patiala in the recapturing of Delhi. However, the Ghadr Party also reflected their clarity in making distinctions between the princely rulers and the common people. Moreover, the prominent heroes of the revolt of 1857 form part of their perceptions. They equate the event with first war of independence and for them the popular perception of its failure was the position of the Sikhs. Further the day of May 10 becomes a symbol of challenge to be emulated in future anti-British uprisings. Yet it is also revealed that the consciousness of the Ghadr revolutionaries reflect no knowledge about

³ Navtej Singh, 'History' In Popular Movements : 'Use' Against The British, in *The Punjab Past and Present*, April 2007, pp. 90-91.

the evolutionary process of historical developments in which the concept of Indian nationalism was not existing at that time. However the embedment of this consciousness at popular level was bound to generate biased perceptions about the Sikhs during this and later on their role in freedom struggle.⁴

Lastly, in his article on 'Namdhari Movement in Seditious Literature: Portrayal And Utilization in Colonial Punjab', Navtej Singh concluded that the Namdhari Movement was utilized with the consciousness that it was the first anti-British patriotic movement in Punjab and was viewed as a continuation of the Sikh/Khalsa tradition and its emergence was seen as similar to the evolution of the Sikh struggle in Punjab history. Baba Ram Singh was considered as a great leader both in terms of a social reformer and revolutionary generating anti-British political awareness. He was also seen as one devising to establish a parallel government to the British and hence became a challenge to the imperial hegemony.⁵

Thus the review of literature clearly establish the necessity to further explore this least analyzed area of research. However the issues to be examined include the nature and causes of the anti-British agitations in order to understand the aims and objectives of colonialism; to evaluate the character of popular response to these anti-imperial resentments; to identify different social categories involved both in the rural and urban areas along with their methodology of protests; to determine the modes, techniques and means of utilizing 'history', the nature and extent of 'History' used in the promotion and acceleration of these movements; to

⁴ Navtej Singh, 1857 And The Ghadr Party : Image and Utilization in the book, *Rethinking 1857 And The Punjab* (ed.) Navtej Singh, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2008, pp. 155-156.

⁵ Navtej Singh, unpublished article on Namdhari Movement in Seditious Literature : Partroyal and Utilization in Colonial Punjab.

identify the categories of the people and personalities making such use of 'History'; to measure the impact of such 'History' on both the people and the movements, and lastly, response of the British government towards these popular methods of using 'History' for a cause against the British Raj.

However the analysis has been largely based on the critical examination of those writings which were written during the British rule and are the creation of these movements. Specifically various forms of literary constructions produced by different political, socio-religious and agrarian movements in diverse forms such as the monographs, pamphlets, newspapers, poetry, prose, plays and some other forms of expression. Some other techniques available in the form of holding of public meetings, delivering of speeches and lectures, utilization of court premises, Assembly Hall, fairs and festivals along with other public congregations have also been examined. Along with the examination of these various forms of literary and oral evidences, attempt has also been made to examine the modes and methods of these various expressions. Such exercise of analysis has helped both to detect the nature and extent of utilization and use of 'History' along with the extent of its impact and identification of the socio-cultural identities among the British Punjab society. In other words, the literature produced by these movements along with the British observations on this literature and their comments on this methodology of utilization have also been covered.

Coming to the chapterisation, the first chapter comprised the backdrop. An attempt has been made in this chapter to describe the nature of British control mechanism in Punjab along with its impact that provided basis to the large scale protests and agitations. A brief narrative of the various anti-imperial assertions has been given along with their causes, course of events, effects and the British response, in order to

understand the history of these anti-imperial movements. However broadly speaking these uprisings have been studied in the realms of politics, socio-religious and agrarian manifestations.

The second chapter is centered on the political movements. For the sake of concision all the political agitations are not taken together, but only three because of their significance in the history of Punjab. These oppositions are : The Ghadr Party, The Babbar Akalis and The Naujwan Bharat Sabha. The narrative includes the listing of publications of these three movements which are primarily available in the form of newspapers and pamphlets. The identification of the events and symbols of history which have been used in these creations, the prominent leadership, the areas of activities along with the official response have been attempted.

In the third chapter similar exercise has been repeated in the context of socio-religious protests. Broadly speaking three movements have been covered. These are The Namdhari, The Singh Sabha and The Gurdwara Reforms Agitations. Among the many agrarian protests, only the Anti-Colonization Bill agitation, and the various Kisan agitations and morchas under the patronage of the Kirti Party and the Communist Groups have been examined. And lastly, in the fifth chapter, an analysis has been made in order to assess the impact of this utilization on the various movements as well as the people and the state. The identification of the kinds of events and symbols of history, the periods of history, the nature and character of history in terms of regional, national and international, the prominent leadership, the important writers, poets and editors, the strength of both the publications and the followers and the movements, identification of the variations in the use of 'history' in the context of the political, socio-religious and agrarian movements and also the 'legacy' of this process along with the movement have been given in the concludatory chapter.

CHAPTER-1

THE BACKDROP

The British imperial power annexed the 'Kingdom of Lahore' in the year 1849. With a view to establish its hegemony the British introduced many administrative changes. Some areas were left under the control of the princely rulers who, indirectly, were dependent on them. The entire British controlled area was divided into several divisions and districts. The change was introduced not only in the sphere of administration but also in the agrarian structure of the province in order to win support of the rural majority population.⁶

The first step taken by the early British administrators was to lower the revenue demand collected from the peasantry who were expected to be potential backbone of the imperial structure against the traditional Sikh aristocratic class. The new land taxes were welcomed by the agriculturists as long as the harvests were good and the markets were steady. But this was not to continue owing to a steady decline in the prices of agricultural produce due to a glut in the markets. This drop continued till grain sold at 50% below its value for tax purposes. The situation became extremely critical for the Zamindars had to face grave conditions in regard to payments of their taxes. This over-taxation forced many peasants to abandon their traditional occupation of agriculture after failure to pay taxes; because tax continued to be collected by use of the greatest severity and coercive methods.⁷

(Moreover, the new system of payment of tax in cash (which replaced the earlier practice of paying in kind), coupled with rigidity,

⁶ Navtej Singh, *Challenge To Imperial Hegemony: The Life Story of A Great Indian Patriot Udham Singh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1998, p.1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.2.

wrought have on the peasantry). During subsequent years, changes in taxation policy led to the increase in revenue demand. It affected not only the agricultural class but also the artisans and labouring classes, who were dependent upon the agricultural class. The farmers who could not afford to desert their lands were pushed towards the village moneylenders in order to borrow money from them. This pressure increased peasants' dependency upon the *Shahukars*. In turn, the moneylender evolved strategy for the maximum exploitation of the peasantry.

Similar mechanism of exploitation was introduced in the sphere of trade patterns. It became predominantly of exports of agricultural products and imports of British industrial goods. This new market mechanism coupled with the indebtedness of the cultivators promoted only the interests of the British imperial power along with the trading and moneylending classes. Moreover, the changed scenario that made the traditional occupation of agriculture as non-profitable to majority of the agriculturist, the indigenous small scale industries also suffered at the hands British industrial products. This transformation in economic relationships under the British imperial rule affected a large portion of the Punjabi population thereby resulting in their increasing indebtedness and consequent poverty.⁸

Obviously this economic exploitation and the situations of distress and starvation became basis of the emergence of different agrarian and political uprisings. Yet even before this the elements of protests against the moral basis of imperial control and the related exploitation have been challenged by a group of Sikhs under the leadership of Diwan Mool Raj, Chatar Singh Atariwala, Sher Singh Atariwala and Bhai Maharaj Singh. Failing in their attempt at resistant, they surrendered to the British, but Bhai Maharaj Singh continued with his struggle by planning to raise a

⁸ Navtej Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-5.

rebellion in the name of Maharaja Dalip Singh in the Bist Doab. Although he failed in his attempts, he had attained a measure of success in his plan before he was deported to Singapur as life-long prisoner.⁹

The British were alerted and by the year of 1857, they succeeded disarming the entire Punjabi population, many of the Sikh dignitaries who had taken part in the fighting against the British were languishing in prisons; many others were living under humiliating conditions. The lands of the Jagirdars have been considerably reduced. The Khalsa army was disbanded and a large number of erstwhile soldiers had been driven to plough. In other words, the British had completely crushed the forces of opposition, yet in some areas of Punjab they still had to face opposition during the revolt of 1857. The British however never hesitated to inflict serious punishments on those who sided with the revolt. Many of them were hanged.¹⁰

In the process of consolidation of the imperial gains, Christian missionaries were encouraged by the state government who along with the state helped introduced some social reforms in the form of schools and hospitals. These were rather suspected of being agencies to convert people to Christianity and were considered injurious to the religious susceptibilities of the people of Punjab. This distress and resentment towards the foreign rulers erupted in a popular movement called the Kuka or Namdhari movement under the leadership of Baba Ram Singh in the Bhaini Village in Ludhiana district. It was in essence a movement which emerged from the lower middle classes disgusted with the vicious atmosphere of intrigue and counter-intrigue among the nobility of Ranjit Singh after his death. Baba Ram Singh left the service of Khalsa army in 1845 and went home. At the same time the slanderous propaganda

⁹ Fauja Singh, *Eminent Freedom Fighters of Punjab*, Patiala, 1972, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

waged by Christian missionaries against Indian culture, and the setting up of a string of slaughter-houses for the supply of beef (meat strictly forbidden under the Khalsa regime), severely affected the sensibility of Baba Ram Singh.¹¹

He could not approve of the new cultural influences, and after pondering for many years over the problems facing the people, Baba Ram Singh devised a plan to revive the glorious traditions of the Khalsa days. By enlisting a few companions to whom he administered *Amrit*, he set up the nucleus of his organization in 1857. A strict code of discipline was laid-down for members of the new organization and they were asked to lead pure and clean lives attuned to God, to develop regular and disciplined habits and to recite the *Chandi Di Vaar*. For the purpose of collection of funds he appointed *Subas* and by imparting military training to youngmen, he built up a paramilitary organization. His followers were popularly known as *Kukas*. As a matter of strategy, he boycotted official postal arrangements and relied on their on *Swaraj* for the purposes of public communication. They also rejected official courts and used the good offices of their loyal Panchayats for the settlement of their mutual disputes. They were instructed to send their children to local *Pathshalas*, where education in the mother tongue were imparted, instead of newly established government schools which followed the western system of education.

Baba Ram Singh travelled widely in the Punjab with his large entourage of follower, in the manner of a chief. By 1863 he had built up a well-knit fine following running into several thousands. As the movement grew in strength, its anti British character crystallized. With its increasing popularity, the government began to take a vary serious view of it. Several restrictions were imposed on Baba Ram Singh and his

¹¹ Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

followers. He was not allowed to move out of his village Bhaini. These restrictions had an electrifying effect boosting both the morale and numbers of the Kukas. Realizing their mistake, the British removed all restrictions in 1867. Having secured their freedom the Kukas intensified their activities. In 1871 they killed some butchers in Amritsar and Raikot. In the Amritsar case four Kukas were hanged and two were sentenced to transportation for life. In the Raikot case four Kukas were hanged. A few months later, even bigger raids were organised on Maloud and Malerkotla with the aim of acquiring weapons. But all who participated in the attack were arrested. With the exception of two ladies, who were released, 75 of them had their heads blown off by cannon fire, one was hacked to pieces and two were transported for life.¹² The Kuka's headquarter at Bhaini was placed under surveillance. Most of the Subas were vanished. Baba Ram Singh was exiled to Burma, where he breathed his last in 1885. Meanwhile attempts were made to establish contacts with Nepal and Kashmir but owing to the pusillanimity and duplicity of their rulers, these attempts achieved little success. Similar overtures were made after 1872 to Russia. A Suba visited central Asia several times to try to persuade Russia to invade India and help the Kukas expel the British.

During the 1880's there were signs of another storm. Maharaja Dalip Singh had reached Moscow. This fact as well as the circulation of certain prophecies among the Kukas, raised their hopes high for the forthcoming years. Budh Singh, the younger brother of Baba Ram Singh, was the main motive force behind the revived activities of the Kukas. But owing to extensive employment of Sikhs in the army, the support of the literate elite and the landed aristocracy for the British along with the

¹² Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

government vigilance and suppression, the movement failed. But it left a legacy of sacrifice and courage in the face of certain death.¹³

The post-Kuka period to the end of the 19th century witnessed re-interpretation of their religions by the different religious communities in response to their interaction with the alien culture. Among the Sikhs a liberal section under the name of Singh Sabha tried to purge the Sikh creed of all beliefs and practices as had with the passage of time become an integral part of the Sikh doctrine.¹⁴ To mitigate the influence of Christian missionaries and the Arya Samaj in 1873 a few conscious Sikhs assembled in Amritsar and formed a society with the name the Singh Sabha. It was attended by the Pujaris, Mahants, Gianis, Granthis, Udasis, Nirmalas, besides prominent Sardars like S. Thakur Singh Sandhawalia, who was the moving spirit of the body. The objectives of the Singh Sabha were to eradicate Hindu practices among the Sikhs, publication of literature in the form of tracts, pamphlets, books and newspapers, propagation of Gurmukhi language and education to the Sikh community, especially to the Sikh women.¹⁵

Another Singh Sabha was established at Lahore on 2 November 1879 and Prof. Gurmukh Singh got it affiliated to the Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar. The branches of the Singh Sabha were also established in most of the towns and cities in the Punjab. It may also be mentioned that another Singh Sabha called the Bhasaur Singh Sabha which later on developed in the Panch Khalsa Diwan, Bhasaur, greatly different from the other Singh Sabhas in character and composition. It turned into a stronghold of the Sikh militancy under the leadership of Babu Teja Singh.

¹³ J.S. Grewal and H.K. Puri, *Letters of Udham Singh*, Amritsar, 1974, p. 23.

¹⁴ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ Ganda Singh, *The Singh Sabha And Other Socio Religious Movements In The Punjab (1850-1925)*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1997, pp. 24-32.

Members of the Sabha were mostly enrolled from the middle and lower strata of the society and all of them were treated on equal footing. Emphasis was given on the democratic tradition of the Khalsa.¹⁶

For the purpose of smooth functioning an organisation was formed under the name the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar in 1902. The number of Singh Sabhas under the control of Chief Khalsa Diwan reached to 1905 in 1920. The Chief Khalsa Diwan brought into existence an educational committee in January 1908. The first session of the First Sikh educational conference was held at Gujranwala. Due to efforts of the Chief Khalsa Diwan the number of schools and the colleges rose up to 58 including the Khalsa College, Amritsar and the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalya, Ferozepur. A Khalsa Tract society was founded in 1894 to produce the Sikh literature for propoganda. Besides the Chief Khalsa Diwan also was successful in passing the Anand marriage Act in 1908.¹⁷

The Singh Sabha and the Chief Khalsa Diwan in their concerted efforts succeeded to establish a printing press both in Lahore and Amritsar. The newspapers began to publish, especially the *Khalsa Akhbar*, *Khalsa Smachar*, *Khalsa Bahadur*, *Khalsa Advocate* and the *Singh Sahai*. Besides many tracts were prepared related to Sikh history and religion in Punjabi. Some of these were: *Bharat Da Itihas* by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, *Devi Pujan* by Bhai Ditt Singh, *Twarikh-a-Guru Khalsa* and *Panth Parkash* by Giani Gian Singh, *Tika Guru Granth Sahib*, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Hum Hindu Nahin* by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha.¹⁸ As a result of the efforts of the Singh Sabhas and Chief Khalsa Diwan the sense of cultural awareness as well

¹⁶ Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-67.

¹⁸ A.C. Arora, *Punjab Dian Lok Lehran*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989, pp. 48-51.

as identity were recreated. Though the movement enjoyed in its earlier years the support of the British, despite the fact that it was desirous of securing benefits to the community through the official patronage, and product though it was of the literate middle class, nevertheless it gave new impetus to the Sikhs towards developing into a self consciousness community able to safeguard its interests.¹⁹

Among the Hindus, Dev Samaj, Bramo Samaj and Arya Samaj movements developed. But the predominant role in creating a sense of Hindu identity was played by the Arya Samaj. The Aryas attacked the activities of the Christian Missionaries. At some point they were also in conflict with the Muslim and Sikh doctrines. They started *Shudhi*, a ceremony of re-admission of those who converted to other religions, and with it they entered into a spirit of militancy directed first against the missionaries and than, of course, against the Muslims and Sikhs as well. Later on, however their accumulated resentment came to be directed against the British rule.

The Muslims had launched the Wahabi Movement long before the revolt of 1857, but it gradually faded away until it was replaced by the Aligarh movement of Sir Sayad Ahmed Khan. In Punjab its counterpart was the Ahmediya Movement started in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Kadian in Gurdaspur district. One positive aspect of the activities of this cultural awakening among the educated middle classes of various religious communities was their access to the new ideas which were developing in the West. These middle classes not only enriched themselves from the new literature available, but also spread these ideas at the popular level through the medium of newspapers and other forms of communications. This brought new understanding among the Punjabi society struggling to come out against the foreign rule. With the situation

¹⁹ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

developing in the way it was, unlikely that the misdirected policies and the exploitative nature of the British regime could go unnoticed.²⁰

The beginning of 20th century was marked by the passing of the Punjab land Alienation Bill in 1901. The act though initially was beneficial to the agricultural classes but it seriously affected the commercial groups. Yet the Punjab government was bent upon alienating the rural agricultural masses by raising the irrigation rates in the Bari Doab Canal colonies. By the end of 1906, the government had also decided to curtail the rights of the cultivators with the avowed intention of reducing them to the position of tenants. The result was the rise of popular agrarian agitations led by the educated middle class. In early 1907, public meetings were held in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lyallpur to demonstrate public resentment to the official bill introduced to give to the changes desired by the government. In one of the meeting at Lyallpur, Lala Lajpat Rai, vindicated the claim of the peasants to their legitimate ownership of land.

Ajit Singh, a fiery orator, who spoke in this meeting, gave a call for revolt. He told his countrymen that three hundred million Indians could easily defeat the hundred and fifty thousand Englishmen in India. The soul-stirring song *Pagree Sambhal Jatta* composed by Banke Dayal invoked self respect in the Punjabi peasants. In the face of the persecution and closer of the *Punjabee* and a threatened 25% tax increase, the movement spread rapidly. At Rawalpindi, Ajit Singh made another appeal for non payment of the enhanced tax and called upon the peasantry to stop cultivation. The chairman of the meeting Lala Hans Raj, fearing that Ajit Singh by his severe criticism of the government was inciting violence, tried to silence him, Ajit Singh left the meeting immediately. Three lawyers, the chairman Gurdas Ram and Amolk Ram were served

²⁰ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

with notices to appear before the court. They were prosecuted to preaching sedition. Besides, Sikhs of their compatriots were arrested and put behind the bars. On 2 May people observed a complete *Hartal* in Rawalpindi. The crowd became violent and the discontentment grew rapidly with the formation of the *Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Vatan*, popularly known as the 'Bharat Mata Society'. Prolific writers launched the idea of nationalism in the minds of the people.²¹

The peasants disaffection spread to army ranks owing to a close liaison between the two. The imminent celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the revolt of 1857 and the sympathies of the Sikh infantry with the disaffected made the government apprehensive of a popular revolt. Consequently the government deported both Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai to Mandalay. In due course the movement abated, partly owing to the repressive measures taken by the government and, of course, by the governor-general vetoing the colonization bill. But Ajit Singh's speeches expressing the concept of violent revolt were carried abroad when Madan Lal Dhingra of Amritsar left India in 1906 to study engineering in London. There he was initiated by Savarkar into his *Abhinav Bharat* for which political murder was an instrument of political freedom. Dhingra got the opportunity on 1 July 1909 to shoot dead Sir Curzon Wylie in a meeting held at the Imperial Institute in London. He was hanged on 17 August 1909.²²

The nationalist forces in Punjab took to violence through use of arms to achieve political freedom with the advent of the Ghadr Party before and during the World War-1. The party raised the issue of India's

²¹ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12, Master Hari Singh, *Punjab Peasant In Freedom Struggle*, Vol. II, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, pp. 20-21 and B.S. Nijjar, *Punjab Under The British Rule (1849-1947) Voll-II*, K.B. Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p. 19-20.

²² J.S. Grewal and H.K. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

freedom at the international level. Between 1906-1913 a large number of hard-pressed Punjabis from the district of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur had migrated to Canada and the United States of America and settled on the Pacific Coast. In 1913 their number was around 10,000 and they were mostly Sikhs working as labourers and cultivators, they witnessed the level of prosperity in Canada and the United States as a glaring contrast to the poverty of their own land. At the same time they strongly felt the impact of racial discrimination against them. They considered the British Indian government to be in league with governments of Canada and America when their requests for the immigration of their families were refused. They attributed the loss of their honour and respect to the absence of political freedom.²³ In the process they developed anti British feelings which were further accentuated by the propaganda of both the Russian Communists, who had sought shelter there from the Tsarist regime, and of the German revolutionaries. On 21 April 1913 in a meeting at a Saw Mill in Astoria, the 'Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast' was organized. It changed its name first to Hindi Pacific Ocean and then to Ghadr Party. The aim of the party was to overthrow British rule through armed struggle and to establish national democratic freedom based on equality. They decided to bring out a newspaper called Ghadr and established its headquarter in San Francisco. The Ghadr Party suggested some concrete measures for the overthrow of the imperial rule in India; sedition of Indian troops, murder of loyal subjects and officials, hoisting of the revolutionary flag, breaking of jails, looting of treasures, thanas, propagation of seditious literature, union with the foreign enemies of the British, commission of dacoities, procuring of arms, manufacture of bombs, formation of secret

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

societies, destruction of railways and telegraphs, and the recruitment of young men for revolutionary work.²⁴

Soon the party attracted a large number of followers from Canada, the United States, the Philippines, Hong-Kong, China, Eghypt, Turkey and Germany. In 1913 three Sikh delegates arrived in Punjab and convinced people of the need to act on their grievances. The government was alarmed by the incursion of Sikh revolutionaries from America. With the beginning of the World War-1, the Ghadr movement took a violent turn. To the authorities the *Ghadr* became a symbol of revolt among the Sikhs of Punjab. When because of Canadian restrictions a large number of Sikhs began to return the Punjab, the government tried to prevent their entry. Thousands poured in all the same.²⁵ In the meantime in 1914 the episode of Komagataru occurred. The Canadian authorities prohibited the entry into Canada of those Indians who did not possess \$200 and who had not made a continuous journey from India to Canada as there was no direct ship from India, this totally stopped the movement of Indians to Canada. However, Baba Gurdit Singh circumvented the Canadian restrictions by hiring a Japanese steamer and sailing to Canada with 370 Sikhs passangers on board. All but a few of the occupants were Punjabis. They were not allowed to land at Vancouver. The Canadian authorities threatened Gurdit Singh and after facing distress and misery for two months in Canadian waters, he turned back towards Hong Kong or Singapore. At last they reached the Budge Budge Harbour near Calcutta on 26 September 1914. In the conflict which ensued there 18 passengers were killed and 25 wounded. The others were given severe punishments.²⁶

²⁴ S.C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement In Punjab, 1905-1929*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 73-75.

²⁵ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p.15.

²⁶ Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

The incident sharpened the movement and the *Ghadrites* began to pour from different countries. A first group of the revolutionaries left San Francisco in August 1914 on board the ship 'Korea'. On their way the Ghadriets established contracts with Indian troops at Hong Kong, Penang and Singapore. Another ship 'Tosamaru' carrying about three hundred *Ghadrites* landed in India on 29 October 1914. The government arrested all of them and threw them into the jails of Montgomery and Multan. On 21 October, at Vancouver, William C Hopskin, Chief Assistant to the Immigration Inspector was shot by Mewa Singh. In Punjab from October 1914 to September 1915 the *Ghadrites* had made their presence felt. In all the central Punjab, police were murdered, loyal citizens especially Sikhs known to be assisting the authorities, were shot down or killed by bombs; gang robberies, sometimes with murder of wealthy Hindus were carried out to raise funds for the cause; bombs and material for bombs received from the revolutionaries depots.²⁷

The night of 21 February 1915 was fixed as the time for the Indian soldiers to revolt. But the government came to know about the plan through its agents and made numerous arrests including those of Nidam Singh, Rur Singh, Nand Singh and Kartar Singh Sarabha. Among the 18 arrested, were 12 Ghadrities who were immediately hanged. The movement received a serious set back with these arrests. In fact poor organization, a dearth of arms, a failure to keep secrets, British vigilance, police atrocities, the role of traitors and the poor response of the people, all contributed to the Ghadr movement subsequent disappearance from the Punjab by 1916. Yet it succeeded in establishing that the hegemony of the British could be challenged. The courage with which Kartar Singh Sarabha courted death became legendary.²⁸

²⁷ S.C. Mittal, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²⁸ J.S. Grewal and H.K. Puri, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

Although the British were able to crush the first armed struggle, yet the movement continued with its activities in the United States throughout the 1930's and provided the ideological basis for the person of Udham Singh. The next protest in the Punjab resulted into the Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar in which more than 379 persons died. The people of Punjab had to suffer atrocities during the martial law imposed by the Punjab governor Francis Michael O'Dwyer.²⁹

Hardly had the injuries of the April 1919 events subsided that another agitation developed among the Sikhs over the control of Gurdwaras in Punjab. It was a peaceful movement of a section of moderate Sikhs against the British backed *Mahants* who were ruining the sanctity of Sikh religious institutions. The first conflict between the Sikh and the government ensued in January 1920 in Tarn taran. It was provoked by the *Mahants*. Two Sikhs fell victim to it. Events of this kind were repeated on a wider scale at Nankana Sahib. On 20 February 1920 Bhai Lachhman Singh led a *Jatha* to put an end to the scandalous state of affairs prevailing under the management of Mahant Narain Das. Armed *Pathans* and desperados hired by the *Mahant* fell upon the peaceful *Jatha* and killed about two hundred Sikhs. It was a major shock. In addition large numbers of the wounded were burnt alive. Yet the Sikhs remained peaceful. The government resorted to repressive measures to suppress the Sikh movement. On 7 November 1921, the deputy commissioner of Amritsar took away the keys of the Golden Temple. This would have provoked another stir but the government yielded and returned the keys to the Sikhs.³⁰

After a few months another clash occurred at Guru-ka-Bagh. Every day a *Jatha* of Sikhs went to the disputed spot and was mercilessly

²⁹ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23.

³⁰ Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

beaten by the police. In August the police shot down a number of Sikhs. The struggle still continued, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, a sympathizer of Sikhs, observed the Martyr's Day to honour all those who had laid down their lives at Nankana Sahib. The British government forced him to abdicate. This compelled the Sikhs to launch another agitation called 'Jaito Da Morcha'. They led Jathas which were subjected to all kinds of torture. The atrocities perpetrated by the police on the peaceful Sikhs aroused public sympathy. While the Jaito Morcha was still going on another clash took place at Bhai Pheru in the district of Lahore. The Sikh resentment was termed as Akali Lehar, began to fade in 1923. The more radical section of the Akalis did not approve of the non violent methods of struggle and formed a separate organisation called the Babbar Akalis to meet the British challenge.³¹

Following the Ghadr Party the Babbar Akalis held a meeting at Hoshiarpur in March 1921. They decided to raise an open armed revolt against the British and physically to eliminate the Toadies. Kishan Singh, a dismissed Havaladar, organized a band of people which terrorized oppressive government servants. Their object was to communicate their message of revolt to the people as well as the army. Treacherous tactics, however assisted the British in securing the arrest of Kishan Singh on 26 January 1923. Enraged at this the Babbars committed a series of political assassinations. They created a tremendous stir in the districts of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur. In response, the police rounded up many innocent people. To save them, the Babbars announced the names of their comrades who had committed the murders. Many Babbars were killed in police encounters. Out of the 186 Babbars prisoners, 5 were

³¹ Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38; Dr. Gurcharan Singh, *Babbar Akali Movement, A Historical Survey*, Aman Publications, Zira, 1993, pp. 52-53.

sentenced to death, 11 to transportation for life and 38 to various terms of imprisonments.³²

Though the Babbar movement could not hold out any longer, nevertheless it consolidated the Ghadr mode of armed revolution against the repressive foreign rule and also indirectly helped the Akali movement in passing the Gurdwara Act 1925. On the other side it provided a backdrop for the emergence of another armed revolutionary struggle led by Bhagat Singh, a nephew of S. Ajit Singh and an ardent admirer of Kartar Singh Sarabha. Bhagat Singh became a member of the Hindustan Republican Association in 1925 and a year later founded the Naujwan Bharat Sabha to mobilize the youth of Punjab in support of the Associations programme. The members of the Subha advocated revolutionary action against the government.³³

In September 1928, a conference of revolutionaries from several provinces was held in Delhi with Bhagat Singh as its secretary. On his suggestions the name of the party was changed to Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, and adopted the objective of establishing a socialist republic in Indian in place of the capitalistic British empire. Revolutionary action was the task of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army, with Chander Shekhar Azad as its commander in chief. A decision of far-reaching effect was taken in this conference to boycott the 'all white' Simon Commission. When the commission came to Lahore on 30 October, the members of the Naujwan Bharat Sabha marched to the railway station in an all-parties demonstration headed by Lajpat Rai. Bhagat Singh witnessed humiliation of Lajpat Rai by an English police official. Rai died afterwards "The murder of the leader respected by millions of people said a red leaflet distributed on 18 December, "At the

³² Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

³³ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

unworthy hands of an ordinary police official was an insult to the nation. It was the bounded duty of the young men of India to avenge it." Only a day earlier Saunders had been shot down by Bhagat Singh and his associates.

This act turned Bhagat Singh into a symbol. Each town and village resounded with his name. On 8 April 1929 Bhagat Singh's idea of propaganda action resulted in the explosion of two bombs in the Assembly Hall, followed by a Shower of Pamphlets stating, "That it takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear". His idea was to get arrested and to use the court as a forum of political propaganda. On 6 June, his statement was read out in Delhi Court. "The bombs", according to this statement, "were dropped to register protests. On behalf of those who had no other means left to give expression to their agony. Force used in the furtherance of a legitimate cause had its moral justification. Revolution meant that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice, must change." On 12 June Bhagat Singh was sentenced to transportation for life and so was his associates in the bomb case B.K. Dutt. For the murder of Saunders, however he was sentenced to death on 7 October 1930 and was finally executed on 23 March 1931 along with Rajguru and Sukhdev. His wish "to be married to death" was fulfilled. Before long, Bhagat Singh became the hero of many legends. He had made his mark on the folk ideology, deeply influencing the future revolutionary uprisings.³⁴

The post Bhagat Singh era was dominated by the various peasant and worker uprisings under the leadership of the Kirti Kissan Party and the Communist movement. The Kirti Kissan Party was founded in 1927 through the efforts of Bhai Santokh Singh and Abdul Mazid. Before that

³⁴ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28 and B.S. Nijjar, *op.cit.*, pp. 145-160.

a Marxist-Lennist monthly *Kirti* newspaper in Punjabi was brought out in 1926 from Amritsar by Ghadr revolutionary Bhai Santokh Singh and its editorship was taken over by Sohan Singh Josh in 1927. The *Kirti* systematically propagated the ideas of socialism, helped organise the working class and peasant movements. It is the *Kirti* management that took the initiative to setup 'Workers and Peasants Party' and also a broad based 'Naujwan Bharat Sabha' in collaboration with Bhagat Singh group of Lahore. The formation of these organisations boosted the left and Socialist forces inside the freedom movement in Punjab.³⁵ In September 1927, the *Kirti* informed its readers that a *Kirti* conference would be held in Hoshiarpur on 6-7 October 1927 under the presidentship of Sohan Singh Josh in which the problems of *Kirtis* would be discussed. It was also announced that a similar conference would be held in Lyallpur in the last days of September 1927. Akali leaders such as Darshan Singh Feruman, Jathedar Udham Singh Nogoake and Gurmukh Singh Musafir offered themselves for work in the cause of the *Kirtis* and the *Kirti* group leaders hoped to raise a *Kirti* organization with their leadership. The new organization was to establish close links with the National Congress and thus became a part of the anti-imperialist movement.³⁶

The objective to the Party was to change the political set up and which enabled the capitalist, whether foreign or native, and the landlord, to exploit the workers and the peasants. Its goal was *Kirti Raj*. Notwithstanding the government's repressive measures many members of the *Kirti* Kissan joined the Communist Party. The programmes of the *Kirti* included that all means of production should be nationalized; land should be taken away from the landlords without compensation and it

³⁵ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 26, Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, p. x.

³⁶ Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab, 1926-47*, Anupma Publications, Delhi, 1979, pp. 90-91.

should be divided among the cultivators; the revenue should be reduced and should be imposed on production and not on land. On small holdings there should be no revenue at all; the wages of the industrial workers should be increased and working time should not be more than 8 hours; government should give loans to the cultivators. It should also open departments which should provide the peasants with machine, seeds and scientific assistance; village Panchayats should be reorganized and they should include the elected representatives of cultivators and other rural workers. They should be entrusted with authority to impose revenue on the peasants and lastly establishment of a 'Kirti' or 'Bolshevik type' state.

Throughout this period 1926-29 the Kirtis continued to declare that they were deadly enemies of the capitalism and imperialism and wanted to install a workers and peasants government in India. For that purpose, workers and peasants should be separately organised on a common programme according to their needs and in order to win freedom the path of revolutionary mass action should be followed. To achieve complete independence from the British by allying themselves with the middle class would be the first step of their victory but the aim was to establish a completely democratic republic of workers and peasants.³⁷

To ameliorate the fast deteriorating conditions of the Punjab peasantry under the impact of the depression and consequent fall in prices, peasant organizations cropped up throughout the central Punjab at the end of the 1920's. In Amritsar, Zammidars Sabha was active and was holding series of meetings to protest against the proposed resettlement of the district. The movement was backed by the Kirti Kissan Party and the Congress workers. In the month of April 1930, Hissar Kissan Sabha headed a campaign against the payment of rents in kind to the landlords. Police was called in to control the situation. In one of the villages of

³⁷ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

Lahore district, Jhaman, Police and military force had to be employed to restore authority of the government in the village and its neighborhood. The same show of force were also repeated in Amritsar district. In certain villages of Sheikhpura numerous arrests were made to suppress the agitation against payment of revenue. In eastern districts with Hindu Jat majority Zamindara League and Congress led agitation which spread to all major towns and many of the villages.

Zamindara Sabha, Lyallpur held series of meetings in the countryside where resolutions were passed demanding that the land revenue be paid in kind and not in cash, since the fall in prices had raised the revenue burden. An 'All Bar Zamindar Conference' was held at Lyallpur on 20 June 1931 and was presided over by S. Mangal Singh. The Conference declared that the farmers were not satisfied with the scale of remission of land revenue granted to them so far. In the south east of the province tenants were finding it very difficult to pay water rates.³⁸

The Kirti Kissan Party held its annual conferences in 1930-31 in Lahore and Krachi respectively. The Kirti Kissan Party had acquired a slight foothold in parts of Amritsar district. In Jalandhar Kirti Kissan Sabha, with the help of Akali Dal, held a series of meetings in the villages. They advised the small agriculturists to agitate for the immediate reduction of land taxation. Congress and moneylenders methods were attacked. In spite of carefully selected prosecutions of Kirti Kissan Party Workers, the agitation continued in Amritsar district and was beginning to obtain a foothold in the Sheikhpura and Gurdaspur districts.³⁹

Attempts of the Kirti Kissan Sabha workers to influence the various Zamindar Sabhas and unite them into a single body were

³⁸ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

considered by the government to be a vary dangerous move. The Kirti Kissan Party's Offices were raided on 22 June 1932 and amongst other literature police seized copies of a cyclostyled Urdu pamphlet entitled "The programme of the Indian Communist Party." Members of the Kirti Kissan Party who were outside jails continued to pursue their activities. A Kirti Kissan Conference was held at Nankana Sahib on 12, 13 November 1932. It also held conferences in 1933 in the districts of Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. In September 1934, the government declared the Punjab Kirti Kissan Party, Amritsar, its branches, committees and sub committees as illegal and consequently banned their activities.⁴⁰

In the beginning of 1928, the Punjab Kissan Party was formed. This party, representative of a distinct and noble dimensions of the militant movement, seemed to be a revival of the Ghadr group in the united states.⁴¹ It may be mentioned here that the Communist party leaders were actively involved in the activities of the Kirti Kissan Party. Some of the prominent Communist leaders were Abdul Mazid, Sohan Singh Josh, Kidar Nath Sehgal, Philip Sapratt. However the emphasis was shifted to Kissan agitation between 1932-1939. Further that the second phase of the Ghadr Party was equally actively involved. After the ban imposed by the government on the Kirty Kissan Party and Communist group, individuals active in the above organizations, sought to group themselves under the Punjab Kissan Karza Committees banner. Its first meeting was held at Amritsar on 3 March 1935. A number of meetings and conferences were held and the Jalandhar district setup sixty branches at various places in the district with the object to assist the peasants to obtain as much benefit as possible from the relief provided by

⁴⁰ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

⁴¹ S.D. Gajrani, *Punjab 1920-1945 : Agrarian Problems And Role of Peasantry in Freedom Struggle, Commonwealth*, New Delhi, 2009, p. 87.

the Indebtedness Act. It may be noted that during these small village meetings the speakers combined agrarian agitation with Communist propaganda. During the month of October 1935, the Doab Rural Uplift Conference was organized by the Communists at Patara in Jalandhar district. It demanded the cancellation of debts and assessment of land revenue on the basis of income tax and also urged the villagers to setup Karza Committees.

It is to be noted that the leftists, organized under the banner of Punjab Kirti Kissan Sabha, were the only politically organized group which sought to mobilize the poor and small holding peasants both against the money lenders as well as the landlords. The Punjab Kissan Committee was formed in March 1937 and was affiliated to the All India Kissan Committee. Baba Jawala Singh was its first president. The working committee represented all bodies with socialist leanings. The first conference of the Kissan Committee was held at Layallpur in October 1937. 450 delegates attended this session out of total 500. The size of the audience varied between 15,000 to 20,000. The Punjab Kissan Committee now decided to intensify the agitation for cancellation of debts, the assessment of land revenue on income tax basis and exemption of uneconomic holdings from taxation. The PKC demanded that actually tillers of the land and not the big landlord should be the owners of the land.⁴²

It is worthwhile to state that the four districts of the Central Punjab Lahore, Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ferozepur dominated in its membership. It was in the forties that the leaders and the members of the PKC toured North western Punjab and made efforts to organize the Nilibar tenants. The 1938 was marked by active agrarian movement. With the PKC took an active role in organizing and provided leadership to all the peasants

⁴² S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

agitation through out the state, especially the agitations conducted by the peasants of Amritsar, Lahore, Hoshiarpur and the Canal Colony districts. The Communists, the workers and the revolutionaries Babas built up organization of the peasants movements. The agitations took place in Lahore and Amritsar and consequently the Punjab government declared its intention to implement sliding scale in *Malia* and decided to decrease it. In brief the joint agitations were actively organized in the districts of Layallpur, Montgomery, Lahore and Amritsar. In 1938 under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Punjab Kisan Sabhas, the *Moghas Morcha* of Harsa Chhina was fought. The government narrowed the Moghas (outlets) of the canals under the pretext of the remodelling of the Moghas and canals, and thus decreased the quantity of water but retained the old rates of *Abiana*. A large number of peasants courted arrest along with Sohan Singh Josh, Gurdial Singh Dhillon and Achhar Singh Chhina; ultimately the government relented to the pressure.⁴³

⁴³ S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-121.

CHAPTER-2

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

The nature of process of British control mechanisms in Punjab had inherent seeds of reaction. A combination of factors including the activities and policies of the British administrators resulted both into the rise of political consciousness and the organised emergence of opposition that took the form of political protest vis-a-vis the different movements. Essentially the rise of political movements were rested on the major grievances of the controlled population who considered the British rule as a foreign power with objective of economic exploitation and slavery.

During the period of study although a number of political upheavals occurred but the present study includes only three political movements because of their distinct assertions and contributions. These included the Ghadr Party Movement (1913-1917), the Babbar Akali Movement (1921-1923), and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1923-1927)⁴⁴.

To begin with the Ghadr Party and the methodology of its utilization of 'History' it will be appropriate to briefly discuss origin, contribution and outcome of this movement. Between 1906-1913 a large number of hard-pressed Punjabis from the districts of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur had migrated to Canada and the United States of America and settled on the Pacific Coast. By 1913 their number was around 10,000 and they were mostly Sikhs. Working as labourers and cultivators, they witnessed the level of prosperity in Canada and the United States as a glaring contrast to the poverty of their own land. At the same time they strongly felt the impact of social and racial

⁴⁴ For detail, See *Ghadr Party*, Jagjit Singh, *Ghadr Party Lehar*, Navyug, Delhi, 2000; Kesar Singh (ed.), *Ghadr Lehar Di Kavita*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1995 and Satya M. Ray, *Punjabi Heroic Tradition*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1978.

discriminations against them. They considered the British Indian government to be in league with the government of Canada and the United States. When their requests for the immigration of the families were refused, they attributed the loss of their honour and respect to the absence of political freedom.⁴⁵

In the process these Indians developed anti-British feelings which were further accentuated by the propaganda of the Russian Communists and of the German revolutionaries. As a result, the 'Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast' was organized at Astoria on 21 April 1913, it changed its name first to 'Hindi Pacific Association' and then to the *Ghadr Party*. The aim of the party was to overthrow British rule through armed struggle and to establish national democratic freedom based on equality. They decided to bring out a newspaper called the *Ghadr*.

The party elected Sohan Singh Bhakna- president, Kehar Singh Thathgarh, vice-president, Lala Hardial, secretary and Kanshi Ram as a treasurer. The party established its headquarter at San Francisco. The newspaper began to publish weekly from November 1, 1913. In the first issue of the *Ghadr*, it was announced : 'Today there begins in foreign lands a war against the British Raj. What is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny. Where will Mutiny break out? In India. The time will come soon when rifles and blood will take the places of pen and ink'.

The 'wanted columns' in the the *Ghadr* occasionally contained the following : 'wanted-enthusiastic and heroic soldiers for organising *Ghadr* in Hindustan:

Remuneration	-	death
Reward	-	martyrdom
Pension	-	freedom

⁴⁵ Navtej Singh, *Challenge To Imperial Hegemony : The Life Story of a Great Indian Patriot Udham Singh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1988, p.13.

Field of work - Hindustan

In the earlier issues of the newspaper, the Ghadr Party suggested some concrete measures for the overthrow of the imperial rule in India; sedition of Indian troupes; murder of loyal (to the British) subjects and officials; hoisting of the revolutionary flag; breaking of Jails; looting of treasures, *Thanas* (Police Station) etc; propagation of seditious literature; union with the foreign enemies of the British; commission of decoity; procuring of arms; manufacture of bombs; formation of secret societies; destruction of railways and telegraphs; and the recruitment of young men for revolutionary work.⁴⁶

Besides the *Ghadr*, the party published important pamphlets including, *Ghadr di Goonj* (echoes of rebellion), *Ilan-i-Jang* (declaration of war), *Naya Zamana* (new age) and the balance sheet of British rule in India. The Ghadr literature at first was published in Urdu, Punjabi and Gujrati. Soon the party attracted a large number of followers from Canada, the United States, the Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Egypt, Turkey and Germany. Their literature evoked the sentiments of patriotism, revolution, secularism, unity and independence. In 1913 three Sikh delegates arrived in Punjab and convinced people of the need to act on the removal of their grievances. The government was alarmed by the incursion of Sikh revolutionaries from America. With the beginning of the World War-I the Ghadr movement took a violent turn. To the authorities the Ghadr became a symbol of revolt among the Sikhs of Punjab. When because of Canadian restrictions a large number of Sikhs began to return the Punjab, the Government tried to prevent their entry. Yet thousands poured into the province..⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

⁴⁷ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

In the meantime, in 1914, the episode of Kamagatamaru occurred. This incident took a brutal turn when the ship carrying 376 persons on board reached the Budge-Budge Harbour near Calcutta, on September 26, 1914. Under the leadership of Baba Gurdit Singh, in the conflict that ensued with the police there 18 passengers were killed and 25 wounded. The others were also given several types of punishments.

The incident caused out rage among the Ghadrates in many countries. They gave a call to the Punjabis settled in U.S.A., Canada and South-East Asia to return quickly to India to liberate her from the alien yoke. The Budge-Budge Harbour shooting incident encouraged the distressed Indians to believe that it was necessary to make a revolution during the war. The first group of Ghadrates left San Francisco in August 1914 on board the ship 'Korea'. On their way, the Ghadrates established contacts with Indian troops at Hongkong, Penang and Singapur. Another ship 'Tosamaru' carrying about 300 Ghadrates landed in India on October 29, 1914. The government arrested all of them and imprisoned them into the jails of Montgomery and Multan. On 21 October at Vancouver, Willian C. Hopskin, Chief assistant to the Immigration Inspector was shot by Meva Singh.

In Punjab, from October 1914 to September 1915 the Ghadrates had made their presence felt. In all the Central Punjab, Police were murdered, loyal citizens, especially Sikhs known to be loyal and assisting the authorities were shot down or killed by bombs, gang robberies, sometimes with murder, of wealthy Hindus were carried out to raise funds for the cause; several instalments were prepared for making bombs at various places; bombs and material for bombs received from the revolutionaries' depots.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp.16, 17.

The night of February 21, 1915 was fixed as the time for the Indian soldiers to revolt. But the government came to know about the plan through its agent and made arrests including those of Nidam Singh, Rur Singh, Nand Singh and Kartar Singh Sarabha. Among the 18 arrested, were 12 Ghadrites who were immediately hanged. The movement received a serious setback with these arrests. In fact poor organisation, a dearth of arms, a failure to keep secrets, British vigilance, Police atrocities, role of traitors and the poor response of the people, all contributed to the Ghadr movement's subsequent disappearance from the Punjab by 1915. Yet it succeeded in establishing that the hegemony of the British government could be challenged. It also made the British rely more and more on the use of force for the administration of the 'Problem Province'.⁴⁹

The courage with which Kartar Singh Sarabha courted death became legendary :

I will get life imprisonment or capital punishment. But I will prefer the latter so that after rebirth, I may again be prepared for the struggle for India's freedom. I will die again and again till India become free. This is my last wish.⁵⁰

It may be noted here that though the Ghadr Party movement was crushed by the British administration but the Ghadr Party remained active till 1950 when it was formally closed. Prior to that the party kept its activities in diverse forms; sometimes in collaboration with like-minded revolutionary parties or groups along with formally adopting its name in 1928 as Ghadr Party. Further that the Ghadr Party movement took the cause of the India's freedom at the international level and that majority of

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁵⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p.17.

the participants in the movement were the Sikh immigrants belonging to the different agricultural classes along with the Sikh ex-army men.⁵¹

So far the organisation structure of the Ghadr Party was concerned, it was essentially based on democratic equality where the entire participants were working on equal footing. In America, in the factories some sympathizer could form a group with and choose its own leader who was supposed to act according to the higher leadership of the Ghadr Party. No worker of the party was given any wages; neither those working in the office, press or newspaper.⁵²

It is to be noted further that in order to give shape to the Ghadr Party programme in America and outside, the major central power organ was the *Ghadr* newspaper, through which aims, objectives and programme of the Party were intimated to the sympathizers of the Ghadr Party. Although in America meetings and public rallies were held to organise the Ghadr Party, yet, the major instruments of propagation of the Ghadr ideas and programmes remained its newspaper the *Ghadr*. Apart from the above personal relationships were other important link in its organisational strategy. To illustrate further mention is made of a public meeting held on December 31, 1913 at Sacramento under the patronage of 'Hindi Association'. In this meeting poems were read out and lectures were given highlighting repression and atrocities along with seditious orations with the help of lantern slides. The pictures of eminent rebels were shown along with revolutionary techniques. At the end Lala Hardial announced the gathering that Germany was preparing for war against England that the time was ripe to make revolution in India.⁵³

⁵¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadr Party Lehar*, Navyug, Delhi, 2000, pp. 390-419.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 184-186.

⁵³ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

Further at Stockton on February 15, 1914 a meeting was held in which a large number of Ghadr Party sympathizers were present. Here the Party flag was hoisted and bow was taken to eliminate the British in India. At the same time everyone present promised to spare their hard-earned money to the Party for the liberation of the country. The next day another such meeting was held where the above commitments were repeated, lectures were delivered and it was decided to organise similar meetings throughout America to declare war against the British. The Ghadr Party continuously organised such public meetings and rallies throughout America during December 1913 to August 1914 under the leadership of Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Kesar Singh, Lala Hardial, Bhagwan Singh and Barkatullah. It is to be noted that in such meetings the Indians from Canada and Mexico also participated.⁵⁴

The meeting at Portland on June 23, 1914 began in the form of a procession with the beating of drum. In the meeting at Stockton on July 3, 1915 more than 700 Ghadr Party sympathisers were present from Canada and Mexico. The meeting began at 9 a.m. in the morning and continued till mid-night. Apart from meetings, a committee was formed at Stockton on July 3, 1914 to open branches of the party in different parts of California. Outside America, apart from *Ghadr* Newspaper most of the work was done through letters to organise Ghadr Party movement. In Canada Balwant Singh Granthi and Bhag Singh took special interest. In their efforts Sohan Lal 'Pathak', Kapoor Singh and Hardit Singh actively participated to organise the movement in Burma and Syam (Thailand), Gandha Singh was actively involved in revolutionary activities in India. Shanghai and Manila were other centers of Ghadr Party. At Shanghai the founder of movement was Nidhan Singh 'Chugha'. Dr. Mathura Singh and Gujar Singh 'Bhakna' also initially

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

began their activities from Shanghai. In Manila Guru Datt Kumar, Hafiz Abdula and Chanan Singh were the founder of the branch.⁵⁵

With the outbreak of World War 1, the issues of the *Ghadr* newspapers of July 28, and August 4, brought out special issues on the War. With the help of the *Ghadr* newspaper and through meetings appeals were made to the Indians in America, Canada and Far East to return to India for raising the revolt. In America Barkatullah, Bhagwan Singh and Ram Chander Peshawaria inspired Indians through meetings. On return to India the Ghadr activists in the ship organised community kitchen (*Langer*) without any consideration for religion and cast, daily meetings were organised in which revolutionary lecturers were openly given and poems were read from *Ghadr di Gunj*.⁵⁶

The Gurdwara at Hong Kong became a meeting place of the Ghadraties returning from different countries. Here the Party held many public meetings in which rebellion was openly preached.⁵⁷

Before initiating rebellion in Punjab, a group of Ghadraties under the leadership of Gujjar Singh Bhakna made propaganda tours in villages and indigenous army regiments. At Amritsar one Nanak Singh's residence was the meeting place of Ghadraties. On the Diwali day, a group of 20 Ghadraties under the leadership of Dr. Mathura Singh from Shanghai reached Amritsar. In the meeting held at the residence of Nanak Singh at Amritsar, the Ghadraties who attended the meeting were included Gujjar Singh, Dr. Mathura Singh, Piara Singh 'Langeri' and Harnam Singh 'Sialkoti'. Similarly at Nankana Sahib Fair Diwan was held and meetings at some other places to were organised propogate Ghadr ideology in the rural areas. Kartar Singh 'Sarabha', 'Pandat' Jagat

⁵⁵ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp.189-191.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

Ram, Nidhan Singh 'Chugha' were actively involved in organising the sympathizers. During amavas fair at Taran taran a meeting was arranged under the leadership of the *Majha* incharge Gujjar Singh and Harnam Singh and Inder Singh were despatched to contact leader of the Malwa group of Ghadraties, Nidhan Singh 'Chugha' and others were assigned the duty to collect persons for the purposed meeting to be held at 'Jhar Sahib'.⁵⁸

The Ghadraties also established communication with the 23rd regiment posted at Mianmeer Cantonment (Lahore) along with some cavalrymen. Due to the propaganda by the Party in the villages through the passengers of Kamagatamaru in the area from where a number of recruits for the 23rd Regiment came, along with the letters coming from America describing rumours of victory of Germany created enthusiasm in the parts of rural Punjab. The cavalrymen of 23rd regiment held a meeting at *Kabarsthan* near Mianmeer in which one Sucha Singh of village Chola Kalan, Amritsar, Prem Singh and Sur Singh chalked out the programme. In *Majha* the Ghadri Shri Lal Singh 'Bhoori' tried to build the group near the river Beas.⁵⁹

In the Ghadr Party meeting at Baddowal near, Ludhiana on November 17, Pirthi Singh 'Pandit' Jagat Singh, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Nidhan Singh 'Chugha', Ram Rakha, Jeevan Singh, 'Pandit' Kanshi Ram and Jagat Singh decided to publish Ghadr Party literature. In the meeting at Moga on November 19, in which 'Pandit' Kanshi Ram, Nidhan Singh 'Chugha', Kartar Singh 'Sarabha', Jagat Singh, Shri Pirthi Singh and Nawab Khan decided to contact more people for their participation in the purposed rebellion. In another meeting held at Baddowal Nidhan Singh

⁵⁸ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-235.

⁵⁹ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.

'Chugha', Kartar Singh Sarabha, 'Pandit' Kanshi Ram, Rehmat Ali Khan, Jiwan Singh, Amar Singh Rajput and Nawab Khan participated.⁶⁰

During the next stage Ghadr activities in Punjab were organised under the leadership of a Bengali patriot Ras Behari Bose along with Moola Singh. In the meeting at Amritsar on December 31, 1914 apart from Moola Singh and Amar Singh, Kartar Singh 'Sarabha', Parmanand, Harnam Singh (Jhelum), Pingle, Nidhan Singh, Dr. Mathura Singh, Harnam Singh 'Sialkoti', Hirdey Ram (Mandi State), Jagat Singh 'Sur Singh' and Balwant Singh participated and decided to work in the army units. The Ghadrites attended the Muktsar *Maghi* fare to propagate their ideology. In Amritsar the *Dharmshala* of Sant Gulab Singh became centre of Ghadr activities. Lahore was another area of activity where publication of Ghadr Party literature was focused upon.⁶¹

It must be mentioned here that the revolutionaries of Ghadr Party specially worked among the common people especially the villagers and students. The emphasis on participation of students remained part of Ghadr Party Programme from the very beginning. It was with this objective in view that Jawala Singh 'Thathian' started scholarship for the students. Among them who became eminent Ghadrates were Nand Singh 'Sihora', Gobind Bihari Lal and Mohan Lal, the later also worked in the *Ghadr* newspaper. In the first issue of *Ghadr* newspaper it was declared as policy that the youth would be prepared to propagate Ghadr ideology and revolution. In Montgomery prison Sohan Singh 'Bakhna' impressed upon a prison official the need to visit America and Germany by the youth in order to have training in arms and bombs. Similarly one Banta Singh asked Ichhra Singh to contact youth who could be sent to America for the training of manufacture of bombs and use of guns. Ichhra Singh

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-43.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-260.

purposed name of 'Sant' Randhir Singh who could arrange for such youth. In Ludhiana one Deva Singh (who was having a shop of agricultural material) inspired Sucha Singh and other students to Ghadr ideology. These students helped the party in making bombs, publication of revolutionary literature, delivering of secret messages, to work in the army units etc.⁶²

Besides students, the second strategy of the revolutionaries aimed at taking cooperation of the village people. As it has been mentioned earlier that how the Ghadr party revolutionaries, when the movement was not organised, succeeded to collect a large number of villagers in the meeting at Jhar Sahib. Banta Singh and Harnam Singh 'Tundilat' delivered anti-government lecture in an open ground to the villagers of Sangwal. Similarly Harnam Singh Rasulpur and Thakar Singh 'Thattian' propagated in the Bar areas of Lyallpur. The prominent villages of Ghadr influence included the Dedehar, Dhudike and Sur Singh village Narangwal in Ludhiana district where 'Sant' Randhir Singh contributed enormously to preach Ghadr ideology to the villagers. The third strategy of the Ghadr revolutionaries was aimed at taking help and cooperation from the local army units. It was an innovative idea of the revolutionaries. Apart from working in the army units of Punjab, the revolutionaries also despatched Ghadrates to establish contact in army units posted at Bengal and Rajputana.⁶³

Publication of Ghadr party literature was not only strategically crucial but equally essential for propagation of aims and objectives of the movement along with inspiring the public for their participation in the struggle for Freedom. With this design the Ghadr Party in America produced a number of publications. The prominent organ of Ghadr

⁶² Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-262.

⁶³ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-271.

ideology was the *Ghadr* newspaper. Besides the party published *Hindustan Ghadr*, *Sudesh Sevak*, *Jugantar*, *Hindustan*, *San Francisco*, *'India and Canada'* and *'Social Sudhar'* were other important publications. The *Ghadr* literature, particularly, the *Ghadr* newspaper had its readership in America, Canada, Far East and India. *Ghadr Di Gunj* and *Ghadr Sandesha* were the collection of poems most of which were published in *Ghadr* newspaper. It is interesting to note that these poems became more popular than the *Ghadr* newspaper because being in poetical form the people use to memorise them. Besides these writings *Tilk*, *Nadir Masjid*, *Rikeb Ganj*, *Canada Da Dukhra* etc. were published. Although Bhai Parmanand's *Tarikh-i-Hind* appears to be a doubtful Ghadr Party literature.⁶⁴

Distribution of revolutionary literature in India was a major programme of the Ghadr Party. In one issue of the *Ghadr* it was emphasised that, "we need to send *Ghadr* to India in lakhs. We will publish newspapers and books and send them to India". It was also decided that a press be established at Rangoon in order to publish the *Ghadr* in English, Urdu, Gurmukhi and Hindi languages to be distributed in native local units, towns and villages and as its number increased minds of the people would turn against the government and war and revolt could be started in India. Although the Ghadr Party could not succeed to dispatch *Ghadr* newspaper and Ghadr literature to India in large quantity but a large number of publications were reached to the Ghadr Party members in the countries of the far East. Moreover the great success which the *Ghadr* newspaper achieved in inciting Indians in America is remarkable.⁶⁵ The shifting of Ghadr party headquarter from Amritsar to Lahore was aimed at to establish a printing press there. But

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, p.271.

due to paucity of funds it could not be materialised. Instead only six duplicators were purchased to publish to *Ghadr Sandesha* and *Ailan-i-Jang*. Before the purchase of duplicators *Ghadr Sandesha* and *Ghadr di Gunj* were handwritten by the two students of Ludhiana Sucha Singh and Kirpal Singh.

The Ghadr party literature produced through handwriting and duplicators was distributed in different parts. These areas included Ambala, Meerut, Faizabad, Ferozepur, Mianmir, Jhelum and cantonments of the Frontier and Ludhiana, Thikriwala, Lohatbadi, Dhoodike, Dedehar and some other towns and villages. It is evident from the judgment in the second conspiracy case where the Judges mentioned "That we are fully aware that the Ghadr newspaper and other party literature were distributed in every such place especially among the army units where the revolutionaries expected to get companions and its decidedly made statements and propaganda incited many people to become the bases of disloyalty to the government."⁶⁶

It is difficult to provide the exact number of Ghadr publications and their circulations and distribution both in India and Foreign countries.⁶⁷ Before the examination of the utilization of 'History' in Ghadr Party literature, it is imperative that for the analysis the focus is only an Ghadr poetry published mainly in the issues of Ghadr newspaper and also other literature available in the form of leaflets and pamphlets mentioned earlier.

To begin with, the Ghadr Party literature under scrutiny reveal that the British had occupied India because of being intelligent and clever along with the internal disputes and lack of unity.⁶⁸ The Sikh Kingdom

⁶⁶ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-272.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ fbyk fJbw dh pkoSk ; D' j wko/ pho

of Lahore after death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh became slave to the British because of the greed of the successors and the mutual conflicting interests. Besides the Ghadr Party viewed role of Maharani Jindan critically negative whom the Ghadrites dubbed as betrayal and traitor.⁶⁹ The revolutionaries also took inspiration from the role played by Indians in the struggle between the whites and Blacks in Africa to the extent of giving arrests, taking shelter from God. They continued their struggle. The citation of such contribution of struggle was aimed at inciting Indian settled in Canada.⁷⁰

Further for the purpose of generating awareness/consciousness among the Punjabis for revolution they were reminded of their rich cultural heritage and history by giving references to different scholars, prominent rulers and *Gurbani* of the Gurus to arise anti-British spirit. Also the literature mentioned the heroes of Indian freedom struggle including Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak, Lala Hardial and S. Ajit Singh and they praised their qualities of fearlessness and bravery.⁷¹ There is illustration

- - - - -
 Bkb fJbw d/ i b d/ Gkos ftU rJ/
 wpe j'ho/ dh eDh dk eod/ oki gJ/
 wpe Bk; i' j' frnk d' pksk d/ skD
 fJe pfJbwh d{ ol pfJscelk i kD.
 eftsk @dj ol gV@/ fJ; nypko B#, d'f'kok fp; B f; x, fJB e/ o f; x Bktbeko
 (; r'fj eko), rdo bfjo dh eftsk, gpbhe; B fpT'p', gi kph : Bhtof; Nh,
 gfNnkbk, 1995, gBk 77H

[
⁶⁹ eod/ e'w dh ofynk yp : ko', Bjhl oyd/ e'w ; / y'o pbl
 J/ / tk; s wpe popkd j'fJnk, i dl e'w B{ ; wMd/ j'o pbl,
 ; ol i r'f' pko'd dh Gi fdsh, J/ Bko okDh fi d' eb pbl.
 pS, @ekw neb dk eoB nroi : ko#, d'f'kok GkUh fp; B f; x, fJB Tj h, gBk
 78H

⁷⁰ nkJh sko ncohek s'l nZi ;kvh, thoK eko ftjko Bz{ Sfvnk j?
 -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
 fJe UN nekb dh oZy nZr/, p/Vk gkg dk ;uB/ o'fVnk j?
 ikr ikr e?B/vk d/ tho sz{ th, t/bk bzwh skD Bk ;"D dk j?
 @sz{ th ikr thok,# Btzpo 1913, nekbh, fJB Tj h, gzB/ 85, 86H

⁷¹ ekbh dk; gzvs oki G'i Xowh, noiB Ghw i?;/ pbtkB feT[I Bjhl.
 -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
 iph pkD bkr/ sph o'; ikr/, go ;hB/ tid/ n;K d/ pkB feT[I Bjhl.

of Sikh history with emphasis on Guru Gobind Singh and sacrifices of the family, bravery and sacrifices of Banda Singh Bahadur along with the later Sikh struggle under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Akali Foola Singh and Hari Singh Nalwa who were appreciated for their valour and bravery.⁷²

The Ghadr party while criticising the policy of non confrontation with the British focused on the great martyrs of Sikh history included Subeg Singh, Shahbaz Singh, Baba Deep Singh and Mehtab Singh whom the party viewed the present Sikhs as their successors.⁷³ In the struggle against British imperialism the Ghadr party remained secular to the core. It reminded the Muslim community of their examples of bravery shown in History and therefore the community was asked to join the movement.⁷⁴ With the objective of raising spirit of the Punjabis Guru Gobind Singh's idiom of confronting of an individual with the army of

bZyK ftu ;kv/ dr/pki fcod/, wkoB e"w, wod/ p/JhwkB feT[I Bjhl.
Gkosto;a d/ tho pbtkB pZu/, fw;Nq fsbe tor/ p/r[wkB feT[I Bjhl.
jofdnkb fiE/ jofd:kb j'fJnk, fgkok :ko @nihs# e[opkB feT[I Bjhl.
@:Zuh gqeko,# gqhs w ih, 30 d; zpo 1913, fJB Tj/h, gzBk 93H

⁷² go T[geko ekoB r[oK ;kfink ;h, jEhl ehs/ ;h izr e[wkb f;zx'.
J/; fjzd dh ofynk eoB ykso, tko fdZs/ ;h firo d/ bkb f;zx'.
id'l nkg r[og[oh fs:ko j'J/, pzdK G/fink ;kvk oytkb f;zx'.
id'l pzdK B/ rwB gob'e ehsk. ezW gZE B/ fbnk ;zGkb f;zx'.
fgS'l f;zx oDihs B/ ia'o gkfJnk. ehsk nkehnK dk wzdk jkb f;zx'.
joh f;zx tor/ ioB?b ;{o/, B/e fdb niakd fynkb f;zx'.
c{bk f;zx nekbh ;h tZvk ;{ok. fBZs oZydk UN nekb f;zx'.
@gzE nZr/ g[eko#, iBtoh 1914, fJB Tj/h, gzBk 96H

⁷³ n; hl Bkw d/ f; x ; dktzd/ j k, GMh frdVK sl ; kvh ukb f; x'.
nī f; x ; p/r Fpki j p/ fdd/ uoyVh ukV0 fdykb f; x'.
i'eo nī j p/ dlig f; x ; p/ k, jE geVdk sr s/ Ykb f; x'.
whok eNink f; x wškp j p/ k. fddk rfonk jE ftykb f; x'.
n; hl Tj BK d/ gš s/ g'sol/ j k, ; kBē nkD/ Bk Fow o[tkb f; x'.
@gE nīr/ g[eko#, iBtoh 1914, fJB Tj/h, gBk 96H

⁷⁴ ekBgb dh i dl w; hs Ykj h. fds/ rki lnk jE fdykb f; x'.
gšo rki lnk d/ fBs ir wrD. j i os nbh dk oYD y: kb f; x'.
tīv/ vke{ B/ sps j h ; bōj etsh. i dl dfynk i ; a ewkb f; x'.
Tj h, gBk 97H

more than one lakh along with the sacrifices of S. Hari Singh Nalwa and Seva Singh 'Thikriwala' were emphasised.⁷⁵

Further the Ghadr Party leadership was aware of the infighting of the Indians on caste and communal basis and it resorted to eliminate the internal conflicts in order to achieve freedom as had been done by the people of the countries of Eghypt, Burma, China and Sudan.⁷⁶ The Ghadr Party literature also highlighted the patriots who were deported and exiled still they faced these hardships with courage and bravery. These examples were often repeated. While mentioning these acts of bravery the names of Vir Savarkar, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak and Ajit Singh attract attention.⁷⁷ In bringing political consciousness among masses the need of personalities of Sikh History such as Baba Deep Singh and Mani Singh was badly felt. The Ghadrates opined that the failure of the revolt of 1857 was due to the non-cooperation reflected by the Punjabi Population.⁷⁸ The cultural tradition of India with emphasis on the martyred Sikhs and their saga of bravery were repeated by citing the examples of the sacrifices made by the Great Guru Gobind Singh and his

⁷⁵ feT[Bk Bkb ;w; b i[tkp fddk, j jk joh f; x ; bk wj otkB feE/
ni nDy pdb/ fid tko fddk, j jk ;tk ih Fb pbtkB feE/
; tk by ; / bVrk fJe ; bk rJ/ rpk d/ Tj cpwkB feE/
pS l @rdo dk j'ek#, fJe gi kph f; x, i Btoh 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 101H

⁷⁶ i r Tj BK dh tb fXnkB wko', feE/ gli rJ/ wpy i gkB tkb/
nkg; ftu bVBk wdk ew cfVnk, MrV/ MrV fj d{ w; bwkB tkb/
w; bwkB gmkB pbtkB vro, f; x ; bw : X wukD tkb/
fj d{ skBhnk w'ou/ cs/ ehs/ powk fw; o s/ uhB ; jkB tkb/
pS l @rdo dk j'ek# bye fJe gi kph f; x, i Btoh 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 101H

⁷⁷ ; kv/ tho ; kteo i j / dodh, xbl fsbe i ? / nmw kB be'
ni hs f; x i ? / ; b pho pke/, pXB dD Bk i j V/ brkB be'
gJ/ xlvd/ fcoB gpl/ a nzo, ykso d/ a dh e; N TmkB be'
pS l @j d bN corhnk uV ehsk# fJB Tj h, gBk 102H

⁷⁸ i /eo ni j p/ dhg f; x tor/ wj D/ f; xk B{ tid/ oi' ekj B{
i /eo ni j p/ wBh f; x tor/ fj d{ skB j jk Gbk uV ekj B{
be nkyd/ f; x fj j pV/ GM/ rdo fdbh tkbk fdsk wV ekj B{
j D B{ wpe nitdh w/ ybDk ; h, JSBk xfsnk ; h nmk bj V ekj B{
@wB{ Gh gV# bye 108, i Btoh 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 103H

family along with the role of Nabi Khan and Gani Khan, Bhai Mati Dass and Bhai Taru Singh.⁷⁹

There is mention of different wars in Europe with the aim of giving stress on the weak power of the British. In this context victory of the weak nations over the powerful countries such as the conflicts in Bulgaria, Italy, Tripoli, Russia, Greek and Balkan nations have been mentioned.⁸⁰ In order to prepare Indians for revolt there is mention of the loss of their 'Takhat-i-Tous' and 'Koh-i-noor' diamond who were taken away by the British looters.⁸¹ The heroes of the revolt of 1857 including Nana Fernvis, Ali Khan, Nakki Khan, Rani Laxmi Bai, Ahmad Khan, Tantia Tope and Mangal Pande are highlighted for their acts of bravery. At the same time it is also mentioned that the failure of rebellion was due to the lack of unity among the Indians.⁸² The Namdhari movement in Punjab

⁷⁹ fjd tk; s/ ; h byk epptB j'J/ nā n; h/ pme/ fp; ko el i' J/ Bf
rpf d; w/; a frnk Npo ; wS tho', Bph rBh ; lj Mb ; e/ Bk ebt/ a Bf
wsltk; ; pw/ fuokfJnk XV nko/ Bkb, ygVh bj kJh sko f; x oŷ e/ Bf
æfps l j d sk fynkb eo;# bye fJe eth; d f; x, cotoh 1914, fJB Tj h,
106H

⁸⁰ i kj ok ik pbr/bhnk SM SMh, rM/ sb ikbw fJrb; skB uV0 rJh.
gj bk wb fJNbh bJh fNohgbh, dŷ/ gkf; U ik pbekB uV0 rJh.
J/ j' b/ Fb ; lj oŷ Tŷ/ fJNbh ; otink ob : BkB uV0 rJh.
Skgt wkfonk Fb pjkdok s/ ; ŷ/ dy c/ i BkB uV0 rJh.
wb fonk n'vohnkBgb cb wVŷ/ c/ spe dh idl pbtkB uV0 rJh.
fwb' fjd GkJhU Gkos wks ikfJU, fJrfb; a ew tho' sŷ; k ykD uV0 rJh.
æps l ; kok ir fBj kb yf; j kb phk;# 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 110H

⁸¹ feXo frnk n; kvk sys, GB sV b? rJ/ epys.
feXo frnk jhok eŷ Bp. ir ftu fi ; dk fgnk csb
; kvh Bi ol ehsk dp, up up eo fdnk wNkJh
i bdh rdo wuk fdU GkJh.
æi bdh eo;# 10 wkou 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 112H

⁸² gj b/ rdo ndo fi Bll ew ehsk, BkBk ; j p nbh Beh ykB j' rJ/
okDh by; wh wbtH ; lj nŷ wd, sgh skshnk pho pbtkB j' rJ/
bfVthk ftu wdkB d/ wrb gkv/ Bkb gpph eJh itkB j' rJ/
d/ a xkshnk ew fprkV fdŷk, ftul eJh wpy pfJwkB j' rJ/
æps l fjd; skB dk }pw fwNkB ykso;# fJe gi kph f; x, 1914, fJB Tj h,
gBk 119H

formed another example to be cited as a rebellion against the British along with the deportation of its leader Bhai Ram Singh along with the great sacrifices made by the Kooka men, women and children.⁸³ The Ghadr revolutionaries were also aware of that how the opium-eaters of China and the Japanese revolted and they fought with bravery and courage to liberate there countries from imperial domination.⁸⁴

In the continuity of the citation of historical examples for inspiring the masses of India, there is mention of the battle of plassey compared to the revolt of 1857 to show that after exactly 100 years there were concentration of anti British feelings.⁸⁵ The lethargy of the Indians was compared with the actor of the Ramayana, that is, Kumbh Karna who remained in a continued state of slumber.⁸⁶ The revolutionaries were aware of the fact that how the East India Company come to trade but eventually captured the entire Indian territory through deceit. While criticizing the action of the Company there is mention of the freedom struggle in Ireland with its appreciation. They attempted to arise feelings of rebellion among Indians.⁸⁷ While discussing economic exploitation

⁸³ ehsk efenk em gi kp ndo, okw f; x Gkjh wj'oh nkD j' rJl.
 pdp; s Tj BK ; kok mhe ehsk, rdo eoB d/ mhe ; wkb j' rJl.
 okw f; x Gkjh i tktsB j' ehs/ Bkb j' b' th eJh eppkB j' rJl.
 pU/ nbsk eJh j' i to eel, ykso d/ a dh bj{ bji kD j' rJl.
 @pS l fj d/; skB dk }low fwNkB ykso,# fJB Tj h, gBk 119H

⁸⁴ uhB/ Tm p'm/ chw ykD tkb/ fdSk rdo wuk pbtKB tho'
 ; kol ir d/ ftu wFj b j'fJnk, SNk d/ a ni id igkB tho'.
 fJrfb; a ew d/ s; k rpbkw pD el, Bkw v'p fdSk fj d'; skB pho'.
 @pS l fJe f; gkj h dh e; w,# 21 ngp 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 121H

⁸⁵ fdbk dodhink dod j' i to Gkt/ d; wJh dk fdB GpbtBk eh.
 J/ o'ia ni idh dk ir fsfVnk, tes y; h dk rwh fbnktDk eh.
 J/ o'ia gbk; h dh ir j'Jh, n? k y; h dk o'ia GpbtBk eh.
 @10 wJh 1857 dk rdo, iB 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 128H

⁸⁶ Tm' fj d d'pkfoU bT[gk; k, eGeoB tkbh ekj B{ nkD uVl rJh.
 Tj h, gBk 109H

⁸⁷ neb Tv t}{d Eh B; rJh, fdSk w'pe id fJBll pgkohnk B{
 nkjh nr B{ sk xo wb p'mh, fdSk Tm itkp xo tkbhnk B{

of India by the British, the Indians were often reminded that how they had destroyed the Mugal imperialism by expelling

Frukhsiar but through ignorance or innocence they lost India to the British.⁸⁸ To inculcate and revive the spirit of bravery, the Sikhs were reminded of taking up the sword against the atrocities as was advised to the Sikhs by Guru Gobind Singh as symbol of power along with the fearlessness of the Nihang Sikhs.⁸⁹

The brave Rajput community was reminded of their ancestors who belonged to Surajbansh and Chanderbansh while the Sikhs were usually addressed as 'Singhs', meaning lions thereby reflecting the symbol of bravery.⁹⁰ In order to encourage the Hindu community they were reminded of the role of Arjun and bravery of Karan and Bhim the heroes of 'Mahabharata', while the Muslims were reminded of being followers of the Mohammad who could tolerate no injustice.⁹¹ The Ghadr literature

nkfJoblv sk bVl wfxpbl sl, s; hl eo' feU fwBskdkohnk Bf
@ps l fj d; skBhU nkU yk fwb' Ssh, 23 iB 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 134H

⁸⁸ eY fdb/ plj o dpoko gj bl fj d ftul
coy; hno, feT[o] w fdb yk fbnk.

-- -- -- -- --
j hok fj d[Gb el j tkb/ elsk rfonk d/
evhnk d/ GkV/ ; Bk nepoh bNk fbnk.
@fps, # 28 iBkjh 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 136H

⁸⁹ elsk rpk B/ dkb eogk i j Vk, fJ; slwkb eo ew Bsr bt'
pkD gj B el ykb; k ; a sok dk ; kEh nkgD/ Bkb fBj r bt'.
@ps l fj d; skBhU wpsk rj o rJhnk, # 21 iBkjh 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 138H

⁹⁰ ; pi pz d/ Bkw Bf dkr birk, ed se dkr ebek dk bkj r/ Bk.
fej Vh f; cs f; xk tkbh s; k ndo, i eo ykb; k ih nr/ nkTj r/ Bk.
feE/ nkD oki gsh dh rlv j' rJh, ed se oki gsh' f; o TjnkUr/ Bk.
@ps l fj d; skBhU wpsk rj o rJhnk, # 21 iBkjh 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 138H

⁹¹ f; y' Yr i wkb/ d/ eospk d/ noi B, Ghw sl/ eoB dh nkD tkb/
feT[Bj hl nDy nkt/ bVB woB Tsh/ ; pphok dh Fb ; skB tkb/
Tjnk ! rki hU pki hnk ir ybl UJ/ wj wdh dhB Jhwk B tkb/
@ps l ; kok i rs GrtkB dk ikrdk J/# ; spo 1911, fJB Tj h, gBk 148H

also highlighted the Sikh loyalists who by betraying the fellow
brotherners had

excepted British titles and they were condemned as traitors.⁹² The
economic exploitation had converted a rich country like India into poor
and poverty stricken and the need to make conscious of this fact to the
Indians were strongly felt.⁹³ The contemporary patriots who were either
hanged or were exiled for life imprisonment including Vir Savarkar,
Madam Kama, Krishan Ji Verma, Pindi Das and Nand Gopal find special
mention of examples to be followed.⁹⁴ The sacrifices of 40 followers
called *Muktas*, the martyrdom of sons of Guru Gobind Singh, bravery of
Baba Deep Singh and martyrdom of Bhai Sati Das during Mugal-Sikh
struggle form part of history to be utilized.⁹⁵

The Ghadr revolutionaries had deep sense of regional, national and
international history and contemporary events. The literature of the Party
depicts the repression committed against the Muslim population in
Turkey where a large number of Muslim Population was massacred and
their mosques were destroyed. The absence of Prophet Mohammad

⁹² r p{ d hko/ t uD tkb/ Gkjh fdb d/ ekb/ ih.
okJ/ pj kdo ykB pj kdo, tkdo gSk tkb/ ih.
y p hnk d/ a xks Tj eod/ ; kv/ i' oyt kb/ ih.
eekch Sd, # ; spo 1914, fJB Tj h, gBk 149H

⁹³ ; fJB fuVh wB{ i r i kDdk ; h, ni ekrVh d/ tkbk j kb wbk.
i kbw ukj p/ Bkw d/ wND/ B{ bU pfuU Bkw ; Gkb wbk.
eGkos wksk dh g{eko, # pd/ wksq, fJB Tj h, gBk 162H

⁹⁴ pj {sk d{ ekj B{ ; D' j kb j D dk, b{yK fcoB o{pd/ j ho/ bkb feT[Bj hl.
i j bk eNd/ MNd/ ck; hrk s/ pho ; ktoeo s{ j 'sh bkb feT[Bj hl.
d/ th w{w ekwk s/ efo; B towk, fgv/ h dk; s/ Bd r{gkb feT[Bj hl.
eh e; p ehsk fJ BK ; fonk B/ wksk yf; h t; d/ sb/ bkb feT[Bj hl.
e{pd/ wksq, # fJB Tj h, gBk 163H

⁹⁵ j {ew ; srpK dk n; hl o{d eohJ, s/ prp/ ej bKT{D dh bV eh J/.
fi BK ftu ; oj d d/ ; h; fdS/, Gbk Bkw i sbkT{D dh bV eh J/.
fi j V/ ftu uweb ; j hd j 'J/, Gb rJ/ GbkT{D dh bV eh J/.
d' d' whb i X/ f; o' pKM bV rJ/ ; kB{ d{y i sbkT{D dh bV eh J/.
fi T{p h i kB bke/ nr ; kv ; N/, Tj h ; j hd GbkT{D dh bV eh J/.
e{pS l fj d'; skBhU j ; a B{ eo' ekfJw, # fJB Tj h, gBk 187, 1915H

during this situation was strongly felt.⁹⁶ To inculcate the spirit of bravery and strong determination, the weakness of traitors Moola Singh and Amar Singh is emphasized and was stressed the need to remain aware of such betrayers.⁹⁷ The starvation situations under British imperialism are equated with the incident of Sikh history when due to lack of food to the followers of Guru Gobind Singh in fort of Anandpur Sahib compelled the Guru to leave the town.⁹⁸ In the fight against the British repression the Indians were reminded of certain events of the Ramayana with stress on the bravery of Hanuman, battle between Ravana and Ram Chander and death of Bali. The Ghadr literature mentions with great respect the martyrdom of brave Kookas who had to face deaths by the cannons during recent struggle against the British.⁹⁹

The Ghadr literature while utilizing historical and contemporary examples of struggle equate the sacrifices of the Ghadr revolutionaries in Singapur with the martyrdom of the Christ. With the mention of Ghadr

⁹⁶ pfdnk jkb eh Npe ; gʃok dk, f; o s/ bNedh si a sbtko j'; h.
 pʌ/ nʊsk iʌbwk esb ehs/ ; hB/ tidh si eNko j'; h.
 eJh w; i dk Ydhnk oi j? B, eheb eD ikt/ wʌdk yʌko j'; h.
 jʌ/ j i ʊs ; kfj p nʌhl dʌ bʌ/ Bebh wʌBK dh yVh esko j'; h.
 @ʌs I edl Tʌnr/# fJB Tʌh, gBk 219H

⁹⁷ wʌk f; x Btkp s/ nwo i? k, Bhu eow ejktBk yok nʌk
 i ʌo i kB j'; h fgnkoh dʌ a eʌ/ dʌ a Grs ejktBk yok nʌk.
 @rdo rdo eodk ; kok iʌ nʌt/# fJB Tʌh, gBk 221H

⁹⁸ iʌ/ ew ykso rʌk gE ofunk, Tʌ; ew Bʌ wB' GʌktBk Bk.
 prb/ Grs fcod/ eJh Nr uʌh, wSh tkr Xy/ ftu nktBk Bk.
 wksk rʌi oh fejk rʌpd f; x Bʌ f; xk Gʌynk : K wuktBk Bk.
 rʌʌ pʌbnk wksk Bk ypo sBʌ gʌ k XB wʌ f; xk yʌktBk Bk.
 nky/ br gʌi kohk egNhnk dʌ, @f; xh## Bkw Bʌ bki brktBk Bk.
 @ʌs, ; D' rdo gʌhʌU,# cotoh 1916, fJB Tʌh, gBk 236H

⁹⁹ j BʌwB tkbh wko' bbeko ih, ti frnk fprb Sʌh j' i' fsnko ; h
 sʌk s/ pʌʌk Svʌ Gi / i kBr/ jʌ/ ; h wʌkʌpʌ/ fi Tʌ okw oD dʌ
 pkbh tkr i kDr/ tYk e/ XD Bʌ fcod/ j? gki h op yh; / gkTD Bʌ
 - - - - -
 ukV' nroʌ a ck; h Ew rv eʌ ; kv/ tv/ wko/ fJj BK sʌk rv eʌ
 ; kv/ Bkb rJ/ eh e; o Sv eʌ eʌ/ i' Tʌkʌ/ pho sʌk rv eʌ
 - - - - -
 ; koh wʌ fgoEh dk fgos gkb Bh, bʌk bʌh oktB/ dʌ ; hʌk Bkb Bh.
 @ebVk Sd I pʌd/ wksʌv,# wkou 1916, fJB Tʌh, gBk 240H

revolutionaries including Abdul Gani, Chaspai Khan and Sardar Gulam who were hanged for their mutiny in Singapur, the attempt is to inspire the common people to continue struggle against tyranny.¹⁰⁰ The unification of Italy, being part of contemporary world history was remembered as a tool of inspiration.¹⁰¹ As part of exploitations of India's rich heritage and resources by the British after their control on India, there is mention of the loss of Koh-i-noor diamond, Taj-Mahal, Shalimar Bagh Lahore and Sikh army.¹⁰² There is repeated mention of the martyrs the 1857 revolt which included Nana Farnvis, Tantia Tope, Rani Laxmi Bai and Ali Khan, V.G. Pingley. The bravery of Kartar Singh Sarabha along with the role of Bhai Ram Singh were stressed upon.¹⁰³ The prevailing conditions of poverty and slavery would not be suitable for the birth of the God like personality of Bhagat Prehlad.¹⁰⁴ The deep understanding of history and contemporary happenings both at the

¹⁰⁰ n; wkJhb wB; b ; h ; b pke/ i kB fj d s/ x'b x[wk rJ/ B/
wB tko fdSk fj d; sKB ykso, o'j dK ; h; pkeh Tj th bk rJ/ B/
npdb rBh, u; gkJh ykB, ykB d'd/, fsB/ Bkw ; odko ejk rJ/ B/
Gkt/ Bkw ; odko r'bkw sKJh, pks ; wM el : K wuk rJ/ B/
@do f; xkgb, # i bkJh 1916, fJB Tj h, gBk 256H

¹⁰¹ oki fwB; h Bkb sbtko : ko' fsyh si sbtko ubk bJhJ/
c'b fj ; Noh d'yhJ/ i rs tkbh, Bi o fJNbh tb fNek bJhJ/
d'y' fe; sok fJj nki kd j'J/ ; p'e fJj BK sl y'p gek bJhJ/
xo pfmnl Bk ; kBf oki fwBDk, oki ob/ dk Y'b pik bJhJ/
@S L Glos to; a d/# 13 ; spo 1916, fJB Tj h, gBk 264H

¹⁰² e'j Bb Gh frnk, ski wj b Gh frnk, ; k'kwko Gh frnk, r'bi ko Gh rJh.
d/ h c' Gh rJh, fdb dh w' Gh rJh, fdbh sys Gh frnk ; oeko Gh rJh.
Tj h, : kd-tsB, gBk 285H

¹⁰³ : kd nktD fdB/ oks j odw, Bk'k ; kfj p s/ sk'shink pho ; kv/
fgnkoh by; w'h, w'bh, ; h'j wj wd, okw f; x' p'pk i h r'jho ; kv/
nbh B'bh i ? / d/ a Grs ; ko/ b'j'k j' b cb wko/ wBho ; kv/
pho fgr'bl f; x' eosko g'hw, j' o dw : kd nktB ntX nwhio ; kv/
Tj h, gBk 287H

¹⁰⁴ fi uo nkgDk nkg ewi b : ko' plj ol d'tBh fe; / fJwdkd fenk j?
fi E/ Gy s/ d'y wi p'b ehsk, TE/ i wD/ Grs g'ij bkd fenk j?
- - - - -
gfV'nk rdo nypko Bk : kd fi ; B/ gfV'nk Tj B/ ; hoh c'oj kd fenk j?
Tj h, i heo skfDnk i kb, wkou 1917, fJB Tj h, gBk 288,

national and international arena are reflected by the mention of great loss incurred by the Indian army under the British against countries of Asia and Europe, for which the Ghadrists felt regret.¹⁰⁵ The 'native' loyalists who were acting as the agents of the Britishers for their personal greed and had acquired British titles of *Namberdars*, *Jaildars* and *Thanedars* and were promoted to *Rai Bahadurs*, *SardarBahadurs* and *Khan Bahadurs*; the Ghadr revolutionaries strongly criticized and condemned their roles.¹⁰⁶ While recollecting weaknesses of the Indian rulers for power, the bravery and conscience of Rajput Prince Prithvi Raj Chouhan has been cited.¹⁰⁷ There is remembrance of the Golden era of Indian history under the ancient Gupta and Maurya empires who produced rulers like Chander Gupat and the Ashoka. Equally there is glorification of the actors of the 'Mahabhartar' with the highlight role of Bhim and Arjun. Simultaneously, the great ancient religious scholarship delivered by Mahatma Budh, Zemini and Shankracharia along with Kalidass, the intellectual and religious maturity of India has been stressed upon in comparison to the British contemporary machinations with a design to encourage India to become brave in the struggle to eradicate the repressive rule.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ frod/ n;K d/ rod rpk o j'fJnk, ;kvh uwedh i's pMk frnk i/.
fw; o, nop, JhokB s/ uhB ;kEl GkJh n; K d/ esb eotk frnk i/.
@pS l fj d'; skBhU,# wkou 1917, fJB Tj h, gBk 291H

¹⁰⁶ fi bdko e'Jh Bpodko e'Jh, i'bdko e'Jh, mkDdko j' rJ/.
e'Jhnk bkb bhek tkbh gr pXh, ulehdko j' rJ/ fwso wko j' rJ/.
e'Jh okJ/ pldo e'Jh ykB pldo, e'Jh pV/ pldo ; odko j' rJ/.
ppEkN pfj e/ pD/ bkN e'Jh, e'Jh xfvnK uVl n; tko j' rJ/.
@pS l fj d'; skBhU,# wkou 1917, fJB Tj h, gBk 292,

¹⁰⁷ fgEhoki Bk fd; dk e'Jh, fcoB pEb/ oki /
oki Bkw pD/ ; G goi k Mfn/ mkm/ pki /.
@ekch,' wJh 1917, fJB Tj h, gBk 298H

¹⁰⁸ udo rgs th n; hl s/ n; e Gh n; hl, noiB Glw i? / pbeko j? j w.
pK i fwBh ; eokuko nkde, ekbhdK; fi Tl Tj ftuko j? j w.
rM oki dk Gd eh n; K ebl, dj bh oyd/ sys dopko j? j w.
- - - - -

The once all prevailing domination of India, their sense of pride, their 'Sheesh' Mahal and 'Kutab Minar' were now deprived to the Indians, even the 'Sword' which was considered as symbol of pride and power that weapon was now could not be kept by the Indians because of the British dictates.¹⁰⁹ The Ghadrites were of the opinion that if the Indians had not cooperated with the British during the World War 1, it would have been very difficult for the British to defeat the countries of Germany and Turkey.¹¹⁰ The Ghadr literature felt the need for unity among different Indian community to oppose the British. It was compared with the unity of *Panj Piaras* of Sikh history, who, though came from different races in India; yet were united together in their fight against injustice and repression.¹¹¹ The struggle for liberation in United States of America under the leadership of George Washington, the success of revolutionaries in Russia during 1917 revolution along with the successful achievements of patriots in Ireland are quoted as the international events to inspire Indians to unite for such struggles for the attainment of freedom.¹¹²

nkfJnk tes ; jhdhnk gktD/ dk, frdV pD' Bk ; bK dh vko j? j w.
 @pS l Bk ; sk i lbw, # i B 1917, fJB Tj h, gBk 301H

¹⁰⁹ Br/ fcoB fj dh tkr tj ; hnk d/ feE/ wywb rJh feBko ; kvh.
 nkeV yk i M ; ko/ ir Bkb/, GBh XD rpbwh d/ Gko ; kvh.
 mv/ Mgv/ s/ j B GR/ nk; D, ed/ ; b; a wj b whBko ; kvh.
 ni oydK wB Bk fwb/ uke{ feE/ rJh jD Ykb sbtko ; kvh.
 @pS l Gkt/ by wf hpsk, # 2 i B 1917, fJB Tj h, gBk 302H

¹¹⁰ efj dk oj r k s{ eh brdk UfJ, fj d'; skB wbk fj d'; skB wbk,
 d/ a xksh i / xks ewd/ Bk, d'bswd Bk j dk fJrfb; skB sbk.
 i owB speh sEI ed/ j kod/ Bk, wfmh Go bVdk i / : pg i r k B sbk.
 @fj d'; skB wbk fj d'; skB wbk, # wkou 1929, fJB Tj h, gBk 337H

¹¹¹ eoe/ wbk g f; y, fj d{ wf bwk B wko/
 j Gb/ B{ wko' s/ bskV' GM/ eko/ B/
 d/ a dh nki kd h bJh bV eppk B h r k dh,
 fi t/ eppk B h eo r J/ gi fgnko/ B/
 @ni kd h, # fBX/e, ngp 1929, fJB Tj h, gBk 338H

¹¹² fbnk oki nwohek B/ bki oyh, tkf; rNB dh i dl sbtko uweh.

Again the Ghadr literature focused on the great personalities of India including the Bhudha, Krishna, Ramchander and even Sita alongwith Guru Nanak Dev.¹¹³ After death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the internal conflicts led to the loss of kingdom of Lahore, exile of Maharaja Dalip Singh and loss of Koh-i-noor diamond are compared with a scene of the famous Punjabi epic the Sohni-Mahiwal.¹¹⁴ The maturity of the Ghadr revolutionaries in utilizing history is further reflected by their rejection of the Ghandi's policy of non-violence to achieve freedom and they compared it with Jainism which was greatly eliminated by the invaders and the Ghadrates were of the firm belief that policy of non-violence alone could not bring liberation.¹¹⁵ There is mention of the failure of brave Hindu Rajputs against their struggle with the Mughal invaders because of their lack of unity who terminated their powers and by referring to this historical fact of this internal disunity, they intended to aware of the people.¹¹⁶ To arouse sentiments of rebellion among Indians, the Ghadr revolutionaries even went to extent of mentioning the

i lo ytko s/ pbk buko j fJnk, dlyh fdbk dh fpi bh dh sko uweh.
 nkfJobk dh nkoi { j'Jh gbh, vhtbbk dh i dl sbtko uweh.
 fdbh bD dh fdbh wpkd gbh, j U[sbk i dl p'eko uweh.
 @j d'; skB rdo,# 1929, fJB Tj h, gBk 339H

¹¹³ wbh wks ; uh Gkos to; a fgnkoh, wf hps s/ e; NK dh ojs dh fenkoh.
 s{ Xowk dh ekY{ s{ fJbwk dh nkr{ s{ ; hsb gD/ ftu i jk ftu fBnkoh.
 s{ pX dt dh wk ; q feq B dh i k, ; q okw udo s/ ; hsk dh fgnkoh.
 s{ fo; ink dh gkbe s{ wBink dh wkbe, i Bw dD tkbh BkBe Boekoh.
 @BvhnB fj dh s/ Gkos wksk,# nekbi, 1930, fJB Tj h, gBk 361

¹¹⁴ feE/ sys dbhg ej Bp j hok ehsk cN B/ d/ a erkb ; kvk.
 j kJ/ cN B/ i VI TyM fdsk pNk Tfrnk ; h clbK Bkb ; kvk.
 ; j Dh yVh MBK s/ epe wko, ofVhk i ktdk J/ wj htkb ; kvk.
 @Bf hkB pke/ ppo pho sb/# 1932, fJB Tj h, gBk 367H

¹¹⁵ rKXh i B ws B{ nr/ oyk fbnk, ; kv/ wns febk skJh JTT[; Dk fbnk.
 ; ksh @ ftxB Bk eJh ngt/ d/ dh niadh Gkt/ dp ik gt/
 Tj h, @bVh Sd,# fJB Tj h, gBk 403H

¹¹⁶ fj d{nk d/ oki T{sh ekch ; h, nkg' ftU yB dh Bdh trkjh ; h.
 oki wf bwkBK d/ wukjh nS ; h, fj d{ Gb/ GkD; K dh bkj h gS ; h.
 @uouk l r{kw fj dh s{doh fj dh,@ fJB Tj h, gBk 392H

medieval romantic epics in which there is saga of valour, courage and bravery. These include the popular love stories of *Heer-Ranjha*, *Sheerin-Farhad* and *Sohni-Mahiwal*.¹¹⁷ They taunted the Indians that instead of dying due to plague and famine, they must die fighting bravely and that, they opined that it was happening due to Gandhi's policy of non-violence. During such situations the Ghadr party literature usually mentioned the ancient texts of *Vedas* and *Kuran* to take inspiration from.¹¹⁸ The second phase of the Ghadr movement never forgot to mention the challenge opposed by great sacrifices made by Bhagat Singh and his associates for their struggle against imperialism.¹¹⁹ Similarly, the great heroes of the Ghadr party movement including Babu Harnam Singh, Dr. Mathura Singh, Harnam Singh Tundilat, Kehar Singh, Chattar Singh and the martyrs of Kamagatamaru find mention in the Ghadr literature. The hangings of prominent Babbar Akali leaders are repeatedly stressed.¹²⁰ To wage war against the British the ancient battle of Mahabhartta has been highlighted to end imperial slavery.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ j; B jho bJh pj; s nXho j'e/, tkr i'rhnk nby irk fdnkr/
 bpl; /koh d/ p;/ / dh nk; ndo, e; B{ uho e/ B}o trk fdnkr/
 ; j D/ : ko d/ gko dhdko ykso, ; j Dh tkr b? skohnk bk fdnkr/
 ; } o : ko bxB ukVl Bè i'eo, uD/ T; th Bè upk fdnkr/
 @n; / nr n; wkB B{ bk fdnkr/, @ fJB Tj h, gBk 410H

¹¹⁸ ; kswJh B/ nk Bwod ehs/, oj h oè Bk jo itkB ndo.
 skes fj d dh ni nb'g j'Jh, ; s fojk Bk td epkB ndo.
 rIXh b'jo B/ eM ; tkfonk Bk, oj h nDy Bk fj d'; skB ndo.
 @Gkos to; a d/ B' tKBK dk coi # fJB Tj h, gBk 413H

¹¹⁹ oki r{ dh oj trko nky/, s; k fj dhU Ybhnk Ykj hnk feT;
 ; ydt/ d/ j kDhUl T'n' i bdh, coi a eo' gpk vbk bkJhnk feT;
 Grs f; x B/ i Bw B{ ; cb ehsk, ir d'ye/ gbhnk SkJhnk feT;
 Yr df; nk ir dk ; kfonk B{ fi dK ck; hnk Bkb bNekJhnk feT;
 @Gkos to; a d/ B' tKBK dk coi # fJB Tj h, gBk 414H

¹²⁰ j dh i kB i/ n; k d/ ftU : ko', ppo ; s eim/ ck; h ukVd/ Bk.
 opd/ j v Bk f; x joBkw pkp{ Bkb/ f; x wEok vkeNko d/ Bk.
 ekwkrkNk d/ thoK d/ ftu Sksh, ; kv/ tj fdnK s/ r'bh wkod/ Bk.
 N{h bkN, joBkw s/ ejo : ko', ušo f; x B{ i j b ftu wkod/ Bk.
 @j d/ fj dhU ni ni'kd i'eo, wj D/ Mbd/ eM ; z ko d/ Bk, # fJB Tj h, gBk 422H

¹²¹ : X j': k ; h oky; k fi t' fgS/, Y'b ; y Brkol pi kU j D sk.

Further mention had been made of the atrocities committed by the British in Punjab during the Jallianwala Bagh incident, Gurdwara Reform movement and the hangings of Shaheed Bhagat Singh and his associates.¹²² The Ghadr revolutionaries did not fail to condemn Boycott, Gandhi's failure of the non-cooperation movement after the Chora Chori incident.¹²³ The revolutionaries appear to have the keen and critical examination of history when they used in their literature. They did not forget to equate the British with the despotic kings of India who considered themselves as the representatives of God on earth and in doing so exploited the Indian masses.¹²⁴

BABBER AKALI MOVEMENT

The next political movement under examination is of the Babber Akalis. It culminated both against the treatment meted out to the peaceful

fJe tko j'bk eo' fJe j' e/ n'ok, okw s/ csl rikU j'D sk.
 nmkok yDh'nk j'Jh'nk ; h G; w fi E/ tY corh'nk fg: k; GMkU j'D sk.
 @chb wko/ i'hnk d/ fcoB GB/ fst/ wko; kr/ ; h j fJrfb; skB tkbk, # fJB Tj h
 424H

¹²² eh d'jV/ nkgD/ c'b d'z k, n?k i'nbwK Bkb fgnk tkj wbk.
 pkr ifb'nk r'p{ dk pkr i's', ftu BBekD/ d/ i'w rtkj wbk.
 phsh ftu g; b w' eh d; k, j'fJnk ; ys Bj h ni / xkj wbk.
 ukVQ uoyVh Grs, ; ydt skJh, Gkr Goh dk oki spkj wbk.
 @whk ovh'nk eo pj'j/ e'Jh, # fJB Tj h, 429H

¹²³ pkJhekN dk i dl j'fEnko ; Mk, Bk fwbtosB dk row piko j'fJnk.
 B' tkBK d/ yB B/ i'; a ykXk, jo fJe dD B' p'bh fsnko j'fJnk.
 - - - - -
 Bcos j'Jh cb r'b d/ egV/ sl, d/ h uhi k d/ Bkb fgnko j'fJnk.
 j'Jh ; cbsk Bk d/ a d/ ; /tek B' p'Vk ; ksh tkbk Bk gko j'fJnk.
 ubh ubk i/ gfb; d/ dd GB/ r'Xh Sv pod'bh coko j'fJnk.
 Tj h, gB/ 431, 32H

¹²⁴ e'Jh ; wK ; h i dl fe ; h j ; ko/ y'd nkg j' h op nykwd/ oj /
 S'v d's r'wK; s/ d/ a ndo, oki Grsh d/ ; pd GVkwd/ oj /
 e'Jh tko n'sko dk Yr oue/ wB Gktd/ j'ew ubktd/ oj /
 - - - - -
 tj b/ p'mel tkr j'okw y'ok, oki / goik d/ yB ftu Bktd/ ; B.
 @ewok e; e/ oj' fsnko p'm/ i'r Fb{ fJepkb nfrnko tkbh, # fJB Tj h, gBk
 430H

agitation of the Akalis by the British government and also as a rejection of the ideology of peaceful movement adopted by the Gurdwara reform leadership. In fact the Nankana Sahib massacre and the atrocities at Tarn Taran became basis of its appearance. The more radical section of the Akalis did not approve of the non-violent methodology of struggle and formed a separate organisation called the Babber Akalis to meet the British challenge.¹²⁵

The activities of Babber Akalis began during the summer of 1921 when a meeting was held at Hoshiarpur on March 10, 1921. It was attended by Master Mota Singh, Kishan Singh 'Barring', Amar Singh of Delhi, Amar Singh Kote, Bela Singh and many others. It was decided to raise an open armed revolt against the British and to physically eliminate the toadies. Kishan Singh, a dismissed Hawaldar Major, organised a band of people which terrorized oppressive government servants. Their intention was to communicate the message of revolt to the people as well as the army. Treacherous politics, however assisted the British in securing the arrest of Kishan Singh on January 26, 1923. Enraged at this the Babbers committed a series of political assassinations. They created a tremendous stir in the districts of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur. In response, the police rounded up many innocent people. To save them, the Babbers announced the names of their comrades who had committed the murders. Many Babbers were killed in Police encounters. Out of 186 Babber prisoners, 5 were sentenced to death, 11 to transportations for life and 38 to various terms of imprisonments.¹²⁶

Though the Babber movement could not hold out any longer, nevertheless it consolidated the Ghadr mode of armed revolution against repressive foreign rule and also provided a backdrop for the arrival of

¹²⁵ Navtej Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

¹²⁶ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p.26.

another armed revolutionary struggle led by Bhagat Singh, a nephew of S. Ajit Singh and ardent admirer of Kartar Singh Sarabha.¹²⁷ Further it must be mentioned that the prominent Babber leaders were Master Mota Singh, Bhai Kishan Singh, Amar Singh Granthi of village Kot Barre Khan, Chattar Singh, Shanker Singh of Pandori Bibi district Hoshiarpur, Amar Singh Delhi, Bijla Singh Patiala, Gurbachan Singh village Ambala District Hoshiarpur, Vatan Singh Chativind, Tota Singh Pishori, Ganda Singh. Bela Singh, Karam Singh Jhingar, Babu Santa Singh. In the area adjoining Jalandhar Bhai Kishan Singh and Master Mota Singh were making efforts among people to raise an armed struggle. Karm Singh Jhingar, Master Dalip Singh Gosal and Atma Singh Bika in the areas around Banga; Karam Singh Daulatpur and Assa Singh Bhukruddi, in the areas of Nawanshahar; Dharam Singh, Baba Dalip Singh Sahdra and jathedar Udam Singh of Kaulgarh around Balachaur; Labh Singh, Karam Singh, Hoshiarpur; Giani Kartar Singh Goundpur, Harbans Singh of Chhota Sarhala, Hari Singh Khanda, Jarnail Moola Singh Bahawal, Arjan Singh Sach Kharaudi and many others in Mahalpur areas; Thakur Singh Bharta and Rattan Singh Sighriwala in Hoshiarpur areas; Balwant Singh Dukhia in Haryana; Piara Singh, Banta Singh, Babu Dalip Singh, Chhota Dalip Singh (Dalipa Bhujhangi) and Sadhu Singh Sahandhra etc. in the area of Sham Chorasi. Maximum number of persons from Ramgarh and Pandari Nijharan joined in the Chakarvarti Jatha including Chhota Kartar Singh, Hukam Singh, Amar Singh, Milkha Singh, Sadha Singh, Nirvair Singh, Udham Singh, Thakur Singh, Harnam Singh, Kartar Singh, Buta Singh, Mehanga Singh and Bakhshish Singh. Therefore, these villages became centres of Babbers.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹²⁸ Milkha Singh Nijjar, *Babber Akali Lehar da Itihas*, Navyug, 2010, p.33.

Besides Hazara Singh Manderan, Joginder Singh Khurdpur, Shiv Singh Haripur, Karam Singh Manko, Nand Singh Gharial, Ujjagar Singh Basrampur, Bhan Singh, Labh Singh and Basant Singh of Randhawa Mansandan and Chhajja Singh Massanian and Amar Singh of Rajowal are worth mentioning. Similarly in Kapurthala State 'Bada' and 'Chhota' Kartar Singh, Surjan Singh Dumeli, Shiv Singh Bameli, Dalip Singh Mankan, Chanda Singh, Darbara Singh, Moola Singh Palahi and Subedar Amar Singh Dhaliwal were actively participating. The Babbers were of the view that by attacking the British both by the frontal attack and the army revolt on the patron of the rebellion of 1857, they could expel British from the country.¹²⁹

The Babber Akalis for the mobilisation of their support adopted three pronged strategy of propagating the objective through 'diwans' and meetings in the rural and urban areas, through publication of the newspaper *Babber Akali Doaba* and by preaching in the army of the local regiments. They were to apprise the public about the wrong policies of the British in the diwans at different places in which Bhai Kishan Singh, Mota Singh, Karam Singh Jhinger, Karam Singh Daulatpur, Assa Singh and some others delivered lectures. Through *Babber Akali Doaba* they propagated their objectives and programs.¹³⁰ With the establishment of *Chakarvarti Jatha* its leaders began to deliver lectures in different congregations. Bhai Kishan Singh was an expert speaker who was able to raise the spirit through his lecture. He delivered his first revolutionary lecture at Gurdwara Mastuana near Sangrur in Jind State. Principal Teja Singh was also present during this lecture. In the Doaba area at village *Palahi* another such 'diwan' was arranged in which he openly raised the

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

¹³⁰ Gurdev Singh Rai, *Sawtantrata Sangrami Bhai Kishan Singh Ji Gargaj, JiwaniTe Drishti*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, p.54.

sword. The Babber Akalis continued with the organization of such 'diwans' in which people were coming in triumphant to hear their views. Such 'diwans' were held at Haripur and Bhubiana in Kapurthala state. At village Rurka where a big Akali conference was being held, Bhai Karam Singh Jhingar addressed thousands of people assembled there. Here the police arrested him.

In February 1922, Bhai Kishan Singh and his companions delivered lectures at the conference held at village Ghurial. Here Bhai Sunder Singh Babber and Milkha Singh Nijhar recited bold and fiery poems and Bhai Kishan Singh in his address asked the people to protest the Prince of Wales by black flags. Here a large congregation were present along with Sant Attar Singh Mastuana.¹³¹ Under the leadership of Bhai Kishan Singh, the Chakarvarti Jatha in Phagwara tehsil of Kapurthala state organised many 'diwans' in the villages of Lakhpur, Sahni Susirha, Narurh, Pachhta, Palahi, Manak, Sangatpur, Hardaspur, Maherh etc. In the beginning of March 1922 a conference was organised at village Khurdpur; when the Congress leaders C.R. Dass, Swami Satdev and Hansraj Jalandhari finished their lectures; Bhai Kishan Singh along with his companions reached there, Bhai Sahib addressed around 2000 people.

During the Hola-Mahalla at Anandpur Sahib in 1922 the excitement of the people was at the peak to listen the views of Bhai Kishan Singh. They were so much impressed by his views and his personality that when the police began to arrest him, the people surrounded Bhai Sahib and the Police Inspector along with his police men compelled to go back.¹³² After the Anandpur incident another famous 'diwan' was held in the village Buhani in which apart from Bhai Kishan

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

¹³² Gurdev Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-33.

Singh, Sant Kartar Singh, Giani Kartar Singh village Gondpur, Giani Harbans Singh Chhota Sarhala, Babu Santa Singh and Bhan Singh were also present. Here Bhai Kishan Singh and Master Mota Singh delivered rebellious speeches. Another diwan at village Sanghwal near Adampur district Jalandhar was held. The village was known for the centre of Ghadr revolutionaries where Santa Singh and Rur Singh of this village were hanged in 1916 in the central jail, Lahore. But during Akali movement this village was surrounded by the villagers British loyalists who had declared that they would not allow to organise 'Diwans' of the *Chakarvarti Jatha* in the village. The Babbers dared their challenge and held a 'diwan'. It impressed the people and diluted British hegemony.¹³³

The leaders of Chakarvati Jatha were continuously delivering their lectures in the different places of Doaba region. Bhai Kishan Singh dispensed 328 speeches in one year. At the same time Bhai Karam Singh Daulatpur made another effort in the propaganda strategy when he published first issue of *Babber Akali Doaba* on 22 August 1922. It was published in the Safri press and 300 copies were printed by the name of this newspaper 'Babber' was affixed to the name of Karam Singh and gradually the activities of the 'Chakarvarti Jatha' come to known as *Babber Akali Movement*.¹³⁴ In the first issue of the *Babber Akali Doaba*, Karam Singh Babber and Kishan Singh Gargaj included only the poems. But they made hard efforts for the next issues to include some essays. Bhai Kishan Singh was a good scholar also who contributed for the growth of the newspaper. At the same time he made special efforts to distribute the *Babber Akali Doaba* to the maximum number of people. At Amritsar, the Babber leaders Bhai Kishan Singh, Karam Singh Jhingar, Dalip Singh Gosal, Ude Singh Ramgarh and Assa Singh met Jathedar

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

¹³⁴ Gurdev Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

Teja Singh 'Bhuchhar' and after handing him over copies of *Babber Akali Doaba* requested him to distribute among his known people in order to spread the movement in whole of Punjab. It may be mentioned that Jathedar Teja Singh was editor of the *Gargaj*. Advocate Ram Singh Dharowal and S.S. Charan Singh of *Jathedar* newspaper also promised to provide full cooperation to the Babbers.¹³⁵

After the leadership of Kishan Singh the *Babber Akali Doaba* began to publish regularly every month. Its special issues were also produced like Baisakhi, Maghi and Kalgidarth issues. This paper was distributed in the villages of the Doaba region alongwith the cities of Jalandhar, Kapurthala and Amritsar. The demand for newspaper was so strong that people began to read it in smaller groups because of shortage of the issues.¹³⁶ It must be noted that Karam Singh was deeply impressed by the Ghadr Party newspaper *Ghadr De Goonj*. As in the *Ghadr De Goonj* along with seditious poetry, rebellious prose was also included. Similarly as the *Ghadr De Goonj* was published in Canada/America and was distributed in Punjab and to other countries; *Babber Akali Doaba* though was published in Doaba areas but was made available in the whole of Punjab.¹³⁷ Further it may be noted that the *Babber Akali Doaba* newspaper was being published by 'Uddaru' Press and the place of publication was given as Jungle though was printed in some undisclosed locality. The newspaper was rebellious in character and it challenged the common people and the army to rise against British through open rebellion. The paper was distributed by hand and personally to the sympathizers in the villages and among the soldiers in Jalandhar cantonment secretly. It was published in Punjabi. During these days

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹³⁷ Gurdev Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

very few people could read Punjabi language as Urdu and English were common. Only a few could use to read in the smaller groups of people in the villages. The newspaper was also distributed among school students.¹³⁸

Before proceeding to examine the nature and extent of utilization of 'History' it is essential to describe the literature produced by the *Babber Akali Movement*. Also that the movement though was at its zenith during 1921-1925 but the Babbers remained active after 1925 till 1941 when they participated in other anti-imperial activities under the name *Jug Paltaoo*. Among the prominent organs of *Babber Akali Propaganda* included publication of the *Babber Akali Doaba* along with the coverage given to Babber ideology in some other similar newspapers such as *Gargaj*, *Babber Sher*, *Jug Paltaoo*, *Ghadr Di Goonj*, *Akali Te Pardesi* etc. This literature is both in the poetical and the prose forms. Also that the propaganda was being conducted by delivering speeches and lectures in different meetings and divans. The latest information is available in some recorded evidence. pertaining to the personal interviews. It is interesting to know that the dialogues between the Babber activists and some sympathizers are available that reflect utilization of 'History' during some interactions and commentaries.¹³⁹

Being necessarily emerged out of frustration of the Akali movement for their methodology of the struggle, the Babber Akali Movement appears to have mainly drawn inspiration from the rich cultural heritage of Punjab along with the Indian history and some major

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹³⁹ Kesar Singh Novalist, *Ghadr Lehar Di Kavita*, Publication Bureau, Patiala, 1995; Milkha Singh Nijjar, *Babber Akali Lehar Da Itihas*, Navyug, New Delhi, 2010; Gurdev Singh Rai, *Sawtantrta Sangrami Bhai Kishan Singh Ji Gargaj: Jiwani Te Drishti*, Publication Bureau, Patiala, and Gurcharan Singh (ed.), *Babber Kav Sangreh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1988.

historical international events. The inceptive leadership of Babbers though to some extent centered around the religious places especially the Gurdwaras drew their inspiration from the repressions on the Sikhs in pre-colonial Punjab situations. There is mention of the state of helplessness of Guru Gobind Singh in the forest of Machhiwara along with the remembrance of large number of sacrifices made by the Sikhs. The verse written by Guru Gobind Singh to the Mugal emperor Aurangzeb in the famous *Jafarnama* becomes a power against the British:

uz{ eko nkia jwk jhbs/ do r[ia;as

fjbkb nk;s' p[odB p ;aw;aho d;s

Meaning that when all other methods of struggle fail, it is necessary for the brave to bring out the sword and enter the war.¹⁴⁰ The atrocities committed on the Sikhs during the Mugal rule have been equally compared to the repression under the British imperialism in which the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh and Nankana Sahib have been mentioned specifically. The treachery of the British in capturing the Sikh kingdom and also the control on Sikh Gurdwaras by the *Mahants* and *Pujaris* with the naked assistance of the British who had killed the innocent Sikhs find prominent mentioning.¹⁴¹ In the divans the well known couplets of Guru Gobind Singh like

;{ok ;' gfjukBhJ/, i' bV/ dhB e/ j/s

g[oik g[oik eN wo/, epjz{ Bk Skv/ y/s.

and

oki/ gkg ewKtd/, T[bNh pkV y/s e' ykJh.

¹⁴⁰ Milkha Singh Nijjar, *Babber Akali Lehar Da Itihas*, Navyug, Delhi, 2010, p.39.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

meaning that a brave is recognised as the one who fights for cause and does not shift the stand even at the cost of his own death.¹⁴²

There is rejection of peaceful method of struggle as was adopted by both the Gurdwara Reform movement leadership and also by Mahatma Gandhi. The bravery shown by the Sikhs in their struggle against the Mugal rulers has been cited to inculcate the spirit of fearlessness among the people of Punjab to eradicate the British rule.¹⁴³ There is glorification of the pre-British Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh when the population was leading an honourable life, and the richness of the society with abundance of agricultural material in the households.¹⁴⁴ The secular character of the Babbers is reflected in drawing inspiration from the Islam when the Babber literature exhorted the people to draw inspiration from the sacrifice of prophet Mohamad against repression and tyranny.¹⁴⁵

The literature produced by Babber Akali leadership reveal interesting utilization of 'History' beginning with the glorification of Maharaja Ranjit Singh when the peculiar position of the Maharaja and the international situations compelled the British to despatch C.T. Metcoff to arrange for treaty with him. There is mention of the bravery of Sikhs which have been injected by Guru Gobind Singh with the creation of the

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁴³ Gr gk fdSk ; kswJh tkbk, jtk row s' row trk d/ k,
phi plfi nk j ? fi j Vk s; k fgS/ T; / phi d/ w/ / y/nk d/ k.
Milkha Singh Nijjar, *op.cit.*, p.157.

¹⁴⁴ fgSb/ ; w/ ; h edo n; kvh, ySh gdk eod/ ; h.
fgv/ d/ ftu gu n; kv/ nkg ndkbs eod/ ; h.
xo-xo ; " ; " wj hnk-rkUhnk, yS d/ ftu uodhnk ; B.
Milkha Singh Nijjar, *op.cit.*, p.157

¹⁴⁵ j ; B-j ; B tkbh eo' eoBh,
fdybk fdU yk i r eppkB j'e/
Milkha Singh Nijjar, *op.cit.*, p.157

Khalsa.¹⁴⁶ In the foregoing struggle against British government by the Babbers the citations from Gurbani are often quoted where it has been emphasised that those who fight for righteousness and religion are remembered as the warriors.¹⁴⁷ The policy of no-cooperation with the British was stressed upon and to eliminate the British loyalists religion was used as the motive force.¹⁴⁸ The treatment of the British meted out to Maharaja Dalip Singh was compared to the exiles of Ram Chandra of Ramayana and Dhru Bhagat by their step mothers.¹⁴⁹ The atrocities on the Akalis by the British government are compared with the torture of the Mugals on Guru Gobind Singh and his family. At the same time, the great Sikh heroes like Baba Deep Singh and Bhai Mehtab Singh get place

¹⁴⁶ s; hl epd/ ; h ; sbji gko p'm/
 n; hl j'p/ ; k sho ubkD tkb/
 ; kv/ uoBK s/ fvr/ wNekc fij /
 n; hl j'p/ ; k ; h; nytkB tkb/
 ; kB{ wkD d; w/ a ih pyf; nk j?
 ; tk by d/ Bkb : X oukB tkb/
ppo ekft ; r'fj , ; gkde r'puoB f; x, gpbhe/ B fpT'p', gi kph : Bhtof; Nh,
gfNnk'bk, 1988, gBk 15H

¹⁴⁷ ; p'p'ho nekbh pj'kdo' ih
 nv'b fu's B{ ir v'p'ktBk Bh.
 ; p'k ; ' i' dhB d/ j'hs bVdk,
 fgnkol r'p{ dk tke G'p'ktBk Bj'hl.
; p'p'ho nekbh pj'kdo' ih, fe; B f; x rVri , 14 ng'p 1922, Tj' h, gBk 17H

¹⁴⁸ Mvk geV nekb dk jE ; i l
 wj' l tkfj r'p{ ; p'd T'p'kodk ik.
 ; l/ ; /tek dh eoh ; hB T'p'uh
 MNh u'p'k d/ s'U'h d'pekodk ik
 Bk fwbtosB dk geV e/ jE ymk,
 @ t'bk' bDk# J/ g'pekodk ik.
rVri B{ n; h; , fe; B f; x rVri , 16 ng'p, 1922, Tj' h, gBk 18H

¹⁴⁹ p'p'h w'k wso'U'h p'fonko j'p'h,
 Bj'hl ; i Dl e'J'h fgnko eodh.
 oki g'so okw B{ i bktsBh,
 vr ; ogBh wko r'c'sko j'p'h.
 Xo{ j ; dk r'd ftu nkB p'mk
 w'k wso'U'h ug'VK dh wko eodh
 g'so ; l'eD dk ; wM gi kp s'U'h
 wj'koki k B{ geV bkuko eodh.
wso'U'h w'k, fe; B f; x rVri , ng'p 1922, Tj' h, gBk 19H

for their great sacrifices.¹⁵⁰ For inciting the Babbers against the British government end of the tyrannical rulers like Ravana and Mandhata were cited as the examples.¹⁵¹

Significant events of Sikh history such as the creation of the Khalsa and the release of Guru Hargobind from the fort of Gwalior have been mentioned further.¹⁵² The contemporary heroes against the British rule like Ali Bahadur, Satpal Kitchlew and C.R. Dass were remembered with great enthusiasm for their roles.¹⁵³ There is also emphasis on the rejection of the British policy of 'Divid and Rule' which created communal tensions and also that the British came to India for trading purposes but the sheer greed to capture political power created problems to the Indians.¹⁵⁴ The ill treatment given to Maharani Jindan has been

¹⁵⁰ ojh UN sbh ebrlnk tkfbnk t/
 UNK fdshnk j'ò uèk pkpk
 feXo frnk s{ ; b wskp f; xk,
 phkEb d/ irbl nk pkpk.
 jD sk eS feqkB Tskod/ B/
 nekbh ; fonk oj / ; sk pkpk
 Ssh d/ do; B pkpk dhg f; xk,
 nkthl sbh s/ ; h; fNek pkpk.
 ; Lh UN, fe; B f; x rVri , 20 ngp 1922, Tj h, gBk 20H

¹⁵¹ sb/ fi j/ dyl/ eJh j' rli o/
 f; q Nh fB: w B{ n; h GpkJhJ/ feT{
 wkBXksk s/ oktB Bk Bio nkJ/
 sbh sg gk; l yè ykjhJ/ feT{
 ; Lh UN, fe; B f; x rVri , 21 ngp 1922, Tj h, gBk 22H

¹⁵² go Tgeko ykso rpk ; kfin k ; h,
 feE/ frnk gpkDk Tj Yr gEk,
 pdh SV s{ pXk Svktdk ; !
 Xowl ; kVdk ; ! tkr gsr gEk.
 sb/ si dh rJh feogkB feE/ 23 ngp 1922, Tj h, gBk 23,

¹⁵³ i j b fBtk; h ; b i k nkrJ/ fco d{ th tirk,
 nbh pj kdo, feub{ i Xk, ; h nko dk; th rirk.
 yv/ dk rhs, fe; B f; x rVri , ppo nekbh d'nkpk, 9 ; spo 1923,
 Tj h, gBk 23,

¹⁵⁴ nkfJnk pDe/ ; h tgkoh.
 GV GV e/ dBhink wkoh.
 oldh fgNdh ybes ; koh.
 yvk, eow f; x ppo, Tj h, gBk 36H

given prominence in the Babber literature from whose personality the world was impressed.¹⁵⁵ There is feeling pride among the Babbers that they were the successors of that nation who had made tremendous sacrifices and this provided them logic and spirit to continue their struggle against the British regime by making similar

martyrdoms.¹⁵⁶

There is reflection of the Babbers understanding of the international events of history and they were impressed and drew inspiration from the great leader V.I. Lenin of the Soviet revolution of 1917.¹⁵⁷ The heroic deeds of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev need to be followed.¹⁵⁸ In their struggle the sacrifice of Mansoor has been often cited to inculcate spirit of bravery.¹⁵⁹ The Babbers viewed that after the Mugal-Sikh struggle the Sikhs succeeded in establishing independent Sikh state by giving large scale sacrifices but unfortunately the British benefited the internal weaknesses of the Sikhs which had been cropped

¹⁵⁵ gġ kp dġ a dh wġ kokDh
 eN neb dh pj Œ f; nkDh.
 dBġnk wġ oġ Godh gkDh
 Tġ Bġ fdġk i j b ftu vko. HHHH
 ymk, eow f; x ppo, Tġ h, gBk 36,

¹⁵⁶ j ; j ; e/ ck; ġnk uVġ skj ġU,
 ; kek ; kd ; kBġ wsh dk; dk ; h.
 mġe Tġ BK ; j ġdk dh eW ftuġ
 fj ġ k Tġ BK dġ yB sġ wk; dk ; h.
 Tġ h, ; j ġdk dk bj ġ Bġ f; x xfvnkb, gBk 44H

¹⁵⁷ bġBB j'bh i' oġ dġ pVġ nkrġ
 ; kfJpbġnk i j b ftu oġ / n'ŷġ
 ; j ġdk dk bj ġ Bġ f; x xfvnkb, Tġ h, gBk 45,

¹⁵⁸ eġsh ; h i' Grs f; x Bġ sġ eoeġ cb fdyk pġok
 oki rġġ ; jydġ dġ tkrġ Tġm Ssh gġBġ gk pġok.
 pġo ; b j opġ f; x f; oġ kġk, Tġ h, gBk 71H

¹⁵⁹ ebrġ jD dġko yb wBġ
 uVBk ; ġh dġ tkr wB; ġ ; wM'.
 eoBk gko Bk dġtDk vġ wBġ
 nsw pBsh, pġkġ ; sk f; x fBXVe, Tġ h, gBk 70,

up due to the neglect of the teachings of the Gurus and in doing so the Sikhs had lost their empire.¹⁶⁰ The Babbers exhorted the Sikhs that if they were not willing to raise weapons against the British, they had no right to be called as the Sikhs of the Gurus. The Sikhs were reminded of bravery of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur and during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the time of victory of Multan with the help of the cannon of the Bhangi Misl was recited.¹⁶¹ The decline in the character of the Sikh nobility and the treachery of some Sikh *sardars* that was responsible for the extinction of the Sikh empire was used as a matter of consciousness for the future developments.¹⁶² The Sikhs were usually reminded of that they were the followers of Guru Gobind Singh and therefore it was their duty to raise weapons against injustice.¹⁶³

The annexation of Punjab by the British was compared to the medieval epic of Sohni Mahiwal in which both were killed by deceit.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ M̄yV }p̄w dk i dl nkD SfNnk, d̄yK Bkb b̄kfJnk pkr frnk ḡfNnk
r̄p{ ih d/ tke n; k rJ/ Ḡb ih, osB p̄elwsh dk evh w̄p ih
b̄yK ; h; d̄e/ p̄ukfJnk d/ a ih, nkJh r̄oh vD ḡJh Sv̄h w̄w ih.
i Edko bkG f; x, ebV̄k Sd, Tj h, gBk 13H

¹⁶¹ b̄y bkDsk f; x ; dD/ B̄f eoB i'r/ i/ ; h; dk dkB j? Bh
B̄h̄h̄ b̄kj e/ N̄r feogkB Sv̄h, ir̄ t̄yē/ ufgnk ḡkB j? Bh
fJN ūēd/ B̄f ḡEo ūēhJ/ Bk fco r̄p{ d/ f; x dh ; h̄B j? Bh
p̄k̄p/ p̄d/ dh b̄ē/ f; f̄ynk B̄f b̄kj/ ; f̄pnK d/ ed/ x̄kB j? Bh
sg phV e/ Gr̄h̄nk t̄kbVh B̄f sV ; Nd/ febk w̄p̄skB j? Bh
i dl ykb; k s̄r B̄f X{ fgnk nVB/ s̄p̄e; skB : B̄kB j? Bh.
Tj h, gBk 16, 17H

¹⁶² i dl f; x̄K dk oki ; h B; N̄ j̄fJnk, nkr{ pD/ ik e'w r̄dko d; '
vo j̄Eh̄ nkJh i dl r̄fdnk d/ d/ a wkfonk w̄j d/ Gko bē'.
p̄s, Tj h, gBk 15H

¹⁶³ f; x̄ pDe/ d; w̄/ a ih d/ f; x̄ gD/ d/ coi T̄sko S̄v',
wk̄k sV wko' go/ X̄kfrnk dh, ḡfj D b̄ē d/ Bkb sb̄tko S̄v'.
Tj h, gBk 16H

¹⁶⁴ i V̄ ḡNe/ b̄Ne/ x̄kN ēp/ d̄X̄l X̄sV/ nkg ; dk p̄m̄.
w̄j h̄tkb s/ ; j̄ Dh d/ wkoB/ B̄f x̄V̄k t̄kr B̄DKB t̄Nk p̄m̄.
Tj h, gBk 30H

There is mention of the battle of Mahabharata in which large number of soldiers belonging to both Kourvas and Pandavs were killed, but the Babbers stressed upon the bravery shown by Arjun and Bhim. The Babbers viewed that after the battle of Mahabharata Brahminism prevailed that destroyed the spirit of bravery among masses.¹⁶⁵ To raise the spirit of bravery among Sikhs, the Babber literature also did not forget to mention the act of Hanuman who brought *Sanjivani* along with the hilltop.¹⁶⁶ Further teachings of Guru Nanak Dev, martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev, sacrifices of Guru Gobind Singh and the sagas of the battle of Chamkaur and Sirhind are quoted as the examples to be followed.¹⁶⁷ There is condemnation of roles of the Sikh leadership after the Nanakana Sahib episode.¹⁶⁸ There is mention of the great sacrifices made by the Kukas at Malerkotla. The Babbers are also conscious of reminding the people the fact that the British had promised better rule for the sacrifices

¹⁶⁵ wj kGkos j fJnk i dl gkvtk dk fj d[; skB frnk TE/ wkfonk Jh
 j kEh Ghw B/ bSk sl cV wko/ noi B pbh B/ XBY ; Gkfonk Jh
 TE/ wor/ ; pw/ fj d[; dk nr/ ebtK gb g; kfonk Jh.
 vo jE nk rh plj wDk d/ fJj BK e[o s/ e[o ri kfonk Jh.
 tho o; dk ; fsnk Bk; eoe/ ; ko/ ykD dk ikb g; kfonk Jh.
 pS, Tj h, gBk 46H

¹⁶⁶ Bkb Xy/ d/ wko spkj ehsh, skes ftu gi kp d/ pVh ; h i h.
 BKV BKV ; oho dh ce Sv h r'o or dh BkrDh bVh ; h i h.
 bSwD tkr Bh j hbk puD/ dk fi BK bGh ; i htDh i Vh ; h i h.
 e'vK Sd, Tj h, gBk 31H

¹⁶⁷ fgnkoh ykb; k e'w pdko j' i k ; wK sX B[fgnk bbekodk J/
 Tj gi kp fij dh Xos T[; / ; wK cfNnk fJe Ueko dk J/
 Tj gi kp fi E/ sbk r p[BkBe EK EK fcoe/ fojk skodk J/
 fi E/ gi e'pKbhrk r p[noi B eVS/ oS d/ ; h; ; j kodk J/
 Tj gi kp fi E/ Tj dk gho sbk sho wkoel d[; N ; xkodk J/
 fi j Vk fJe ni dh d/ Bkw T[; / dy' ; ko/ g[tko B[pkodk J/
 Tj gi kp fi ; d/ pXB eND/ B[v[p[yB ni hs i Mkodk J/
 fi E/ eX ; oj d dh ud ykd/ u gkj h j kJ/ g[ekodk j?
 pS, Tj h, gBk 31H

¹⁶⁸ nr/ j kb ; Db' eM bhvok dk fi j Vk fJB[B/ ud uVkfJnk Jh.
 T[; gE dk ; fsnk Bk; ehsk i Edko i' wj oh pDkfJnk Jh
 fJe f; x d/ ; h; dk w[p[eh j? d' ; " ftu BBekD/ tYkfJnk Jh.
 pS, Tj h, gBk 32H

made by the Punjabis in Germany during the World War-I but instead as a reward the Punjabis were given the Martial law and the massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar.¹⁶⁹ To generate an anti-British feelings the Babber literature had cited the tyrannical rulers like Kans, Harnaksh, Ravana and Meghnath who used to proclaim themselves as immortal but ultimately were not to be seen in history.¹⁷⁰ The toadies of the British government were the main targets of the Babbers. Their selfishness and the behaviour of the treachery were compared with the rich emperor Karoon who at the time of his death went empty handed and had left his property behind.¹⁷¹

The Babber literature also covered the medieval epics of Pooran Bhagat and Jeona Maur.¹⁷² Even there is mention of brave Sikh women of history such as Mata Sundri, Deep Kaur and Mai Bhago.¹⁷³ There is repeated mention of the British atrocities committed after the annexation of Punjab. The deportation of the patriots', control of the Gurdwaras by the toadies and Mahants, the death sentences to the patriots and

¹⁶⁹ sḡ Bkb Tḡk e/ efenk Bḡ goik gke/ vo vokJ/ fJ; B/ iowD Bkb ik Jḡ,dk ir bḡk Tḡ/ Gi giḡp wotkḡh fJ; B/ fjḡd'; skB Bḡ wḡ nilḡd eo;K ir ftu i/ csfj fdtkḡh fJ; B/ wkrol eY wko/ oḡ cḡD/ d/ ehsh esoh yj ; Nkḡh fJ; B/ pḡs, nrol a dh eosḡ, Tḡh, gBk 48ḡ

¹⁷⁰ fBrḡ wkoel ; ḡhJ/ i/ bḡh ; dk fojk ijḡB s/ eD nE/ wo rJ/ nḡ Bḡ ds jḡBke; a fij/ fijV/ nḡg Bḡ op ; dkTḡ nE/ bḡk ; B B/ pḡBnk ekb gkt/ wḡ BkE Bk bGd/ oD nE/ oki/ eḡ ; ; gkb dk gsk fej Bḡ cVe/ GkDi/ fijV/ wotkTḡ nE/ sEk pḡs, Tḡh, gBk 61ḡ

¹⁷¹ ekoḡ fij/ SV e/ yiḡB/ Svrḡ, epoK gNk e/ oḡJḡh/ eY bJ/ iw e/ rdko i' jḡkw ykDrḡ, pḡok d/ pbD/ u ḡhV/ ikDrḡ. tke eth (ebVḡ Sdk), Tḡh, gBk 74ḡ

¹⁷² fJE/ Svel/ s/ ḡḡB udol Bḡ wḡk ; ḡwk nḡ/ Bḡ Gi sḡonk fi TḡK wV fi U tY e/ nḡtd/ Bḡ cb Bkb ; ḡkp d/ oi sḡonk. Tḡh, pḡs, gBk 89ḡ

¹⁷³ wkḡh ; ḡoh s/ dhḡ eb' j'oh, dy' gE d/ ftu ḡḡkḡB pḡph Gkr' torḡnk cVe/ sr Bi/ wkoB yḡ ftu wḡb ḡmkḡB pḡph. pḡs, Tḡh, gBk 101ḡ

humiliations of women were compared to the situation in which it was hoped that the British had to face Germany and that the Sikhs would in turn teach a lesson.¹⁷⁴

The repressions committed on Hindus by the Mughals and ultimately creation of Khalsa Panth by Guru Gobind Singh are repeatedly quoted to inject the spirit of fearlessness among the Punjabis. With the creation of the Khalsa Guru Gobind Singh challenged the Mughal hegemony and the Babbers utilised this spirit in their ongoing struggle.¹⁷⁵ Despite hard work done by the Indians for their survival under the British their economic conditions reminded miserable and this scenario was compared to the ancient period when India was popularly called as 'Golden Sparrow.'¹⁷⁶ The Babbers were deeply impressed by the personality of Guru Gobind Singh and occasionally utilized some verses

¹⁷⁴ i eo n; k B{ vr ubktD/ ; h
 f; y bhvo i/ d/ a ul eYD/ ; h
 epi/ tkbk i/ xNBk ekBB ; h s{
 r p{ Xkwk B{ j E i/ gktDk ; h,
 d/ a Grs i/ ck; h uVktD/ ; h
 wktk GDK dh eoBh pg{sh ; h s{
 - - - - -
 op eo/ w{ hps cb pD/ sB{
 i owB fi j k T{m/ cb ; b wVe/
 i eo n; k B{ vr ubkTDk ; h, Bkrk ekfbnk r'd fpmkT{d/ Bk,
 t{bl ; h{wkB rVri , o{i hBk p{po ; b, nfw{s; d, 1924H

¹⁷⁵ ; G wko GrkJ/ dhJ/ soeB, fi ; nkBe/ fj d{ ; Gh pukJ/
 fJB nkB wbS eoh ns jh, sD dhB nBkE ; Gh dlygkJ/
 ; G wko j bkb ehJ/ fj d{ rfj pkb ; p{q ; G r{p{kw pDkJ/
 st fdt; ft; kyh wkfj ; fsr p{ ou ykb; k gE ; GhJ/ pukJ/
 ; h{wkB ; l g{s k f; x tehb, o{i hBk p{po ; b, nfw{s; o, 13 ng{p 1925H

¹⁷⁶ cf; nk d/ a r{p{kw d/ ft{u : ko; p{u/ fj d d/ fet/ ytko j'tD
 gEo GBd/ s/ ; VeK eNd/ B/ eod/ o{i a wi d{p{hnk eko j'tD
 Gkos wksk d/ opd/ bkb dly; j i{ n{yhnk d/ ftul v'bd/ B/
 - - - - -
 fi ; B{ ; B/ dh fuVh i j k B nky/ Jd{ tX Bk j'o popkd fJB j't/
 Gkjh tfonkw f; x dh ; j hdh ; w/ ew s/ d/ a B{ ; B{ j k, p{po nek bh bfj o,
 ; wekbh d; skt/ , (; gkt) g{h wbf{tdoihs f; x tV'u, uoih bkb er Dhtkb,
 2008, b'e r{hs g{ek; B, uvhrVQ gBk

from *Dasam Granth*.¹⁷⁷ The events of the Sikh history including Maharaja Dalip Singh's exile to England, his conversion to Christianity and cutting of his hair along with the annexation of Punjab are mentioned time and again.¹⁷⁸ During the trials of the Babbers in the British courts the attitudes of the lawyers alongwith the repressions and humiliations of the police were compared with the acts of the people like Mir-Manu.¹⁷⁹ Again for the welfare of the Sikh nation Guru Gobind Singh made sacrifices of his entire family that ultimately resulted in the formation of the independent Sikh state under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. But the role played by the traitors after Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death led to its decline and the Babber literature is full of such citations.¹⁸⁰

The Babber literature also appears to have been impressed by the methodology adopted by the Namdharis through which the Namdhari's

¹⁷⁷ uł eko ni a j wk j hbs/ do r i a s
j bkb n; s pbdB p; w; ho d; s##
dkyb r bh j' ; h; Bł sbh Xoe/
d/ a ; tk dh ghs Bk sV pñhl
p p o k d/ f p n k B, p k p { ; s k f; x ; ? N o h @ p p o n e k b h i E k # d k ; ? B i i N k J h g
; k f j p dh ndkbs ftu fBXVe f p n k B, f J B T j h, g B k 66h

¹⁷⁸ ; k v / f; x d b t g w j k o k i s k J h, b ? r J h f t u t b s p f o n k o d y '
e / e N J h ; k J h e o f b n k T f B ł e t s / g i e / n f s n k u k o d y '
t l g ; B j h e t s k X y p k i p D r J h, ; k o / G p r J h e b f J e o k o d y '
o k i y' f b n k f J ; s o l B k b X y / w b' w b h d h p D h ; o e k o d y '
T j h, g B k 76h

¹⁷⁹ f g v h d k ; ; o e k o h t e h b B k b / ; h n k J h v h c i b n w k w b e '
f B o d ; a f ; x k s / i p w e w D G M / J / r b B ł i k D d / n k w b e '
b l u s g j b k s / d ł o k w h o w B ł f b y h n ; k d / r b B k y k w b e '
- - - - -
j f J n k T j B k d k n s B ł j k b G M k, w N ; e / B k f; x d k B k w b e '
T j h, ; j h d p k p { ; s k f; x d k n d k b s h f p n k B, p s, f J B T j h, g B k 97h

¹⁸⁰ e b r h t k f b n k n k D e / t y i b d h,
T i V f o j k i' s b k r b i l o, ; k J h
p k r b k f J n k ; h y B d / B k b f i j V k
y k D b r g J h T f / B ł t k V ; k J h
y k s o p k r d h f g s k s / w k s B k b /
t k o / f i r o d / N N / ; h u k o ; k J h
e o B b J h g p b s f J ; p k r s k J h
; o p z f d s k ; h n k g B / t k o ; k J h. H
T j h, g B k 101h

created indigenous courts and started non-cooperation and also the use of hand sapon cotton along with the use of small sword for the purpose of self-defence, self confidence and as a symbol self freedom, were emphasised.¹⁸¹ Even when the Babbers were in central jail Lahore, they were being threatened by the sights of repression on the other prisoners by the prison officials to demoralise the Babbers, yet the Babbers like Bhai Kishan Singh made fun of British officials for their behaviour through replying to them through the use of Sikh history that in this city of Lahore, his ancestors had made great sacrifices.¹⁸² The example of younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh has been cited who accepted death but not Islam.¹⁸³ The Babber were not afraid of at the future difficulties to their families and during such crises they quoted verses of Gurbani.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ @ybo gkU, ; oeko Bkb Bk fwbtosB eoel nkgDhnk ndkbsk nkg pDk el c? b/ eoB/ Fp{ eo fdU, fsB cNh feogkB XkoB eo, feTfe fJj ; t?ofynk, ; t?Go?/ s/ ; t? ; s?osk dk fuB j? Bhai Kishan Singh in Gurdev Singh Rai, *Sawatantarta Sangrami Bhai Kishan Singh Ji Gargaj : Jivani Te Drishti*, p. 25.

¹⁸² @fi E/ ; kv/ t?l/ tvb/ f; ok dhnk ygoHnk T?otke/ fyV/ wE/ s; hj / Mbdl oj/ jB ns/ sj kv/ fJ; ; ?j o bkj' b ftu nr nr eNtk u?l/ jB. uoyVhnk T?l/ uVl/ u?l/ jB. fJEl s?e el ; kvhnk wtkk B/ nkgD/ pL/ ; r?hBK ftu goJ/ i kd/ dy/ jB, ns/ fej Vk s; hj k j? fi ; ftu ; kv/ gbyl ; oyo{ j'el/ Bj hl fBpV/ , sj kvk fJj BkNe ; kv/ s/ eh n; o eo ; edk j ???? fi BK fuo sj kvh r'oh ; oeko ; sK ; w?ok gko dV/ k Bj hl b?d/ MN/ b?d/ jh ojkr/ ns/ tko tko i Bw Xkoel/ fJj' eow i koh o?ykr/.## *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁸³ ; bk d/ pL/ ; b j fJnk eod/ jB. s? hl fi BK ; ?p?ok dh nD; j ; Tj BK B/ th fJj ew 16 tfonk dh T?wo sl jh nkofGnk ; h. wV sj kv/ sl SNh T?wo d/ ; kfj pi kfdnk B? fufDnk i kDk sk wBi ? eo f?nk ; h. go r'b dh r?okwh j'm ofj Dk ep? Bj hl ; h etsk. wB? : ehB j? s? hl fyV/ wE/ fJ; nkjh w? hps dk w?kpbk eo'r/. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁸⁴ @fi B i hT[dhnk ; ' foi e npokt? ; G xN GhsO j kN ubkt? BkBe fusk ws eoj[fusk fs; jh j/ ftU T?kFJ ; kfJok fsBk Gh o'i h dfJ...## Prof. Malwinder Singh Varaich and Charangi Lal Kangniwala (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 105.

The Babbers also mention examples of the women during the medieval period when the wives use to send husbands in wars.¹⁸⁵

NAUJWAN BHARAT SABHA

The third political movement under examination is the Naujwan Bharat Sabha that was formed in March 1926. It was declared unlawful by the British in 1927. However, the Sabha was revived in April 1928 by the efforts of the Lahore Communists and the Kirti Group. The main objective of the Naujwan Sabha was the complete independence of the country from foreign yoke which was possible by mobilizing all the workers, peasants and other anti-imperial forces, thereby overthrowing British imperialism and its allies by mass action and establishing a workers and peasants republic in India. Their first task was to organise labourers and peasants by means of generating awareness through the newspapers and setting up libraries of socialist literature in certain villages.¹⁸⁶

The Sabha also included to organise debate on issues related to morality, literature, social issues, popularizing of Sawadeshi products, equality and protection of different Indian culture. Although the Naujwan Bharat Sabha was founded by Bhagat Singh but it got help and cooperation from Kidar Nath Sehgal, Sardool Singh 'Cavesshar', Mehta Anand Kishore, Sodhi Pindi Das and Camrade Ram Chander. During the summer of 1926 many meetings of the Sabha were organised in which the

¹⁸⁵ gpkSB ; w/ ftu f; xDlnk nkgD/ gshnk B{ Xow Tgd/ de/ wbe tk; s/ eppkB j'D bJh Gfi nk eodlnk ; B ns/ NpD tlb/ efj dlnk ; B, @phok oD wfj i kfJe/ bj k euj [fB; e. . B wfj uV/ ovjVk B sfj br/ ebè. .##
Ibid., pp. 105-106.

¹⁸⁶ S.D. Gajrani, *Punjab 1920-1945 : Agrarian Problems and Role of Peasantry in Freedom Struggle*, Commonwealth, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 261-62.

students participation was over-whelming. In September 1926 Kidar Nath Sehgal and some other youth published a pamphlet of *Appeal to the Youths of Punjab* by the Naujwan Sabha. In another meeting held on 15 April, it was decided to organise more meetings to create consciousness on the issues of religion and freedom among the masses. It was decided to open more branches of the Sabha with its headquarter at Amritsar and also that the Kirti Kissan group be also invited to join them.¹⁸⁷

The Sabha opened its branches in Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Montgomery, Jaran Wala and Gujranwala apart from Amritsar, Lahore, Morinda, Ambala, Multan, Tala Gang, Sialkot and Rawalpindi.¹⁸⁸ Among the activities of Naujwan Bharat Sabha were its participation in the agitation to boycott the Simon Commission in 1928, Murder of J.P. Saundres, celebration of the Kakori Day etc. Naujwan Bharat Sabha enacted its contacts with the revolutionaries of Bengal, U.P. Rajsthan and Bihar. In 1924 Sachinder Nath Sanyal, Chander Shekhar Azad and some others created Hindustan Republican Association. In 1928, the party organised Hindustan Socialist Republican army. In its meeting on 8-9 September, at Ferozeshah Kotla and decided to work unitedly. The Party also resolved to make bombs collect money through dacoities and robberies of the Post Offices, Banks and the government treasuries. It also adopted the use of terrorist activities. Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt also threw bombs in the Assembly Hall, distributed pamphlets and raised slogans of 'Inqilab-Zindabad' 'Samrajvad-Murdavad' and 'Unity of the labourers'. The government made arrests of the revolutionaries of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. Some

¹⁸⁷ Satya M. Rai, *Punjabi Veer Prampara, 1900-1947*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, pp. 72-73.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 74 and Bhagwan Singh Josh, *Punjab Vich Communist Lehar*, Navyog Publishers, Delhi, 1981, p. 83.

went underground and worked on the patron of the Ghadr revolutionaries.¹⁸⁹

These revolutionaries continued their propaganda even in the prisons by organising hunger-strikes and meetings with the other revolutionaries in the jails. The Lahore Conspiracy Case, attracted attention of the Indians. Meetings were held in most parts of the country and processions were organised. It provided the association a mass base. The revolutionaries also made use of their Court visits as propaganda platform, ultimately, Bhagat Singh and his two colleagues were hanged on 23 March 1931. It made Bhagat Singh a legend. It may be noted that with the arrests and deaths of the revolutionaries the movement received a serious setback and ultimately its activities were also affected.¹⁹⁰

The Naujwan Bharat Sabha though created at the suggestions of Dr. Satpal Kitchlew but its very active members were Bhagat Singh, Chander Shekhar Azad, Kailashpati, Rajguru, Yashpal, Schinder Nath Synal, Jai Gopal, Hans Raj Vohra, Sukhdev, Batukeshwar Dutt, Jogesh Chander Chatterjee, Pandit Kishori Lal, Yatin Das, Sodhi Pindi Das, Gurdit Singh, Ahmeddeen, Durga Bhabi, Hari Kishan and Lala Ram Saran Das, etc.¹⁹¹

The Naujwan Bharat Sabha adopted three types of methodology as a part of strategy to propagate its ideology and programmes. Firstly, by holding secrete meetings of the top leadership at different places in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh especially at Meerut, Agra and Kanpur but in Punjab Lahore and Amritsar were the major centers of their activities. In these secret meetings the leadership decided the action of their programmes which were aimed at distribution of literature in order to

¹⁸⁹ Satya M. Rai, *op. cit.*, , pp. 78-80.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 83-85.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*.

generate mass mobilization as well as implementation of certain militant actions. Secondly, publication of leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers and books. Thirdly, utilization of certain public places including the court premises and Assembly Hall. The places of their militant actions where they either had distributed leaflets and pamphlets and made fiery speeches as the case of murder of Saundres, throwing of the bomb in the Assembly Hall and using the platform in the court during the trial. Also by organising strikes and observing hunger-strikes by which the revolutionaries wanted to attract attention of the media as well as the masses and the common people for the achievement of their objectives. Fourthly, to propagate the revolutionary idea and programmes among students the activists of the Sabha also attempted to convey their message with the help of the plays, performed among students especially at the D.A.V. College, Lahore alongwith the use of slides with the help of magic lanterns. Through these slides they illustrated the lives of those revolutionaries who were either in the prisons or were in the death cells to be hanged by the British.

Lastly, for the distribution and publication of literature of political nature the Sabha established a Tract Society. It published the 'Wealth of Nations' by Har Dayal, 'India and the Next War' by Agnis Smidley and 'Bharat Maan Ka Darshan' and 'Naujwanon Se do Baten' by Chhabiel Das. These publications were enriched by revolutionaries ideas. The Hindustan Naujwan Sabha also exhorted the youth of India to take inspiration from the freedom struggles of Ireland, Turkey, Japan, China and also from the Communist and Bolshvek movements. They also emphasized to the youth and the common people to study and analyze the biographies of the political martyrs, concepts of freedom and equality, democracy and of referendum. Apart from the above strategical methodology other prominent publications of the Sabha included Sanyal's

book 'Bandi Jeevan', 'Why do we want Sawraj' by Har Dayal, 'Gorian Dian Kartootan', 'Bechare Firangee' by Chabeel Das, 'Garibi-Dunian Da Sabh Ton Vadda Papp', and 'Dunian Da Sabh Ton Vadda Insan'. In 1929 the Sabha published a newspaper 'Naujwan' from Amritsar and the revolutionaries published their ideas in the form of articles in the *Kirti* and *Partap* to bring revolutionary consciousness among the youths of Punjab. While in prison Bhagat Singh prepared a *Jail Diary*.

In the issue of January 1928 of the newspaper *Kirty*, Bhagat Singh wrote an article on the martyrs of *Kakori* in which he gave details about the contributions and sacrifices of Rajinder Nath Lehiri, Roshan Lal, Ashfaquallah and Ram Prasad Bismil. In November 1928 Bhagat Singh and his companions brought out special issue of the *Chand*, popularly called as the *Phansi Aank* in which they focussed on the lives of Ghadr Party revolutionaries and also the repression of the British during Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the Kuka Movement. In this special issue the revolutionaries emphasized the life in imprisonment, death sentences and deportations of the previous anti-imperial militant revolutionaries with the aim to remind and generate political consciousness in the younger generations.¹⁹²

As has already been mentioned that the Naujwan Bharat Sabha's major emphasis was on the propagation of the socialist ideology and to bring armed revolution for its establishment. Its method of propagation was mainly through the publication of revolutionary literature in diverse forms in which it abundantly made use of the history of Punjab and largely history of the international revolutionary movements

¹⁹² Satya M. Rai; Waraich, M.S., *Revolutionaries in Dialogue - Lala Ram Saran Das and Shaheed Bhagat Singh*, Unistar, Chandigarh, 2007; Waraich, M.S. and Harish Jain, *The Hanging of Bhagat, Singh; Confessions, Statements and Other Documents*, Unistar, Chandigarh, 2007; Sanyal, Shachinder Nath, *Bandi Jivan*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2006; Shaheed Bhagat Singh etc, *Chand Phansi Ank*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2006.

and stories of freedom struggles of different countries and also the revolutionary movements in Russia, China and the American War of Independence. To begin with, there is mention of the world famous revolutionaries' writer Voltaire's views in which he has emphasised the importance of the tracts which are capable to reach the house of the poor peasant and thus to influence the masses.¹⁹³ Further the revolutionaries took care of the statements made by the British administrators in their justification of British rule which they often claimed during Christian missionaries' public meetings that the British were ruling India for their welfare only. The revolutionaries are aware of the falsity of such proclamations when they rejected them and stressed upon the real objectives of British imperialism that was meant for the sheer economic exploitation of the Indians through the use of power.¹⁹⁴ Further the revolutionaries were not prepared to recognise the great men of the world to be the personalities who were often accepted as great including the religious leaders, famous army generals, rich people, intellectuals and followers of Gandhi, instead they viewed eminent thinkers like Rousseau, Voltaire, Karl Marx, Angles etc who were capable of understanding human problems and miseries and were in position to provide their solutions.¹⁹⁵

The revolutionary literature rejected the British policy of dividing the Indians on the basis of religion. There is citation of the example of Napoleon Bonaparte of France that how he was capable to make fool of the people despite their miserable plight; by proclaiming himself as

¹⁹³ Ram Singh Majitha, *Hindustan Di Azadi De Ladai Vich Punjab, Moga.1988* p. 17.

¹⁹⁴ "We did not conquer India for the benefit of Indians. It is often said in missionary meetings we are ruling India for the welfare of Indians. This is a cant. We are governing India for the export and sale of British goods in general and Lancashire cotton goods in particular and by the sword we will retain it." *Ibid*, p. 20.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p.22.

representative of God on earth and that it was the Will of the God to keep people in such situations. He encouraged the priestly class to propagate this idea among masses. The revolutionaries had compared this situation to the British imperialism in India.¹⁹⁶ Further the sacrifice of the Madan Lal Dhingra in the struggle against the British has been compared to the tortures suffered by the ancient epic Hero Ram Chandar of the Ramayana.¹⁹⁷ The martyrs of the revolutionary movement received comparison with the medieval love story of *Sohni-Mahinwal* who gave their lives for the eternal love and the martyrs had also sacrificed their lives for the love of freedom of the country.¹⁹⁸

The Naujwan Bharat Sabha literature drew its arousal from the Ghadr revolutionaries and it claimed them as the great patriots. The bravery of the Ghadr revolutionaries has been compared to the greatest heroes of world history including the leaders of American revolution like George Washington, Beer Walis, the revolutionary of Scotland, Mazzini and Garibaldi of Italy. Simultaneously Shivaji Maratha and the leader of exteamist group of Indian National Congress Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak, partition of Bengal 1905, Sawadeshi movement, Alipur conspiracy case 1908, and Sardar Ajit Singh a revolutionary of 1907 Agrarian agitation of Punjab have been quoted to inculcate spirit of rebellion against the

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p.22.

¹⁹⁷ @j oh; a udo d[Xuh nkfd p}prk tkr phosk Bkb Xow ns/ d/a tk; s/ i kB dj, fusk eoB s/ gSsD dh bV Bj h.
 @w/ nkgD/ gSo dh J/; w's sl y; a j k, dYh Bj h. w! ; t okwudo tork j h
 gSo ukj ph ; h. pb' ; t okw udo ih eh i? ##
 ekebh d/ ; j hdk d/ ck; h d/ j kbks, tbl ft doj h, feosh, i Btoh 1928H

¹⁹⁸ fj d; skB r }kw j? fJ; Bkb gYv eoBk w's B{ tki k wkoBhnk
 j B ! HHH fJ; wj htkb d/ gYv B/ eJh ; j Dhnk B{ v{x/ ; w}doK ftL vfpnk.
 fJ; gYv B/ eJhnk gYvhnk d/ gpK d/ gp ygk/ HHH Tj pho ; B, ni tch d/
 nk; e ; B ! Tj d; a sl ew ykso nkgDhnk fi dVhnk x{wk rJ/ ! Tj
 nkgDhnk wtk dhnk eYk ; cb eo rJ.
 Jagmohan Singh (ed.), *Shaheed Bhagat Singh Te Uhna De Sathian Dian Likthan*,
 Shaheed Bhagat Singh Khoj Commettee, Ludhiana, 1985, p. 42.

British.¹⁹⁹ Further the Sabha's literature repeatedly made use of the sacrifices of the Ghadr party revolutionaries in which Dr. Mathura Singh, Sufi Amba Prasad, and Kartar Singh Sarabha find more space.²⁰⁰ The revolt of 1857 has been the major attractive force to be utilise in which bravery of Tantia Tope, Nana Fernvis, Laxmi Bai, and Moulvi Ahmed Deen were appreciated for their sacrifices. Similarly Vir Savarakar was lauded for terming this revolt as the first war of independence.²⁰¹

The action of Madan Lal Dhingra in Britain becomes symbol of bravery and sacrifice to the revolutionaries to whom the Sabha literature mentioned as the 'first' rebel of the Punjab' and his behaviour during the trial has been given maximum appreciation.²⁰² The sacrifice committed by the brave Khushi Ram during the Martial Law in Punjab becomes another source of inspiration.²⁰³ The world personalities such as Mahatma Budh, Tolstoy, Prince Kropotkin attract attention for their leaving worldly luxuries at the cost of commitment to ideas as compared to the rich classes in India who had become parasites.²⁰⁴ The statement of British thinker Berkin Head that India was conquered by the power of the

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 42-44.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 51-64.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.82.

²⁰² p b U p h o
 f u o T B s n ; h o
 f ; o f B j k o n w k o
 B s f ; o U f ; y o f j w k d h o .
 w l f J e f j d { j D d h j ? h n s f t u ; w M d k j k f e
 w b / d l a B k b e l s k f r n k n f B n k f J J h ; a o d h j s e j ?
 f e T f e d l a d h g f i k ; h o k w u z d o i h d h g f i k j ?
 n s / d l a d h ; t k ; h f e q B i h d h ; t k j ?
 Jagmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, p.91.

²⁰³ j k : ! y f ; h o k w e h p o ; h w B k J h B k r J h .
 f e n k y f ; h o k w e h w s e ' j w G b r J l .
 T f e l w e ; d g ? u V k B l e ' j w G b r J l .
Ibid, p.94.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*.

sword and be ruled over by it, the literature emphasized that this claim was proved by the repressions during Jallianwala Bagh and tragedy at Mananwala near Amritsar. The mention of these atrocities were aimed at creating mobilisation against the British. The great sacrifices made by Guru Gobind Singh, Shivaji Maratha and Hari Singh Nalwa were reminded to criticize attitude of the people who were not ashamed of facing British humiliations. The insult of one female heroin *Dropadi* that resulted into the battle of Mahabharata has been cited in this context.²⁰⁵

The importance of literary writings especially the Sikh religious literature has been stressed upon for the evolution of the movement and a verse of Guru Teg Bahadur stressing the need to care for the deprived and to make sacrifice for the protection of one's religion. There is further emphasis on the utilization of heroic Punjabi literature for the creation of awareness and political consciousness.²⁰⁶ Being anti imperial movement, the literature of the Sabha cites the Babber Akali Movement in which it referred to the great sacrifices of the Babbers who never hasitated to face any repressions or death.²⁰⁷ The contemporary anti British movements in

²⁰⁵ eh fJj ; uwlu Gkoshnk dh pfJish Bj hl fe rpb{ rfpd f; x,
f; tk ih s/ joh f; x Bbtk tor/ ; pfwnk d/ tkfo; K Bf fJ;
: r Bj hl ; wfmnk ikdk fi ; Gkos ftu fe; / ; w/ fJb dogdhl
d/ ekoB wj kGkos tork : K j fJnk jD 1919 ftu nBek
dogdhlk Bf pfJis ehsk frnk. cb th Gkosh swk; phBK tkr
nokw Bkb ptn/ oj l.

Jagmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.

²⁰⁶ @pkfj fi Bj k dh geVhJ/ f; o dhi? pkfj Bk SVhJ/
rpb{ sr pj kdo pfbnk Xfo gJhn? Xow Bk SvthJ##
@U okj hnk okj / ikfdnk, ; D ik rb wbh,
f; o s/ gr sb/ tb's dh, fJj Bf cfe wfnksVk bk.##

Sawaran Singh, *Shaheed Bhagat Singh*, Wellwish Publishers, Delhi, 1922, p.84.

²⁰⁷ j'bh d/ fdB 27 cotoh 1926 d/ fdB, idl n; hl j'bh y/D ftU
w; s ; K, T; ; w/ fJ; ft; kb gpl/ a d/ fJe eB/ ftu dodBke
xNBk tkgo oj h ; h - - - bkj' b i b0 ftu T; h fdB S/ ppo
nekbh thio ck; h d/ sys/ s/ bNek fds/ rJl.
; L fe; B f; x ih rVri, ; L rmk f; x, ; L dbhg f; x, ; L Bd
f; x, ; L eow f; x s/ ; L Xow f; x.

Ibid, pp 86-87.

Punjab such as Non-cooperation movement, Gurdwara Movement and Akali agitation are given prominence depicting role and sacrifices of the Sikhs. To the extent that the literature of the Naujwan Bharat Sabha terms the Kuka Movement as the beginning of the first rise of Punjab in the freedom struggle. Baba Ram Singh and the political awareness that was generated by the activities of the Namdhari movement has been stressed upon as the symbol of challenge to British hegemony.²⁰⁸

The Naujwan Bharat Sabha was deeply influenced by the Sikh revolution to which it evaluated as the one that gives both the capacity to brave tortures as well as to raise sword against injustice, repression and tyranny.²⁰⁹ The young Ghadr revolutionary Kartar Singh Sarabha was another idol of the revolutionary movement.²¹⁰ The literature of the Naujwan Sabha further terms Kuka rebellion as the first attempt to overthrow the British and it has been compared to the bravery of the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Rajputs. The prominent personalities of the world history such as Socrates, Christ, Krishan, Dayanand and many others are mentioned in the list of great revolutionaries of the world

²⁰⁸ r b { o k w f ; x i h d h n r t k J h j m e f e k p r k t s s l b ? e / n i s e
 n B e k n d ' b B u b / n s / T j B k e k o B b e k f t u n f i j h u s B k g d k
 j ' J h f e T j ; s s o s k d h p d h T g o n k g D k ; G e M f B S k t o e o B
 b J h f s n k o j ' r J / n s / f J j d / B k b B k b n B e k f t f d n k o E h n k B /
 p b h d k B f d s l . T j B k d k i h t B u f o s o j o f J e f J ; s o h s / w o d d k
 ; k j ; t X k J r k .

Swaran Singh, *op. cit.*, pp 90-91.

²⁰⁹ w f f ; y h d h s ; h j / i o B ! w f h p s k p o d k ; s e o B d h g o g o k f t u f t ; a k ;
 a o y d k j k . w f n k g D / ; o t o d / p d p d e n t k T D b J h f s n k o j k .
Ibid, p.95.

²¹⁰ ; t k d / a d h f i d V h J / p V h n ' y h ,
 r b k e o B h n k Y b ; y b h n k B /
 f i B l J i ; t k f t u g b g k f J n k ,
 T j B k b y w f h p s k M b h n k B /

Dharam Pal Singhal, Baldev Singh Baddan (ed.), *Shaheed-i-Ajam Bhagat Singh Kav*

Sangreh, National Book Trust, Delhi, 2005, introduction.

capable of providing moral inspiration for the evolution and development of contemporary revolutionary movements. Again the heroes of the revolt of 1857 along with the revolutionaries of Punjab and Bengal who were either hanged or were tortured in exiles at Andaman Island became further source of encouragement to the present revolutionaries.²¹¹

The ideologues of Naujwan Bharat Sabha had deep interest in studying and analysing world revolutionary and classical literature before writing any work of their own. They never hesitated to make use of the meaningful verses related to the stories of human struggle against slavery and dictatorship. It has been mentioned that the tree of freedom demands water of blood of both the patriots and the tyrants. The ideas propagated through the 18th century American and French revolutions alongwith the writings of the great thinkers like Russoue, Thomas Pan, Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry are given maximum coverage as a collection of ideas to be taken care of by the present revolutionary leadership.²¹² Further the Naujwan Sabha literature reflect deep influence of the revolutionary ideology of V.I. Lenin and there is repeated mention of the concept of class struggle as propagated by Lenin to understand the historical evaluation of humanity. The writings of Karl

²¹¹ ufe ; GBk sfj ohek dk fJfsjk; fJj' d; dk ; h, fe nikdh tk; s/ bVB tkb/ b'eK dh iwkJs fJe tyoh pD ikfJnk eodh ; h. HHHH f; y fJfsjk; fJj' eM ; h, woj fJnk dh sfj ohe th fJj' d; dh j? rDk gsg d/ oki gs ; kEh fJ; / jh so d/ bVke/ ; B, pDbyv d/ tho ; so ; kb d/ ; kEh th n? / jh ; B. n? / jh bek dh fJk iwkJs gDk eoB tk; s/ pKpk okw f; x B/ guko s/ i Epdh Fp{ ehsh.

Harvinder Singh Hanspal, *Satyug*, Itehasik Samagri Ank, 2002.

²¹² ani kdh d/ oY B{ ; w/ ; w/ s/ d/ a GrsK s/ skB; kj K d/ yB Bkb f; fi nk ikdk j? fJj fJe eDosh ykd j? # @eh fi drh nBh fgnkoh s/ uB nBk fwZk j? fe pMhK ns/ rjokwh dh ehws T{/ T; B{ ylfDnk ik ; e/ wkc eo' ; ot; eshwkB gwkswk ! w/ BjH ikDdk, fe Tj fejk okj ngBkTDrl. wB{ sk p; nikdh ik w's fdU.

Satyam Verma, (ed.) *Shaheed-i-Ajam Bhagat Singh Di Jail Diary*, Tark Bharti Parkashan, Barnala, 1999, p.19.

Max and V.I. Lenin alongwith adoption of revolutionary slogans like 'Long Live Socialist Revolution', 'Long Live Communist International', 'Long Live Lenin' and 'Long Live Unity of the People' have been made use of for inciting the followers of the movement.²¹³ There is abundant use of the historical poetry in the literature of the Sabha. The first Russian revolutionary women V.N. Figner has been quoted as the symbol of rebellion against the Czars of Russia; Thereby giving emphasis on the need for the participation of women in the on-going struggle against the British.²¹⁴

Further the literature of revolutionary movement make utilization of the famous and popular song related to the French revolution and also the poetical verses from the writings of Ramdas related to Shivaji Maratha in which the need to protection of religion at the cost of death has been stressed upon.²¹⁵ The actions of princely rulers of India have

²¹³ गीतकद फुलु बॅसो नकु ओग फुलु फुलु फुलु नकु बॅसो बजिह ; ह
; रल फुलु ; ह अपिहक बॅसो इक फुलु बॅसो ब/ फुक ; ह अपिहक तुर
द/ बजिह बॅसो.
२१ इतोल १९३० बॅ बॅसो द/ इबु फुलु स/ गुरस फ; ख स/ तुज बुक द/
; केलु बकु ओर द/ ओकुब रल/ फुलु पबे/ नकुबस फुलु नकु/ नस/ तुज बुक
ब/ बुक ओ/ बरकु/ ल ; कुलु तकुलु फुलुबुक फुलु कुलु, एलुतुब; न एलुसुलु-फुलु कुलु
बॅसो नुओ ओ/ बे जॅसु फुलु कुलु.
Satyam Verma, *op. cit.*, p.31.

²¹⁴ वकु/ रज/ ब/ ; ओत; ह न ; कु
दुप फुलु रज/ ब/ तुज उगु उगुलु/
जुलु एलु बजिह तुर/ तुज बुक दुलु युसु
पुलुबु/ जकु ब/ गुलु कुलु फुलु तुज बुक बॅ एकु नुओ
एलु ; बहपु बजिह, बजिह एलु उले, एलु ; कुलु बलु बजिह
इ' दु ; ए/ तुज बुक द/ रतु; कुलु बुकु.
Ibid, p.60.

²¹⁵ उ फुलु बुस द/ गुसु' इकु', कुकु गुलुसु एु.
; दु' ; दु' तुज एुकु नकुलु फुलु सॅ ह इकु'.
पुलु गुसुलु नस/ गुकुद/ फुलु सुलु कुलु.
तुलु तुज बुक द/ जुलु ; दु' सॅ ह तुज बुक दुलु उलेक
एलु बुकुस : 'र, पुलुकु ; कु; ए एुद/ ओजु दु ; कुकुसु <
बुलु/ कुलु/ द/ ननु नस/ इलु/ रलुलु कुलु.
एुद/ ओजु दु कुलु बॅ दुलु स/ तुज कुलु
इलु फुलु ; कुलु स/ न; कुलु कुलु तुलु कुलु ओ/ युलु.
२० कुलु कुलु कुलु कुलु कुलु/ इकु', तुलु ; कुलु कुलु कुलु कुलु कुलु
कुलु कुलु कुलु कुलु कुलु ; कु. कुलु कुलु; तुलु कुलु/ कुलु/ स/ कुलु कुलु

been condemned and were warned of taking revenge after the overthrow of the British.²¹⁶ The revolutionary literature during their course of actions attempted to justify them. Further there is considerable number of examples cited in the literature of the Sabha that attempted to absolve actions of the revolutionaries. These examples were compared to the repressive laws made to suppress the French revolution along with the mention of the tortures given to the revolutionaries of the Russian Revolution in the mines of Sybaria.²¹⁷ Lastly the Naujwan Sabha literature also utilizes the debate on the issue of use of violence as compared to the methodology of non violence. The literature gives emphasis on the justification of utilization of violence for the achievement of the objective and claimed further that the major historical changes are the product of the militant methodology propagated and implemented by Guru Gobind Singh, Shivaji Maratha, Kamal Pasha, Rosa Shaw, George Washington, Garibaldi, Laffyant and V.I. Lenin.²¹⁸

ⒶBj hl ! fJM Bj hl Xow pdb{ j'D Bkbl pj so j? wko/ i kDk.
 fJM efj Dk ekch nSk j? bfeB fJ; sl th nSk j? fe fJj ef; aa
 eoBk fe Bk sk wko/ ikt' s/ Bk jh Xow pdb{ pD' pbfe yd fj z k
 dhnk ; eshnk B{ wko ; N'. fJ; ftU nro woB jh j't/ sk wko
 fdS/ ikt', bfeB fi S dh ykso wkod/ j'J/ wo' fJB; kB dh fi S d/ tk; s/ wo'.
 Satyam Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²¹⁶ go ws Gb' UJ/ rki hU fe sj kv/ ekoBkfwrk s/ eosSk dk fj ; kp
 feskp fbnk ikt'rk ns/ Btk i Bw j'Jh i Bsk sj kv/ Bkb sj kv/ jh
 Yr Bkb fj ; kp eorhl jo e'Jh i' i kD pM el/ bek Bkb ft; ak; xks
 eorh, T{ B{ eSb el/ rod el/ XV ftU fwbk fdSk ikt'rk. eh sj kB{
 ; kv/ fJ; emb ; ebg T{S/ ; e j? i/ j? sk ; D bt' Bkw XhrVk (Yhr ok)
 dk s/ u{ j' ikt'. T{ ; jhd dk BK b{e/ nkyd/ jk fe j/ Gkosh rki hU,
 fJj BK ; pdk pko/ rGhosk s/ rfj okJh Bkb ; u'. fi t/ woi h eo' go
 Tjh eNr/ i' phi'r/.
Ibid, p. 196.

²¹⁷ Satya M. Rai, *Punjabi Veer Prampra 1907-1947*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987, p. 79.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 160.

CHAPTER-3

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

THE NAMDHARI MOVEMENT

During the later half of the 19th century a socio-religious movement arose in the Punjab called the Namdhari Movement. The followers of the movement while reciting *Nam* began to shriek and thus came to be popularly known as the *Kukas*. It is believed that Baba Balak Singh of Hazro was the founder of the movement who again was a follower of Sain Jawahar Mal.²¹⁹ Initially the *kukas* were known as Jagiasi-Abhiasi sect. But under the leadership of Baba Ram Singh of Bhaini Arian in Ludhiana district the movement spread when he organised baptism of his followers on 12 April 1857 with the aim to remove social and religious evils existing in the Sikh society.²²⁰ Although the movement was essentially a religious in nature but gradually took the form of Anti-British character because of the programmes and activities of the followers of the movement. Baba Ram Singh viewed the fall of the Sikhs and the Lahore Kingdom as a result of the decline in Sikh values.

The major emphasis of the Namdhari movement was on the reading of *Gurbani* with stress on *Sikh Rehat Maryada*, teaching of Gurmukhi and development of Punjabi language, simple marriage without dowery, no child marriage and prohibition of cast distinctions, protection of cows and simple living. The movement also evolved the

²¹⁹ Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Punjab Dian Lehran*, Ashok Pustak Mala, Patiala, 1974, pp. 55-56.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.57 and Ganda Singh, *Kukian Di Vithia*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1990, pp. 1-6.

concept of non-cooperation with the British government, use of the Sawadeshi products, organisation of local Postal system, boycott of government posts and services and also the recruitment of the Namdhari army.²²¹ Consequenterly the strength of the Namdhari movement reached to 10 lakhs figure in 1871. As a part of the organisational structure Baba Ram Singh divided the areas of his activities into 22 Subas. Despite Baba Ram Singh's stress on reforms in the social and religious aspects of the Sikhs, yet the followers attempted to attack on the butchers at Amritsar, Raikot and Malkerkotla. In their pursuit to enlarge its actions the Namdhari followers attacked the Jagirdar of Maloud in order to collect money and capture the guns. As a result the British administration intervened who was already suspicious of the increasing strength of the followers of Baba Ram Singh and was doubtful of its becoming anti-British force because the British were scared of the recent happenings of 1857 and also that the annexation of the Punjab was a recent phenomnon. The actions of the Namdhari followers gave much desired opportunity to the British administration to check any possible revolt in order to prevent any challange to the domination of its power. Therefore the police made large scale arrests and massacred the Kukas in Malerkotla publically by hanging the 66 Kukas from the mouth of the cannons. Others were given severe punishments of long imprisonments and deportations. Baba Ram Singh was also arrested and was immediately deported to Rangoon along with his prominent Subas.²²²

It may be noted that the followers of the Namdhari movement though were spread all over Punjab but in the districts of Ludhiana, Gujranwala, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ambala, Malkerkotla State, Nabha, Patiala, Sangrur etc. they

²²¹ Shamsher Singh Ashok, *op.cit.*, pp.60-62.

²²² Ganda Singh, *op.cit.*, pp.25-113 and Ashok, *op.cit.*, pp. 62-78.

formed majority. Among the centres of their activities included the towns of Amritsar, Raikot, Malerkotla and Maloud. There is mention of the Kashmir Platoon along with the recruitment of the Kukas in the army of Nepal. The followers of the Namdhari movement also visited Kabul and Russia along with attempted contact with Maharaja Dalip Singh in order to bring him back. In that sense the activists of Namdhari took the international character. It is further noted that among the prominent Namdharis were the heads of 22 Subas, Hari Singh, son of Ram Singh, the 66 Martyrs of Malerkotla, Suba Gurcharan Singh, Bhai Mohan Singh, Bhai Nanu, Suba Bhai Sahib Singh, Baba Lakha Singh, Bhai Naina Singh, Rur Singh, Kanh Singh, Brama Singh, Jawahar Singh, Malook Singh, Man Singh, Hukam Singh, Mangal Singh, Bibi Hukami and many others. The detail of the prominent Namdhari leaders is available in Ganda Singh's *Kukian Di Vithia* and Jaswinder Singh's *The Namdhari*. But it is imperative to note that the followers of Namdhari movement were not only from the Sikhs but they also came from the lower strata of the Hindus and the Muslims.²²³

Now coming to the methodology of propaganda of the Namdhari movement it has been observed that the major strategy was holding of the religious congregations both at its headquarter Bhaini Sahib as well as in different towns and cities of the Punjab. The fairs and festivals such as *Baisakhi* and *Holi* were the other occasions. when Baba Ram Singh organised religious *diwans* to propagate his ideas. These included the *Baisakhi* fair at Muktsar the *Holla Mohalla* at Anandpur Sahib and *Diwali* at Amritsar. During Baba Ram Singh's leadership a considerable part of its interaction was secretive in nature or through the sending of the messages with spies from one place to another. Secondly, while in exile Baba Ram Singh and his followers developed a technique to exchange

²²³ Ashok, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

letters with the help of some of his ardent followers who were able to contact Baba Ram Singh at Rangoon and Moulvin. It is significant to mention that the letters written by Baba Ram Singh and were brought secretly for information among his followers have been recognized as the *Hukamnamas*. These *Hukamnamas* which are in the form of directions to be observed by the followers in practicing their daily routines also comprise of certain quarries of political nature in terms of the future of the movement as well as the British government in India. Also there is glorification of Guru Gobind Singh's heroic sacrifices and his *Chandi Di War* becoming symbols of challenge to British imperialism. In that sense these *Humanamas* form part of the literature reflecting utilization of 'History'.

Although the movement under the leadership of Baba Ram Singh reached its zenith but the movement survived under the able successors of Baba Ram Singh till the end of the British rule and also the post colonial period. The Namdhari movement in the beginning of 20th century began to publish a monthly journal the *Satyug*. Apart from the *Hukamnamas* and the *Satyug*, which form part of the literature produced by the Namdhari movement; some later writings especially by the *Namdhari* writers cover some more information related to the *Namdhari* movement that reflect on the utilisation of 'History'. Some of these are : *Satguru Bilas Part-I* by Sant Santokh Singh, *Ram Vijogian De Baranmah*, ed by Tara Singh Anjan, *Namdhari Lehar* by Jaswinder Singh, *Kukian Di Vithia* by Gunda Singh, *Kuka Movement: Freedom Struggle in Punjab* by Jaswinder Singh, *Kuka Andolan De Mahan Sawtantrata to Sangrami, Namdhari Shaheed* by Suba Surinder Kaur Kharal.

The Namdhari literature though basically religious in tone; there is no dearth of use of historical happenings both in the domain of religious

elements of Sikh history and also its political character. Baba Ram Singh, for the propagation of its mission basically gives emphasis on the Sikh traditions and teachings of the Sikh religion as are included in the *Adi Granth* and *Dasam Granth*, the major creation of Guru Gobind Singh. The critical examination of Baba Ram Singh's *Hukamnamas* bring into, therefore, the fact that he had made wide use of the *Gurbani* when conveying the followers to adopt and practice *Rehat Maryada*. Even before that he always gave emphasis on the *Naam* and recitation of *Gurbani* to the congregations in his *diwans*. To the extent that as a part of methodological strategy he adopted the old traditions of Guru and the followers. In fact he directed the followers only to recite *Path* of the approved religious Sikh scriptures.²²⁴ Another religious literature on which there is emphasis is the *Chandi Di Vaar*. It was written by Guru Gobind Singh at a time when he was making preparations for the religious war. This writing has been recognised as the one to developed bravery and vigour against any fight with the enemy. Baba Ram Singh by asking his followers to recite daily the above *Gurbani* appears to have made use of this as a strategy against the future contest with the imperialism. The need to adopt the Sikh traditions has been further stressed upon.²²⁵

²²⁴ ; GB{ pkDh em eoB dk j jw ; Dkjh. i / gi nkTD sk gi rE em eoB, Bj hl sk i g, i kg, ofj ok; , nkosh ; fj bk ; jwBh,nk; k dh tko ; G em eoB i BkBl/ wodkBl. Bkb cb pkDh gVe/ fi sBk pfD nkt/ T{Bk Gi B eoBk.
Jaswinder Singh (ed.) *Hukamname*, Namdhari Darbar, Bhaini Sahib, 1998, p. 78.

²²⁵ cb fi ; tb/ ; pi dhnk fo; w{ fBebD brD sk T{ tb/ uwh dh tko dk gkm eoB brDk. nodk; eoe/ gkm sbBk. III no Gr'sh uwh dh tko dh gfj bh gVh dk BkT{ j? Gr'sh gVBh. ; i rp{ rfpd f; x nekb gby ih ; G EKJh j fJn ; j kfJ. Gr'sh nk d/ gkm dk th rp{ ih B/ t{ k wj ksw fbfynk j? ; " ; kyh w/ Jaswinder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

In order to build a united movement they took the concepts of humility and tolerance from *Gurbani*.²²⁶ There is abundant use of the verses from *Gurbani* which were recognized as the dictates of the Gurus.²²⁷ Even in the practicing of the daily patron of Sikh living the advise to the followers was given as the order of the Gurus. There is awareness on the issue of certain hardships which were cropped up during the bestowing of *Guruship*.²²⁸ The remedies of various diseases were imbibed in the *Naam Simran* i.e. recitation of *Gurbani* and to emphasize this point there is mention of this universal fact in the *Adi Granth* as well as in the Vedas.²²⁹ Being religious in nature, there is continuity of the Sikh institution of the *Langar* and the particular ways to

²²⁶ rḡ{ ih fby j? j j [; GBk eh oDek sT[nkT[j wko? gk; . HHHH
 j'ò wjkoki ih ; pfj ykb; / B/ nkg ftuko bDk i' GbkJh d/ ew j B.
 wbh pX pjš EVh j? w! sk eS ig[sg[Bj hetsk. eow[Bk i kDk Xow B i kDk
 bGh wkJnkXkoh, Bkw gfoU Grs[rfpd ek fJj okyj[g! s[wkoh.
Ibid., pp. 106-107.

²²⁷ rḡ{ ih dk j j ew j? nrkj k e[stfx fgSk cfo Bkwj vVk.
 BkBe f; fM fTj k tko pj fV Bk j'th i BwVk.
 ;' ykb; k ih i wDk woBk i Bk B! pVk Jh dly j? HHHH
 fJj th rḡ{ ih dk j j ew j? nE/ Bktj[Gfbnk fcfo j E[feEkT[B gkfJ.
 i Bh ; G GtJhnB fp; Nk wkfj ; wkfJ.
 jfo Bkw ftu tvkJhnk rḡ{ ih B/ ej hnk j?
 fi E? fwbfj tfvnkJhnk ; d yf; hnk ; u BkT[.
 fsB wly fNe/ fBebfj fi B wB ; uk BkT[.
Ibid., pp. 112-13.

²²⁸ fpBk j j ew wB/ dly bU rḡ{ ih d/ gš gk; Jh p'm/ oj /
 rfonkJh nr d ih Bf fwbh, fe; / EK d/ yst Bf
 nr/ dks{ dk; { wj oh, wj D p'm/ oj / okwdk; e' rdh fwbh,
 fe; / EK d/ yst d/ wM/ Bf Bkb/ bVeh. ;' ih fpBk j j ew j j ew wB/
 Gkwf ; " j j ew Bkwk j fJ gk; , sk th eS[; y Bj h j j dk.
Ibid., p. 508.

²²⁹ HHHH fJj dtJh ; op dlyk d/ dḡ eoB pkbh j?
 rḡ{ ih B/ th fbyk j? i' ; op or dk nTlyX[Bkwf.
 ; wk sk nkfJnk fwNdk Bj h fe; / s/ go Bkw i? h dko{ j'ò e'Jh Bj h j?
 Bkw dhnk Jh w! ; kyk ddk jk. td s/ ; k; st dk th efj Dk j? fe fi E/
 fJ; ih Bf e? k th dly j't? ;' Bkw ; op dlyk Bf dḡ eo ddk j?
 Jaswinder Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-63.

be adopted during its practice. To emphasise upon this there are many references taken from the Dasam Granth.²³⁰

As part of the reform movement some verses taken from Gurbani were quoted for the prohibition of wine, meat and intoxicants.²³¹ In order to eliminate social inequality and discrimination against women along with other female related issues such as early marriage, dowry, killing of infant daughters, selling of girls, there is abundant use of the verses from *Gurbani*. In that sense the utilisation of *Gurbani* has been made for the social reforms. For the development of Sikhism the need to preserve the institution of the Langer has been greatly stressed upon in the form of the special dictates to the followers.²³² During the period of exile Baba Ram Singh compares the restrictions imposed on him and the deportation

²³⁰ j' b GkUh ykb; k ih i b gq kfd ; ju ; X dk tosDk.
 ; ju ; X tkb/ fpBK fe; / d/ j E' Bj hl SeDk.
 j' b GkUh rp{ d; t/ gks; kfj dk puB j?
 @i keh ofj s Bk i kDhn? rpwsq Bj hl ulfs.
 T Bk Gi B ykfJe? fp; o? j fo f; T[ghs.
Ibid., p. 166.

²³¹ @nr? wk; ykfD dh pkfs rp{ BkBe ih B/ fbyh j? wE/ dh r'; fN fpu,
 i' wk; ;' ykJ/ fi; ih e' ykfJ T; e' cb fi Tdk eo ; e/
 roE ih w' Jj th fbyk j? epho ih n i[wkofj i'o ejs/ j? i' j bkb/
 dcsol dJh ip ekfYj? j fJrk eTB[j tkb[. HHH; okt B{ th wB? ehsk roE ih w/
 nkgDk gokfJnk Bk gSkDJh y; wj[Xe/ ykfJ, fi s[ghs? y; w[th; o? dorj fwB?
 ; i kfJ.
 Mfuk wdl wfB Bk ghUJh i ek gko t; kfJ. ;' J/ dB' Bh wk; s/ SrD tosD/
Ibid., p. 298-99.

²³² j' j' b ih i j Vk rp{ ih dk j ew j? ;' ; w/ ; w/ f; o ; G j jk nkfJnk j? ; fj i /
 Jh.
 nr/ GkUh rp{ i kD/ HHH j' b ih bro dh pks Jj { j? fi sBk eM ; o/ fe; / s/
 ;' bro gkt HHH rp{ ; kfj p ih ; op dkBk s/ Tgo nB dk pvk fbyk j? ; kyhnk
 w?
 i' bro dh Nfj o eor k T; dk pj s Gbk j T; k. HHH ; kJh t; s[ghs j' Jh fi ;
 f; T[bkfJnk j s.
 Jaswinder Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-05.

by the British to the British fears of a possible revolt in Punjab like that of 1857.²³³

Further some area of contest grew during the development of the movement with certain Sikhs and these were attempted to eliminate by the use of verses from the *Gurbani*.²³⁴ Moreover, the opposition of the British to the *Namdhari* movement had been perceived in comparison to the end of the Mughal Power as a consequence of the Mughal Sikh struggle.²³⁵ The unjust attitude and behavior of the Sikhs towards Bhai Bir Singh and Bhai Maharaj Singh has also been compared to the similar attitude of the Sikhs towards Baba Ram Singh.²³⁶ The jealousy of the rivals has to be tolerated with the *Nam Simran* as this fact has been mentioned in the *Gurbani*.²³⁷ In fact the *Hukamnamas* of Baba Ram

²³³ efj d/ j B fes/ fuñh G/ el ; M Bk eokJ dt/ JX/ fgS/ pj s nkdwh j ?
fgS' sk fbnk? j ? i / JE/ ojk sk uX/ pork ew eokJ d/Tf-k.
wb/ ; oho dk ekb tork G? j? JBk Bf
Ibid., pp. 147-55.

²³⁴ gfj bk sk n; hl J/ nkyd/ E/ Gkjh J/ f; y ; kX ; kv/ Bkb ftoX feT[eod/ j ? <
' JBk Bf th rþ{ ih dk puB j ? frnkBh fXnkBh rDh XBkv.
Bkw igs xo xo wñ nkY. Bkw igD tkfbnk el ; kE j fo ikrk nkYk eoBr/
' gl' el' ehsk f; o skjh.
Ibid., p. 120.

²³⁵ n; hl sk Gkjh fe; / Bf eS Bj hl nkX/. JBk Bf JBk dh eoBh jh gh vokTþh j ?
oks fdB. gi kp wñ th JBk Bf Jj Gow j fJnk fi ; sok nr/ f; yk B/ d/ wb
fbnk ; h fdbh dk, Tf / sok J/ jD ph wb bDr/ s; h e'jh JBk dk pdp; s
eo'.
Ibid., p. 148.

²³⁶ n? k gw/ o dk GkDk tofsnk oki / oJhñfs, Gly, j' b' be ; G/ wko wko eod/ j ?
no[pj s fBdk ; Dd/ j k j fJn oj h j ? ##### nr/ nkgD/ ykb; / ftu sk Jj
toskok
tos frnk ni eb d/ ; wñ wñ gfj bk f; yk dh feogk pho f; x s/ j'Jh, cb
wj koki
f; x s/ j'Jh, jD wb/ Tf/ f; yk dh feogk j'Jh.
Ibid., p. 157.

²³⁷ ykb; k ih fe; / dh xkb fpoEk Bj hl i kdñ. rE ; kfj p wñ fbyk j ? @Je fsb[Bj hl
GB? xlfbnk#. rþ{ ih B/ fbyk j ? s; k Bf dy dD pkb/ ; G My wkoe/ j' b/ j fJ
i kDr##### nE/ ; kvk e'jh Bk Ek rþ{ fpBK. @TE? j E[B ngV? e'e Bk ; Dhñ?
gfeko.

Singh made abundant use of the examples from the lives of the Sikh Gurus and teachings of the *Gurbani*.²³⁸

The literature pertaining to the Post Baba Ram Singh Namdhari movement also has equally made use of the life history of the Sikh Gurus in detail and has attempted to derive legitimacy of the movement as a continuity of the Sikh movement evolved through the institution of Guruship beginning with the founder of Guru Nanak Dev. Equally the mention had been made to attempts made by the *Pirithias*, the *Dhirmalias* and the *Ramrais* to occupy the Sikh Guruship in order to run parallel sects.²³⁹ The controversy arose during the Guruship of Guru Teg Bahadar gets enough space.²⁴⁰ These examples are specifically given in order to stress upon the fact that the Namdhari *Panth* believed in the continuation of the Guruship even after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh. Henceforth Namdhari literature of this period is abundant with the continuation of the institution of the Guruship with Baba Balak Singh and Baba Ram Singh as the successor Gurus. To elaborate this point there is mention of a meeting between Guru Nanak Dev and Quzi Ruk-un-din at Mecca. The

TE? ; fsrþ pþh j't? efY bJ/ nsh tko.#
s{ h rp{ ih d/ puBk tb fXnkB eoBk.
Jaswinder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 148-149.

²³⁸ Jaswinder Singh (ed.), *Satguru Bilas Vol.I*, Namdhari Darbar, Shri Bhaini Sahib, 2005, pp.34-37.

²³⁹ fpub i kfJrh ; rfs ; koh. .
e/ fus j fJ whDfB nB{ koh.
Xhwþ e' wkBfj e'Jh. .
e' f; y okwokfJ e' j'Jh. .
Ibid., p. 40.

²⁴⁰ pkpk p; fj fi rþw pekþ/ . .
pfB rp, ; rs ; eb ; wkb/
fJ ; ; BkfJ ; fGfj B ; l ej : ' . .
f; þfB Tþ fB; u? sfp þfj : ' . .
Ibid., p. 141.

story has been around the fact that after the battle between Aurangzeb and Guru Gobind Singh, Guru Gobind Singh would disappear for some time and will reappear again to establish the Khalsa Raj.²⁴¹

Another post Baba Ram Singh historical writing is related to the *Barahmahan* when before appreciating the Sikh Gurus mention had been made to the mythical Hindu gods and goddesses like *Ganpati*, *Gauran* as a perception of comparing the Gurus as god.²⁴² There is abundant utilization of the mythological events in the Namdhari literature. In this context many episodes related to the birth of Lord Krishna and his acts of revenge in the form of the elimination of King Kans, a symbol of evil have been referred to.²⁴³ Personality of Baba Ram Singh has been compared to the hero of *Ramyana*, Ram Chandra, who had destroyed

²⁴¹ BkBe nky/ oJeBdhB ; kuk ; Bj [i tkp
 gv? ; D? i' ghfs eo SN? ; G ni kp..
 d; tk i kwk gfj o eo pnf gb eosko.
 n'br i p pkd; kj f; T[i X eof pj pko
 Nfepb nkgDk d/ fJe? Gi fdT[rk f; x
 dY Tj Bk pb xN; h Gb i ktB ; G cX
 -- -- -- -- --
 ykb; k g'dk j fJ r: k Gbk Bk ehU r'fpd
 nb'g j'tkrk oki d/ gB Ekgf r'fpd..
 Jaswinder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

²⁴² Bw; elo ; fsrpk e' eok
 uobh ; h; fBtkfJ.
 - - - -
 rDgs r'bk ; kodk
 ; oB r'pk eh bfJ.
 Tara Singh Anjaan (ed.) *Ram Vijogian De Barahmah*, Namdhari Darbar, BK. 2051,
 p.18.

²⁴³ j fJnk e/ oki k nT'skoh
 T[B/ GD e'd eo vkoh,
 i w/ bVek bVeh wkoh,
 B}whnk ejh j ehes ; koh
 fpi bh j fJ r rB uwekoh
 j fJnk fe; B uzd n'skoh
 e/ gSkVdk.
 Tara Singh Anjan, *op. cit.*, p.27.

Rawana, the symbol of evil.²⁴⁴ The painful situation under which Baba Ram Singh was sent to exile has been compared to the *Banvaas* of Ram Chandra.²⁴⁵ Similarly the position of Baba Ram Singh's younger brother has been compared to the younger brother of Ram Chandra, Bharat.²⁴⁶ The role of the mythical character Nardmuni to incite opposition against the British has been referred to.²⁴⁷ For the revival of principals and traditions of Sikh religion, the Namdhari literature has equally condemned the Hindu practices of worshipping of gods and goddesses along with the places of *Kabran* (graveyards) and *Dargahan* (Muslim worship places).²⁴⁸

The shifting of the Namdhari headquarter from Hajro to Bhaini has been compared to the situation of the birth of Guru Gobind Singh at

²⁴⁴ ; f s r p e w e l k i d e o d /
 n k ; D u h B h i T s / X o d /
 - - - - -
 w ; s k B / j E ; b ' s o c V d /
 f i T | e g o k w u d d / u V d /
 b e k w k o B /
Ibid., p.39.

²⁴⁵ n ; l l n r p e t s / G k o /
 ; k E l f t S V / ; f s r p f g n k o /
 ; r s ; k X T v h e D ; k o /
 f i T | n i f X n k o k w B f
Ibid., p.41.

²⁴⁶ ; r s d o ; B d h ; X o k J h
 G o E t k r T v h e / G k J h
 d o ; B d t ' o x | g f s o k d h
 f e o g k X k o e l /
Ibid., p.42.

²⁴⁷ e b w k s k B f c p w k f J n k ,
 s f f t u g m k D K i k f j
 B k o d v T p { t k f J r k
 s f ; s h e b k i r k f J .
Ibid., p.43.

²⁴⁸ t ? k y f t ; f o n k B k w f i B l B f o k j n t l b V / i k d / B l
 d / h d / t s / g f i D t k b / d o d o u N K y k d / B l
 w V l w ; k D h r l r k G b l g f i B o e B f i k d / B l
 r p { o k w f ; x B k w i g k e l / B o e f t u l e Y f b n k d / B l
 Tara Singh Anjan, *op. cit.*, p.56.

Patna Sahib and then making Anandpur Sahib as his centre of activities.²⁴⁹ The restrictions imposed on Baba Ram Singh by the British government find comparison with the atrocities and repressions committed by the Mughals against Guru Arjun Dev, Guru Teg Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh.²⁵⁰ At another place the grief of the deportation of Baba Ram Singh has been compared to the position of king Janak, an actor in the Ramayana.²⁵¹ The Namdhari literature compares the British rule to the miserable position of the masses during ancient time when the tradition of slavery existed and the powerful people used to sell the weak people, both men and women to other countries. Although during those time only few people were made slaves, but now the British colonialism and imperialism had made the entire nation as slave.²⁵² The Namdhari literature while criticising the rules of the Turks and the Mughals for making Indians slave; consequently Indians raised the sword against them and demolished their regimes. Similarly after that the British had occupied India, against which Baba Ram Singh has started the non-cooperation movement. In other words, the justification for the beginning

²⁴⁹ i m i r s ftu nkU/ ; f s r p , f ; x e o B G o t k ; k i h
 j i o ' ; k f j p g o r N j ' U / G D h ; k f j p ftu t k ; k i h
 g N D / d k f i T [i B w y k b ; k ftu n B d g b t k ; k i h.
Ibid., p.57.

²⁵⁰ i h n k y k s o d y T h n k D k ,
 f j j ; f s r p d h o h s h .
 g i t l B k t l d ; t l t k b h
 p k j o w / r p { c v b h s h .
Ibid., p.73.

²⁵¹ n l { n k ; g l i k t ' n k e /
 b r h p j s T p k ; h .
 o k i / i B e d / t k r o n k e /
 e o f d T [p d y b k ; h .
Ibid., p.79.

²⁵² Nirankar Singh 'Chetan' (ed.), *Satyug*, Lahore, June 1920.

of the Namdhari movement has been sought from history.²⁵³ The socio-religious purity for the protection of the cows and its utility to the agrarian society of Punjab has been emphasised with the help of the citations from the ancient Hindu traditions and references to the activities and actions of the various Hindu gods and goddesses and also the related verses given in Guru Granth.²⁵⁴

The atrocities committed by the British received notice in the form of Namdhari poetry in which such inhuman actions from history were given and compared with the imperial policy. At the same time the *Goshat* of Guru Nanak Dev with the *Sidhas* are quoted to prove the point.²⁵⁵ The events and happenings in Hindu mythical literature were equally utilised as comparatives, in which the events related to the lives of Bhagat Perhlad and Harnaksh; Ravana against Ram Chandra and Kans against Krishna. Birth of Guru Nanak Dev in Kalyug has been considered essential for the elimination of the tyrannies and repressions as directed by the God.²⁵⁶ To motivate the followers who were termed as

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ ; kB{ gsk Bj hl brdk fpBK rT{nk, Np{ fj d dk eko ftj ko fddk
 - - - - -
 d; ' fet/ foMkUr/ fgsoK B{ d/ fsnk dk j 'T{ ; fseko fedK
 i r j w dh ohs Bk j 'T{ g{h, fpBK fxT[ub{ eweko fedK.
 f; y' s{ k dk Xow th Bj hl oj dk, fi Luo rT{ rohp B{ wkod/ B/
 dhB d{h{nk d/ nr ; r oj Dk, r{p{ r{ s/ ; s g{ekod/ B/
 fdU i kB p{df; nk bJh u{SB Jj ' j {ew ; uh ; oeko d/ B/
Ibid.

²⁵⁵ r{pK nkfyk BkE ih eo' S{h, wks b'e s/ pDh j? GhV Gkoh
 eV tofsnk, fSfgnk ; u ; pi, fpBK frnkB goik nBh fcol ; koh
 - - - - -
 fBok y{ e T{gd/ ; DkB tkb/ d/ w's sl vofdnk Sv B{ l
 gk; j {dnk foX{nk f; X{nk d/ f; X b'e ; {wb sl nkD t; l
 Nirankar Singh, *op. cit.*, 1 Dec, 1920.

²⁵⁶ j oBke; a Bk wko g{ bkd ekoB, Xko Bo f; x dk og eosko nkJ/
 s{ / okw ih ; s T{pkoB/ B{ bek gsh dk eoB ; xko nkJ/.

the *Khalsa*, it was claimed that they were blessed by Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh in order to carry on the mission.²⁵⁷ The Namdhari literature further used the contemporary historical developments when the Indians contributed at a large scale for the support of the British during the World War I. Instead of giving them rewards, the British awarded them the 'Rowlett Act' and also it resulted in the 'Jallianwala Bagh Massacre'. Namdhari literature by giving such historical references aimed to issue warning against repetition of such happenings.²⁵⁸ Further there is emphasis on the continuity of the Sikh principles advocated by the tradition of *Khalsa* created by Guru Gobind Singh.²⁵⁹ The increasing popularity of the movement started by Baba Ram Singh to achieve independence has been compared to the creation of

dḥkqḥ feq B i h ez d/ SdD/ Bḥ Tḥ iḥ dk eoB Tḥko nkJ/
 eb: ḥ wḥBh dk Gko j oB nkbw, ; srḥ BkBe i h Xko ntsko nkJ/
Ibid., 1 Dec, 1920.

²⁵⁷ ; fsrḥ BkBe fgsk d/ fgnkfoU.
 ebrḥnk tkb/ d/ bkb dḥkfoU.
 sḥ k dk dḥdko rḥ{ dk dḥdko j?
 pki k tkbk sḥ k d/ ftueko j?
Ibid., 1 Dec, 1920.

²⁵⁸ i owB B/ id eoh uvḥh, g? frnk ysok Gkok
 ehs/ sob/ nkD n; kv/ : ḥg fdU dḥdkok
 jko i kJ/ i/ fer i owBh, dḥ/ je sḥkok
 j'J/ ; jḥd fJ: ḥg ike/ fJj dḥ/ h ; odkok
 jḥ n; k Bḥ tkj tk fds/ obN nḥN pDke/
 pkr i fbnk tkb/ ndo Bkb w; ḥB Tḥke/
Ibid., 8 Dec. 1920.

²⁵⁹ mms Gḥkḥ eh Tḥk; Bk gms pḥkḥ
 tkfj rḥ{ tkfj rḥ{ oNs nwḥ? j?
 - - - - -
 efo j? j wB gkm rḥ i { e/ j?
 d; tḥ rḥ{ e/ f; x ; kfde ; jḥ j? ; G
 bkb; k bkw oki bḥ/ jḥ nuḥ/ j?

Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Parkash*, quoted in *Satyug (Ithasak Samaghri Aank)*, ed.

by
 H.S. Hanspal.

the *Khalsa* army by Guru Gobind Singh. Both the Khalsa army and the followers of Baba Ram Singh had no personal ambitions but with the spirit to sacrifice themselves for the betterment of the others. In fact the Kukas were the army of living martyrs.²⁶⁰ The activities of Baba Ram Singh have been appreciated and have been compared to the awareness and the consciousness that has been generated through the creation of institution of Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh.²⁶¹ It was also emphasised that the slavery of the Indians under the British was caused through the neglect of the teachings of the Sikh Gurus and the need to sacrifice has been stressed upon as was done by the Sikhs Gurus. At the same time the episode of Jallianwala Bagh was termed as a symbol of revival of political consciousness among Indians.²⁶² The later Namdhari literature also gets inspirations from the Soviet Union where after the revolution a pro-people structure came into existence. It is further emphasised that there was a need to re-establish a policy of Guru Gobind Singh's time in which the vast majority of rural population and the urban poor participated.²⁶³

The Namdhari followers of the movement were very active against the slaughter-houses and they compared the cow killings with the cause of martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadur for the protection of the Hindu

²⁶⁰ Gurbax Singh 'Preetlari', *Basant De Maharaj Di Basanti Peengh*, quoted in *Ibid*.

²⁶¹ rppb nekb e/ j|ew f; T| Tgfi U fpr: kBk.
 sp ;j i/ ofuU ykb; k, ; kpd wodkBk.
 Tm/ f; x speko eo ; G i r egkBk.
 wVh r' b d/tb w; hs Ykj ehJ/ wdkBk.

- - - - -
 sh; o gE ubkfJB tv r' b rj| bk.
 tkj| tkj| rfpd f; x nkg/ r' b ubk.
 Sirdar Kapoor Singh, *Sapat Sring*, quoted in *Ibid*.

²⁶² H.S. Hanspal, *op. cit*.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, PP 29-31.

religion.²⁶⁴ The blessings of Guru Gobind Singh to the princely state of the Malerkotla find particular reference in the Namdhari literature.²⁶⁵ The rejection of superstitions, praise of one God and its devotion as were propagated by Baba Ram Singh were claimed to be the philosophy of the Sikh Gurus aimed at the welfare of the humanity.²⁶⁶ The downfall of the Sikh Kingdom after death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was assigned to the fact that the Sikh nation forgot the principles propagated and emphasized by Guru Gobind Singh and consequently was resulted in moral terpitude.²⁶⁷ The literature draws heavy inspirational force from the ten Sikh Gurus and the institutions created by Guru Ram Das attract special attention as the sources of inspiration for consolidation of the Sikh movement along with the emergence of the Namdhari Movement.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ ; ko/ ykb; / Tme/ noi elsh
 spek fj d{ dk Xow rtkfJ fdšk
 Bw/ r{ B/ ; h; brkfJ fdšk
 Xow fj d{ dk cb pukfJ fdšk.
 Kala Singh, Pantis Akhari, quoted in *Ibid.* P 82.

²⁶⁵ ddk d; t/ r{ dk puB Jj'
 r{h nwo gmkDK dk vkb NNI/
 nrl ykb; / Tm e/ noi elsh
 r{ spe d/ ph B{ rkb ; NI/
Ibid. P 83

²⁶⁶ r{ rE w/ i' eS fbfnk.
 ; Jh Xko' wB w/ f; fynk.
 d; w r{ eh ohs ; Gko'
 be dj' B e' i' oytko'.
 Kala Singh, *op. cit.*

²⁶⁷ r{ d; w/ a fgSI oki gkfJnk gE B/ ; h;
 okj fdšk Sv s/ epkj okj w{bnk
 p{fSnk B/ f; y dopko ; h t{kb elsk
 fBopk, fBodf; nk rohpK B{ dp{bnk.
 Ranjit Kaur (Thesis) *Namdhari Lehar Di Kavita : Dharmak Samaj - Sabhiachark, Itehasik Te Sahitik Pripekh*, G.N.D.U., Amritsar. P 76

²⁶⁸ uE/ r{, uE/ i/rl uE gdkoE d/t
 uE n; h eKN/ i Bl fpxB ftBk; h ; t..
Ibid. P 80

Along with the utilization of historical events the literature and the movement has equally made the use of the mythological elements.²⁶⁹ The deterioration that had begun in the Sikh society with the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh has been cited as the major basis of the emergence and creation of *Sant Khalsa* under the leadership of Baba Ram Singh.²⁷⁰ The mythical formulations in the context of the appearance of the god's for the protection of one's religion have been stressed upon in the context of the leadership of Baba Ram Singh.²⁷¹ The importance of *Bhakti* in the development of qualities of leadership have been mentioned and this medieval concept has been turned true in the case of Baba Ram Singh who took the leadership of the Sikh movement after Guru Gobind Singh, who is believed to have spent his earlier birth in *Bhakti*.²⁷² The Namdhari literature has justified the advent of Guru Nanak Dev in *Kalyug* to give lead to the exploited innocent masses and similarly Guru Angad Dev was praised for making the *Gurmukhi* script as a medium of writing the Punjabi language at the mass level. Further the various Sikh institutions established during the pontificate of Guru Arjun, notably the compilation

²⁶⁹ pñ/ ; fsrp{ okw f; x nkg dñtkB brkJ/
dñt gph wñ fJd fi t skoe wwb okJ/
Ibid, P 142

²⁷⁰ Y'bel d/ ; pd nyw gkm Fp{ ehs/
nfwp SefJnk ywXko Bo Bkoink
- - - - -
froh j'Jh f; ÿh Bñf f; ol cb eñw eñsh,
rp{ ofj s Bñ d; epfj sk ; Xkoink.
Ibid.

²⁷¹ rp Xow oyD d/ tk; s/
iñ iñ bñ/ ntsko.
uñb fBde uñ wkoB/
eoB/ n; p ; xko.
Ranjit Kaur, *op. cit.* P 35

²⁷² ph; e po; ifp ; o; fpskfJ n?
pdrh }j i i kg eñB' wB bñfJe?
- - - - -
gE rp d; w eñ o; tYkt' ifr
y; w ek ykb; k j? yk; : / bykfJ e?
Ibid.

of *Adi Granth*, find maximum appreciation in the Namdhari literature for consolidation of the Sikh movement that ultimately becomes the basis of the emergence of Namdhari Movement.²⁷³ In the same tone there is enough praise of Guru Gobind Singh for his major contribution to the creation of the institution of the Khalsa.²⁷⁴ The particularity of the turban of the founder of Namdhari movement is appreciated and has been compared to the lockets of hairs of the mythical god Shiva.²⁷⁵ The Namdhari literature compared the situation developed with the deportation of Baba Ram Singh to that of the exile of Ramchandra and Krishna, the well known characters of *Ramayana* and *Mahabhart*.²⁷⁶

THE SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT

- ²⁷³ (T) ; h r p { B k B e d / t i h e k b { r f j G t b h B
 n k f d e o d / n ; t p j [; b i r s e ' b h B
 p d h p z p h u X o k ; K o g J h ;
 ; h B k B e n t s k o i h t g k s e h s o k J / j ?
 (n) r p { n r d g o w g d p d ' e o B w
 n y o o g o u / f J s ; y n k y o w y .
 (J) n o i B ; B j ' J / r p n o i B
 n f o i B g B s k o / ; p n o i B
 o k r e h o s B ; r s d k B
 p h V r E ; k f j p i h e h n k
 e / t b d h B b e ' ; y d h n k .
Ibid, PP 35-36

- ²⁷⁴ ; h r p { r f p d f ; x e h w k f J n k
 g E y k b ; k g o r N G k f J n k
 n p e o B f j s g E ; G k b
 n k g g r N G J / d h B f d n k b .
Ibid.

- ²⁷⁵ r b w k b k ; h ; y m k ; G k g k J h
 f i T [G k b f ; t K d / u d ; j k J h .
 Tara Singh Anjan (ed.), *Ram Vijogian De Barahmah*, Namdhari Darbar, Bhaini
 Sahib,
 2059 BK, p. 39.

- ²⁷⁶ n k J / B k n k r w j ? n t X ; B h o k w f p B
 j o x V h i k w w o ' o k w e ' n k d / a j ?
 f J s B k ; d / a T X ' i k f J e j ' ; k w i { ; l
 e f e U e k n k g f p B i ' r h U ; k t / j ?
Ibid. p. 80

The year following the prosecution of the Kukas and the suppression of their movement witnessed the birth of the Singh Sabha Movement in 1873. Essentially it was a socio-Religious reform movement with the object to revive the basic tenets of Sikh religion and Gurmukhi language. After the annexation, the Sikh society had adopted many non-Sikh and brahminical practices and rituals thereby deeply affected the spread of Sikhism. At the same time two major outside forces were equally effecting the growth of Sikh culture and these were the activities of the Christian missionaries and also the propaganda and attack made certain Hindu writers and priestly classes. The prominent Hindu exponent Pandit Sharda Ram Phillouri was assigned by the British to write on Sikh religion and History. Being an Arya Samaji he had antagonistic feelings towards the Sikh Gurus and the history. Consequently it posed a serious challenge to the growth of Sikhism which was noted by some sensitive eminent Sikh leadership. As a result of the collective efforts of Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhawalia, Prof. Gurmukh Singh, Bhai Ditt Singh, Bhai Mayia Singh, Bhai Jawahar Singh, the Singh Sabha was established at Amritsar. Before discussing the aims and objectives along with activities and other related issues, it is noteworthy to mention the immediate cause of its foundation. In 1873 four Sikh students of the missionary school at Amritsar expressed their desire to convert to the Christianity.

Thus under the pressure of the conditions developed in colonial situations led to the establishment of the Singh Sabha with its emphasis on reviving the purity of Sikh religion, to eliminate caste pride and discrimination among Sikhs, to eradicate rituals and superstitious among the Sikhs through the spread of education to stop the propaganda of the different Gurudoms; to publish Sikh religious and historical texts and

their distribution; to bring back Sikhs from Christianity and Hinduism; development of the Punjabi language and its spread and also to apprise the British about the Sikh educational policy and to receive their cooperation.²⁷⁷ In the beginning the Singh Sabha Amritsar had 95 members and its strength increased gradually. Its first President was Thakar Singh Sandhawalia and the secretary Giani Gian Singh. After the Amritsar Singh Sabha, its branches were opened in different places in Punjab. By the end of 19th century the Singh Sabha emerged as a strong force of the Sikh religion and it revived the enthusiasm among the Sikhs. But on the issue of prominence to certain individuals and also the support to Baba Ram Singh of the Kukas in recognizing him as the twelfth Sikh Guru led to the division in the Singh Sabha, under the leadership of Baba Khem Singh Bedi. As a result some other leaders of the Singh Sabha under the authority of Prof. Gurmukh Singh opposed this anti-Sikh move; and insisted on the unity among the Sikhs. Consequently this division of opinion led to the formation of Lahore Singh Sabha in the year 1879 under the control of Prof Gurmukh Singh and the Lieutent-Governor of Punjab Robert Egerton as its patronage. The scholars and orators like Bhai Ditt Singh and Bhai Jawahar Singh also joined this group. By the efforts of Prof. Gurmukh Singh who visited various places in Punjab, the branches of the Amritsar Singh Sabha were also opened. But due to the competition among these Amritsar and Lahore Sabhas, the ultimate outcome was effected deeply. In order to remove the mutual dissensions a joint meeting was called in 1902 that led to the formation of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Struggle : A Retrospect*, Atlantic publishers, New Delhi, year not mentioned, p.7.

²⁷⁸ Gurdarshan Singh, *Origin and Developmental of Singh Sabha Movement; Constitutional Aspect*, in Ganda Singh, (ed.), *The Singh Sabha and Other Socio-*

In 1904 it was registered along with the 29 Singh Sabhas under its control. Subsequently its numbers increased to 105. In the beginning the villagers opposed the Singh Sabhas and called these as 'Singh Safas'. Yet the *pracharks* of the Singh Sabhas with their commitment and reciting *Gurbani* impressed the people. Simultaneously, these *pracharks* rejected the teachings of the Christian missionaries and the Brahmins. They also developed and stressed the need to write in Punjabi with Gurmukhi script built new Gurdwaras and opened the Singh Sabhas in various places in Punjab. Along with, it opened Khalsa dispensaries and hospitals where free treatment was given to the poor. It also opened orphanages and old age homes for the Sikhs. For the spread of education the Sabha started schools in many places in Punjab. In 1877 at Oriental College Lahore, Prof. Gurmukh Singh started the teaching of Punjabi language and was appointed as a Professor of Punjabi. Similarly Baba Khem Singh established many Gurmukhi Schools. But this does not mean that the leadership of the Singh Sabha opposed the teaching of western education. In 1897 Khalsa College, Amritsar was opened and gradually many other Khalsa schools and colleges were started. For the education of the Sikh girls, Sikh Kanya Mahavidalya, Ferozepur, Khalsa School Kairon and Vidya Bhandar at Bhasaur come into existence.²⁷⁹ Also for the propagation of Sikh religion and history the Singh Sabha established a printing press and also published many books, tracts and news papers.

It is worth mentioning that apart from Amritsar and Lahore, the Singh Sabha opened its branches in different towns and cities of the Punjab. These included : Sayyad Kasran (Rawalpindi), Batala

Religious Movements in the Punjab, (1850-1925), Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1997, pp. 45-46.

²⁷⁹ D.S. Dhillon, 'Singh Sabha Lehar' in A.C. Arora (ed.), *Punjab Dian Lok Leharan*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989, pp. 44-46.

(Amritsar), Boparai (Ludhiana), Patiala, Firukha (Shahpur), Kohat (Frontier), Khemkaran (Amritsar) Moga (Ferozepur), Shimla, Peshawar, Peshawar Sadar, Rawalpindi, Nagoke (Amritsar) Sham Nagar, Kathania, Chhajalvandi, Sardi, Timowal, Bhitwind, Muchhal, Mian Vind, Gura Khan, Jhelum, Ludhiana, Ropar, Bhasour, Lyallpur, Sialkot, Ambala, Jammu and Kashmir, Ferozepur, Sahiwal, Saharanpur, Multan, Montgomery, Kapurthala, Jalandhar and Dipalpur etc.²⁸⁰ It may be noted here that although the Singh Sabha and Khalsa Diwan had become synonymus terms, yet the Singh Sabhas were generally established at small towns and villages, and the Khalsa Diwans were established at bigger towns and cities.

Coming to the active members of the Singh Sabha, apart from the five founders, included Baba Khem Singh Bedi, S. Attar Singh Bhasour, Raja of Nabha, Ripudaman Singh, Diwan Buta Singh. Others were S. Mihan Singh, S. Jai Singh, S. Sunder Singh Majithia, S. Harbans Singh Attari, Giani Sher Singh, Bhai Vir Singh, Sant Attar Singh, Sant Sangat Singh Kamalia, Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid, Raja Bikrama Singh of Friddkot, Bhai Kanh Singh Nabha, Bhai Hira Singh Ragi, Bhai Jagat Singh Pardesi, Bhai Sunder Singh Nila, Bava Paran Pal Singh, Bhai Mula Singh Garmula; Bhai Lakha Singh Khoondawala, Bibi Ram Kaur, Bhai Avtar Singh Basali, Dhadi Kishan Singh, Sant Nihal Singh, Giani Bhag Singh, Bhai Mohar Singh of Kamelpur, Bhai Sunder Singh Raagi, Bhai Sudh Singh Raagi, Kartar Singh Prachark, Bhai Nihal Singh Ji Kairon, Bhai Teja Singh Bhasour, Bhai Mohan Singh Ji Rahi, Principal Teja Singh, Master Mehtab Singh, Giani Santokh Singh, Head Granthi, Bhagat

²⁸⁰ D.S. Dhillon, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

Lachman Singh, Giani Thakar Singh Kathavachak, S. Amar Singh Sher-e-Punjab, S. Karam Singh Historian, Bava Thakar Singh Hoti Mardaan.²⁸¹

The Singh Sabha movement for the propagation of its teachings produced a variety of literature in the form of publications of newspapers, weekly and monthly, various tracts and books on Sikh religion and history. With the help of Raja Hira Singh Nabha, the Singh Sabha established a printing press at Lahore. Later on many printing presses were opened at Lahore and Amritsar where *Khalsa Akhbar*, *Khalsa Samachar*, *Khalsa Babadar*, *Khalsa Acdocate* and *Singh Sahai*. etc. newspaper began to be published. It also published many *Granth*s in Punjabi on Sikh history and religion. These included *Bharat Da Itihas* by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, *Devi Poojan* by Bhai Ditt Singh, *Twarikh-a-Guru Khalsa* and *Panth Parkash* by Giani Gian Singh and at the initiation of Raja of Faridkot, *Tika Guru Granth Sahib* by Giani Gian Singh, *Guru Shabad Rachnakar Mahan Kosh*; *Gurmat Sudhakar* and *Hum Hindu Nahin* by Bhai Kanh Singh Nabha.²⁸²

With the efforts of Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Harsa Singh the *Gurmukhi Akhbar* began to publish weekly from Lahore in November 1880. It was a first newspaper in Punjabi and was published from Delhi Panch Press, Lahore.²⁸³ In 1885 'Gurmat Granth Parchark Sabha' and in 1894 Khalsa 'Tract Society' were founded. at Amritsar. Eminent Scholars Giani Sardul Singh and Dr. Charan Singh were its founder members. The society published after revision *Gur Bilas Patshahi-6*, *Gurbilas Patshahi-10*, Report on revision of *Dasam Granth*, *Gur Parnali* and *Gurbani Virsa*. Some prominent writers related to the Singh Sabha movement

²⁸¹ Giani Kartar Singh Sarhadi, *Singh Sabha Lehar Da Sunehri Te Mahaan Parupkari Itihas*, Special Printing Press, Amritsar, 1974, pp. 143-46.

²⁸² Giani Kartar Singh Sarhadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

²⁸³ D.S. Dhillon, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-51.

included Giani Sardul Singh, Kanwar Bikram Singh, Kapurthala, Baba Sumer Singh, Mahant Patna Sahib (Bihar), Bhai Gurmukh Singh Professor, Giani Ditt Singh, Giani Gian Singh, Pandit Tara Singh Narotam, Bhai Harsa Singh, Dr. Charan Singh, Giani Avtar Singh Vihiria, Bhai Mayia Singh, Bhai Kanh Singh and Bhai Vir Singh. Among the other notable writings of the Singh Sabha comprised of Giani Sardool Singh's 52 lectures on 10 Gurus, Kanwar Bikram Singh's, *Upma Saar Granth*, Baba Sumar Singh's *Gurpad Prem Parkash*, *Guru Nanak Dig Vijay*, *GurKavitavly*, etc., Pandit Tara Singh Narotam's *Gur Tirath Sangreh*, *Tika Japji Sahib* etc, Bava Nihal Singh's *Khurshid Khalsa*, Giani Ditt Singh's *Guru Nanak Parbodh*, Dr. Charan Singh's *Gurbani Viura*, Avtar Singh Vihria's *Gurdarshan Shastar*, Macaullaf's *Puratan Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak* revised and edited along with *Sikh religion*, Bhai Vir Singh's *Rana Surat Singh*, etc.²⁸⁴ Besides the Singh Sabha published the tracts and some of the well known are *Gurpurab Parkash*, *Gursikhan De Nit Karam*, *Sad Sidhant*, *Gurmat Sidhant*, *Gurbilas Sukha Singh*, *Yatra Sri Hazur Sahib*, *Khalsa Man Modak*, *Gurpurab Karan Di Vidhi*.²⁸⁵

As part of strategy to preach the tenets of Sikhism and its history, the Singh Sabha adopted different techniques and methodology in the form of organizing meetings, public gatherings, *Jor-Melas* and *Prabhat Pherian* during the occasions of the festivals of the *Vaisakhi*, *Diwali* and *Holi*, *Gurpurabs* of the Gurus etc, where the *Granthis*, *Ragis* and *Updeshaks* of the Singh Sabha held *Diwans* and encouraged the Sikhs to come into the fold of the Singh Sabha.²⁸⁶ In the beginning the Singh

²⁸⁴ Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Punjab Dian Leharan*, Ashok Pustakmala, Patiala, 1974, p.94.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-139.

²⁸⁶ Kartar Singh Sarhadi, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

Sabhas held their meetings in the Gurdwaras but the reformers in the process antagonized the *Mahants* and the *Pujaris*, their entries into the Gurdwaras were restricted. This led to the Singh Sabhas to construct their own buildings or Gurdwaras for their activities. Besides, the different functionaries called *Jathedar*, *Meet-Jathedar*, *Sewak*, *Meet Sewak* and *Bhandari* also joined in propagation. The other organs of its propaganda, apart from the Singh Sabhas, were the Khalsa Diwans and other Sikh societies which were affiliated to the central body of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.²⁸⁷

As has already been mentioned that the character of Singh Sabha. The movement was dominantly socio-religious, yet publications of the movement and its growing popularity among the Sikh masses gave few indications of its political overtones. In some of its writings there is criticism of the British rule being held responsible for the deplorable condition of the Sikhs, their religion, culture and history. Yet the leadership of the Singh Sabha movement deliberately avoided to annoy the British officials and administration along with any open confrontation. However, the production of literature by the movement is not free from the practice of utilizing 'history' for the reform among the Sikh community. This has been reflected especially in their publications. And for the purpose of present analysis the newspapers comprising *Khalsa Akhbar*, *Khalsa Smachar*, *Khalsa Parliament Gazatte*. *Desh Darpan*, and *Nau Ratan* have been made basis where in the poetry given in these publications made abundant use of 'History'.

The Sikhs were asked to come out of the practice of superstitions and 'Gurudom' and also were encouraged to take *Amrit* alongwith the recitation of Guru Granth Sahib and stress upon claiming Granth Sahib as the only Guru of

²⁸⁷ Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-58.

the Sikhs.²⁸⁸ The Sikh nation had been practising the Hindu ritual of keeping fast, especially at the *Pooranmashi* days. Verses from the Gurbani were often quoted to inspire the Sikhs to leave this superstition.²⁸⁹ The Singh Sabha reformers also constructed many Gurdwaras, including the one at Andaman and for the encouragement in such constructions the teachings of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh were often quoted.²⁹⁰ Also the commitment to protect the religion was emphasised with the mentioning of the martyrdom of Bhai Taru Singh during the Mughal-Sikh struggle.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ dfj ok
; h rpb{ dhB fdnkb ih yb yvB spfed.
wkbe ykb; gE e/ rpb{ rfpd fwjrd..
nfwš Sel/ rpb{ dk ; i/ ykb; k gE.
gkt/ wšh ns w' gkm eol rpb{ rE ..
-- - - - -
i p n? / s/w eor/ ekoi rpb{ wfo: kfd.
nB wshJ/ ; G woB j? ; B/ gE j'nk ; kfd..
n? h feqk eo' gG' ; Xo i kfJ ; G gE.
nb rpb{ wkB' Bj hl fpBK Jē rpb{ rE..
Khalsa Akhbar, Lahore, 9 June 1899.

²⁸⁹ Sv/ nB eol gkyv. Bk ; j kr-B Bk Tj om..
ykb; k nypko, 18 i B, 1899H

²⁹⁰ rpb{ BkBe s/ nkd b? d; w rpb{ wj koki .
fB; fdB f; wo' j/ wBk f; X s/wko/ eki..
wdo eh Tgwk fby' EVh fi j h pBkfJ.
j/ ebrhXo ; fsr'p' jo dw eo' ; j kfJ.
s/woh feqk ; / G: ' f; xB e' Tgd/
n? k wdo ukj hJ/ Mxk M'p/ j w/ ..
- - - - -

dfj ok
rpdtkok i? k pfBU ekb/ gkDh wkfj ,
fe; h c' Nkg{ fty/ n? k wdo Bkfj..
ykb; k nypko, 23 i B 1899H

²⁹¹ ; Bw'j nkfJ yvk tv; pk oue vfonk Bkj h.
d'y Bkotp j okB j' frnk ; 'u/ wB d/ wkj hl
fJj eB pbkfJ nfij h fi ; B' vo Bfj rJh
oue wu J' B' nkt/ nkgBh i kB r[tkJh..
@GJh sko{ f; x dh ; j hdh,# ykb; k nypko, 2 cotoh, 1900 JH

The birth of Guru Nanak Dev was celebrated through the provision of references from the *Vaars* of Bhai Gurdas.²⁹² The prevalent decline in Sikh religion and the changes underwent in *Khalsa* traditions were stressed upon to bring change through the mentioning of some verses from *Gurbani*.²⁹³ The Sikhs were exhorted to take control of their historical gurdwaras and also were made conscious to observe the days of the martyrs of Sikh history. In order to make a permanent feature to observe the day in the memory of the elder sons of Guru Gobind Singh, they were being reminded of their sacrifice at Chamkaur Sahib.²⁹⁴

At the time of mentioning the attitude of the Sikhs of their rejection during the battle at Anandpur, who had left Guru Gobind Singh, stress was given on the bravery shown by Mai Bhago.²⁹⁵ During that time the Sikhs were removing their hairs from their heads and beards; in order to

²⁹² ;Dh gēko dksko gfi[rē BkBe i r wkfj z gmk: k.
uoB XfJ ofj ok; eo uoBkws f; ŷk ghok: k.

- - - - -
eb: [r pkp/ skfonk ; sBkw gvU wsq ; Dk: k
eb skoD rē BkBe nkfJnk.

- - - - -
; fsrē BkBe grfNnk fwNhi Xd i r ukBD j'nk.
fi T[eo ; pi fBefbnk sko/ Sg/ nXb gb'nk.
@ykb; k Xow ftL ; ksh, # ykb; k nypko, 6 ; spo 1901H

²⁹³ @BkBe nfwš Jē j? d[k nfwš Bkfj ##

- - - - -
@, Bfs ehJ/ spe i/ jfJrk nTps ek fenk eohi?
noX ; otoh Bko Bk Sv/ sks/ fj d[oj hi?

ykb; k ih dk uoB ; /te puB f; x phUJ[tehb ogV, ykb; k nypko, 6 ; spo 1901H

²⁹⁴ NN/ fi ro d/ d' fJE/ tko/ fexBK s/ pUhwkBK
ehsk Bk fynkb ! ; kv/ tork bD j okwh bgN, mē pskb.
: kdrko th : kd Bk ehsh ehsh Bk ; Gkb.

phosk d/ eBq (; h uweb ; kfj p) ftu ; j hdi wbk ! dk; n?hNo
fdš f; x wrihB, ogV, ykb; k ; wkuko, 14 d; po, 1911H

²⁹⁵ ejh ; ē dh rē ; Dkjh fbye/ nkU/ pdkt/, wohJ/ jkt/
i kD' fejk nGkr f; y Tj pwy j' xo nkt/, bV SV ikt/.

Tgi h gM fBG/ sV bT[sdI nwb ejkt/, ehw Bk gkt/
ni/ ; wk j? ; Gb i kD dk wMhU/ eo gSskt/, eohJ/ Xkt/
@pdktihU/ s/ wksk Gkr', udk f; x, ykb; k ; wkuko, 11 i Btoh 1912H

stop this practise, dangerous to Sikh culture, Sikhs were often reminded of the saga of Bhai Taru Singh's martyrdom.²⁹⁶ Further to eradicate the practise of *Gurudom* prevalent among the Sikhs, the story of Makhan Shah Lubana was occasionally repeated.²⁹⁷ The sacrifices made by Guru Gobind Singh and his entire family during the Mughal Sikh struggle were remembered.²⁹⁸ For the purpose of removing the discrimination against the poor and to establish equality along with the elimination of practise of dishonesty, the Sikhs were reminded of the episode of Bhai Lalo.²⁹⁹ The

²⁹⁶ XB XB sko{ f; x, sko{ rp f; y sko{
sko{ Gt ; kro sl sko{ s; hl j' rJ/
e/ k Bkb ; tk; k sl th tX e/ fgnko ehsk
rp{ ih dh r'dh w/ j w/ h bJh ; r' rJ/
ni ty thio fgnko/ dkVhink s/ e/ eN
f; yh Bf fsnkr e/ p/ dw fBo/ j' rJ/
@GJh sko{ f; x ih ; jhd, ; sy f; x;# ykb; k ; wkuko, 25 i Btoh 1912H

²⁹⁷ n? nkd ; srp{ ih rp{ ; u/ pDh nkfJe/ j? bkuko ; fsrp.
nkg eo' feogk B: o wbl gkU f; yh j' oj h j? pdko ; fsrp
eh eh d; k j'D i' eM Bkb f; xk d/ ftu ghj ko ; fsrp{
- - - - -
fi t/ ppk pekpk efj rJ/ rp jo feq B ih nkg Tuko ; fsrp{
eJh dG gbx tSkfJ e/ s/ pD/ rp{ ; h pFwko ; fsrp.
- - - - -
Tj sk gk; Bk nktD/ i kB dhl bhl bN o; sk fdB ; ko ; fsrp
fJsB/ ftu bpkDk ; h f; x nkfJnk pMk fi ; dk ehsk ; h gko ; fsrp.
@eo' gko ; fsrp, dk; fJe f; y;# Tj h, 4 i bokJh 1912H

²⁹⁸ Tj eD i' gfs ej ktdk
s/ Bhj k j m fuoktdk
fco sedk Bk xpoktdk.
- - - - -
wk eDhink uN ih tkodh
gfs uko/ GN uVktdh.
- - - - -
TB wE/ ; hj hnk bk bJ/
s/ okfi nk GM fGVk bJ/
- - - - -
fJe ebrhxo fi B tkfonk
dj ; G eS ; kBf skfonk.
ej[fe; B/ nkgk tkfonk, ; H nh, Tj h, 6 i Btoh 1916H

²⁹⁹ fi T[bkb' dh e'do oNh ih
Gkoh s/ Gkt/ wNh ih
pkp/ Bf Tj h dhnkd/ ih
fJj gfw Go/ gq kd/ ih
gV pkBh yp gekTB ih
rp uoBh ; kBf bktD ih.

attack on Ennabad by Babar was mentioned and the reaction of Guru Nanak Dev to this tyranny also form part of the process of utilisation of 'history'.³⁰⁰

The Singh Sabha began to celebrate the days related to the Sikh Gurus and also the days of historical importance. In one such poem composed for the celebration of the birth of Guru Nanak in which it was stressed the efforts of Guru Nanak in the direction of salvation of the people from the superstitions, rituals, worshiping of gods and goddesses along with the tombing of snakes and also that Guru Gobind Singh had created the Khalsa for the rejection of such practices.³⁰¹ Emphasis was also given to the historical battle at Khidrana (Mukatsar) in which the role of Bhai Mahan Singh gets prominence alongwith the 40 Sikhs, who during the battle of Anandpur Sahib had left Guru Gobind Singh, but now they had fought with bravery and were martyred alongwith their receiving the blessings of Salvation (*Mukti*) from Guru Gobind Singh.³⁰² The

ᄅJj ghw Gō/ gq kd/ i h, frnkBh frnkB f; x, ; govN : shw ykBk, rji oktkbk,
Tj h, 6 ngᄁ 1916ᄂ

³⁰⁰ fgv JlvBkpkd d/ bt/ e'Jh, e'Jh nbw; s celo pᄂk
w; s rktk nkgDk or nᄂo, e'Jh ; 'udk Bkbl sdpho pᄂk
- - - - -
GMh gkg dh i M dk ; ki eoel, pkpo nktk eoh uVᄁhᄂk B/
ᄅᄁsw# eh jD, eh j? j tDkᄁh, oᄁk sbᄂk Jj oi kᄁhᄂk B/
JlvBkpkd dh Mkeh, gshw eth, n'ch n'wh n? h, ykb; k gkobhwN riN, nfwᄁ; o,
13 ngᄁ 1927, gBk 19ᄂ

³⁰¹ ni Tj fgnko/ dk iBw fdB j? ; sh fj d Bᄁ fi ; i rkfJnk ; h
- - - - -
Gᄁ/ GNe/ fuo d/ fcofdnk Bᄁ ; fsBkw dk wso fdᄁkfJnk ; h
nᄂ/ uluk rfrnk d/tᄂk d/ wE/ orVBI fi ; j NkfJnk ; h.
- - - - -
rᄁᄁ BkBe B/ nkDe/ ni tho', fw; B ykb; / dk Tgi kfJnk ; h.
f; Nk Tj; dk eYD-fj s d; w BkBe, e/ rVᄁ dhᄂk B ; i kfJnk ; h.
; Xk spᄁ d/ ftu fsnko e/ gi fg: kfonk nfwᄁ SekfJnk ; h.
rᄁᄁ BkBe B/ nkDe/ ni tho', fw; B ykb; / dk, Tgi kfJnk ; h.
; ᄁ wkb GKᄁh Tj kro f; x, gi ykb; k wᄁsk, wdᄁᄁ, ykb; k gkobhwN riN,
13 ngᄁ 1927ᄂ

³⁰² fNᄁh ; kfj p sl Tᄁoe/ rᄁᄁ d; tᄁ ty iᄂ dk or ft; wkd j'J/
fvml sVcd/ bᄁsd/ dw dᄁᄁ, eᄁᄁ/ fi ; w Eh i' ; B nikd j'J/
e'Jh Xved/ ; B ni/ pho pke/ ty rᄁᄁ dhᄁko fdb; ᄁd j'J/

literature also reflected on the atrocities committed by Mugal emperor Aurangzeb along with the sacrifices of family of Guru Gobind Singh.³⁰³

The emphasis has also been given on the event of visiting the Hindu Pandits with their requests to protect Hindu religion alongwith the narration of child Guru Gobind Singh's response in the form of asking his father to make sacrifice for the cause of religion.³⁰⁴ In order to bring back to the fold of Sikhism of those Sikhs who had betrayed Sikhism they were often reminded of the emphasised through the teachings of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.³⁰⁵ In the time of *Kalyug* when an atmosphere of *Jhooth* and Adharam was prevailing, the meeting of Guru Nanak with the *Sidhas* gets prominence for its elimination.³⁰⁶ The

F̄eo eod/ nkgD/ fdbk n̄do, nkyD ni t̄bkb/ nkpkd j'J/.
 ebrh tkb/ d; w/; a eb/; a ird/ eNB tk; s/ yb toskJ/ e? /.
 NNh rY e/ irs puktB/ bJh, gjsb/ gfv d/ dy' pDkJ/ e? /.
 GJh wj k f; x dh ; j hdh, @pdos# ; orbh, tsj? nfwps; o, 6 nr; s 1931H

³⁰³ ; h elsh n; a n; a dBhnk B/ se ; kB ; j kds ; srp dh
 Xosh B̄ epDh fSV gJh ; h, id GJh ; j kds ; srp dh
 udo ukj dh ; h nrBh G; w eok, ; h ukj dk ; pi bj ; NK.
 fBrbD B̄ Xosh wj n̄v/ ubh n̄br/ ikpo dh.
 @; j hdk d/ yB dh poes, # @do; # ih r̄i oykBh, csj, 26 cotoh 1936H

³⁰⁴ pkbe nt; Ek @u fgsk B̄ T̄dk; ty,
 ḡsd/ ; pp Gkoh fusk brkB dk.
 fgnko Bkb fgsk B/ ; DkfJnk jkb gmsk dk
 T̄fvnk Xow fet/ ikdk fj dtkB dk.
 pudk j? fj d j D sk j h j El ikbwk d/
 pbhdkB j' t/ fe; / gp; a wj kB dk.
 ēj D b̄r/ nr̄l wj kgb; a sj kv/ ebl
 j' b̄ fej Vk t̄vk cb j'; h fj dtkB dk.
 @d; dk Bk ir ftu eJh sbh ; kB dk, # ; l wkB f; x ebesk, d/ a dogD,
 19 i Btoh 1937H

³⁰⁵ ; h rp{ BkBe d/t ih nkgDh fejk Xko,
 d; t/ rp{ r̄fpd f; x elsk goTgeko,
 f; x rp{ ek j fJ i/ f; xh b̄t/ Xko,
 rp e' Xow cbktJh nBwshnB e' sko.
 n? / f; xB eh j' sh eGh Bj h j kB,
 rp go fB; uk eos j? n? / wj k ; i kB.
 r̄pws guko oktb fgmh, dfj ok, n̄b n? dsk yb ; do piko, ykb; k nypko,
 bkj b, 23 i B 1899H

misrable condition of the Sikhs and to bring it back to its lost glory, the Singh Sabha literature emphasized that Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh had created the nation from the weak Indians who were victims of repression and *Adharam* and who with their spiritual power and kindness had inculcated that spirit of bravery which had surprised the world.³⁰⁷ With the purpose of celebrating the day of martyrdom of the elder sons of Guru Gobind Singh their sacrifices and bravery shown at Chamkaur Sahib received great appreciation in the literature.³⁰⁸ This utilisation also referred to the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev, Baba Jorawar Singh and Baba Fateh Singh. The treachery shown by the rulers of the Punjab hills has been compared with the repression and atrocity committed on the Sikhs and the ultimate creation of the Khalsa Panth.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ fco gSB f;K BkBeK wks b'e ftu fenk toskok
; G f; Xk fJj pMnk efb skoB BkBe ntskok.
pkp/ efj nk BkE ih ; u udlqk eV nXkok
eM nwk; tofsnk sT[GkbB ufVnk ; z kok
gkg frok; h fgEwh Xb yVk Xo j m gfekok
pkM r p{ vpk ; z kok.
@ykb; k Xow ftu ; ksh, # ykb; k nypko, 13 ; spo 1901H

³⁰⁷ eW ykb; k sbk fJfsj k; ndGŠ
gVB tkb/ dh nYhU Bho eY/
sb/ r p{ ndGŠ, wJ/ fj d h k ul
fi BK fi d gke/ : X/ pho eY/
nē tkr eV k j ? ; h fj d pfDnk,
nōgo r p k T; ul fwm/ ; ho eY/
@edos d/ or, fgnkoh eW gph pBsh, # o' i h k ; j h d, 15 d; po, 1914H

³⁰⁸ nkj k pho dY Mkeh pkeh uweb tkbh,
gE tkbh eW fi E/ ; h uwekjh ; h.
nk frnk fdj kvk Tj h j 'J/ ; h ; j h d i dl
i Mko f; x e/ oh ni ts f; x ; pw/
; pw/ d p k o/ bkb ; h d; w/ a i h d/
nYh k d/ sk o/ j 'J/ i h b w k d/ e pw/
@, dk gŠq# pho f; x, o' i h k ; j h d, 19 d; po 1914H

³⁰⁹ dYk d/ tes dYh k, dYk d/ Bkb pfDnk.
dYk dh u; r Msh, gfbnk j ? gE ; kvk.
sftnk s/ p m, f; o s/ s k ; j ko o s k,

To instigate the emotions of the people or followers the 'Bravery' of the Sikhs had been equated with the objective of creation of the 'Khalsa Panth' that came into survival at the cost of a considerable number of the sacrifices.³¹⁰ One of the aims of the Singh Sabhas was to spread education among the Sikhs. On the occasion of establishing a high school at Rawalpindi, a poem was recited as part of its celebration and the establishment of the school was compared to the celebration of the mythic hero Ramchander's return to Ayodhya after victory over Ravana.³¹¹ In order to create awareness among Sikh masses on the significance of education, the propagators emphasized that the Sikh movement had not only produced the brave personalities but the scholars who created valuable literature.³¹² Further to inspire the people to attend Sikh educational conferences, the historical importance of the towns and cities was equally given preference; as for instance, while referring to the

Tpbdh dlr ftu sfbnk j? gE ;kvk.
 eWh wj b skJh, gysk pBkD ykso,
 Bhj k ftu ; de/ ! vfbnk j? gE ;kvk.
 nkN/ dh rK pDke/ Broh nBdgb ftu
 Mfh ; rX yke/ Sfbnk j? gE ;kvk.
 ;kvk gEe rhs,# rppy; a f; x e/ o, oi hBk ; j hd, 19 d; po 1914H

³¹⁰ e? k fwmVk Bkw j? ykb; / dk,
 ;kv/ tfvnk tos e/ df; nk Jh.
 ;kvk ; kok fJfsj k; ; pS fdzk,
 ; tk by Bf fJb B/ Xf; nk Jh.
 ykb; k ; wkuko, wkou 1916H

³¹¹ nI dk fdj kVk e? k fd; dk ; Gkr tkbk
 e? / e? k ; pto dhdko do; ktd/
 - - - - -
 feEl ox{ BkE nki bæk gsh oktD Bf wkoel s/
 i ; gkfJe/ ; hnk bè/ nkJ j? <
 nftfdnk nr: kB og oky; a gj koB/ Bf
 ykb; k pj kdo fJesq j fJ nkJ/ j!
 ykb; k nypko, 14 d; po 1911H

³¹² fJe ; wK ; h ; kv/ rDK dk i r s/ uweko ; h
 ; kvh ebw s/ yVr dk ; zko ftu b; æko ; h.
 f; y plo ; h ftdtkB ; h Gi Bhe s/ Tgeko ; h
 f; y dfvnk wB mkodk fenk si og ngko ; h.
 @kr' ; tdk j' frnk,# ptkk ghv f; x j'sh, ykb; k ; wkuko, 6 ngp 1916H

historical significance of the city of Sialkot, the epic of *Pooran Bhagat* was stressed upon with its relationship to the town.³¹³

The Singh Sabha gave special importance to the education of the Sikh girls and women and for that purpose to motivate the Sikh females the Singh Sabha made references to the ancient women scholars.³¹⁴ To the extent that the necessity of providing education to the women, the concept of God's will had been emphasised for its success in the mission.³¹⁵ Moreover, the atrocities on the Sikhs in history and their capacity to bear them with bravery were often quoted to motivate the Sikhs to join the field of education with the same spirit.³¹⁶ During preaching of the spread of education references were often given from *Gurbani*.³¹⁷ The Singh Sabha made special efforts for the development of

³¹³ fdbk ub b? ubhJ/ T; EK s/ gpB Grs fi E/ B" fBj kb j fJnk.
i j Vh i rk ; btkB B/ oki ehsk, fi E/ pbk fJB; kc dk j kb j fJnk.
i hn ybe/ fJSok oJh fi E/ fi E/ i pw pd'; d/ Bkb j fJnk.
fi E/ wk dh Bhs dh Sph j hK, gso peo/ tkr j bkb j fJnk.
j Dk em T; / f; nkbeN ndo, ur/ Yr ftdtkB fbykohnk dk.
¶; y n! e/ Bb ekBcoz, gpBk# ; h jo; k f; x uksp, *gi kp*, 1 nespo 1939H

³¹⁴ pS l bgk wdok noXsh nB; hK
dw: sh Tyk ftdtkB j?
wsoJh GtkBh s/ dtjsh
; hsk ; p; sh ; fwsok gKk j? B
dogdh no ; eSbk gdwtsH,
nfjfbnk pkJh eo dY' fXnkB j? B.
@ty: kB,# ; h wkB gfvsk i htB wEfs ih, B" osB, nfwS; o, 1 ngp 1910H

³¹⁵ gEk fJ; soh i ksh ndo, ftdl: xkNk Gkoh j?
fs; s/ dP eoB/ dh ykso, phVk uE: k Bkoh j?
T; B/ sbk sE nk; ok, ofunk ekbi etkoh j?
j D s! oyhl g! U; dh, fi ; B/ nk: { tkoh j?
@ekbi d/ Gvko Go/# B" osB, nfwS; o, 17 ; spo 1927H

³¹⁶ Tm' wbl tho f; x' ob e/ Tpdw eo'
Btil Bjhl pkB sbh Xp dh fJj eko ih.
ty' sb/ tfvnk B/ go Tgeko jS
eN/ eN/ yd ; j/ fdb Mksh wko ih.
go dy wNB/ ; eN ; wNB/ B{
d; NB bgNB/ B{ jo dw s: ko ih
s! jD ykb; k ih, n? / ; yh oki ftu
ftfdnk d/ ybe/ s/ ybD/ Gvko ih.
dk; wBl o, ykb; k ; wkuko, 4 i Btoh 1912H

³¹⁷ ; rs ek rD pjS nfXekJh,
; sh gj oH ; s Gbk pj hJ/ gfVhK gk;

Punjabi language and it exhorted the Sikhs that they were showing indifference to their mother-tongue, on the contrary the Marathas, Bengalis, Parsians were giving preference to their mother-tongues.³¹⁸

During the attacks by the Arya Samaj on the Sikh Gurus; for example, that an article was given in the Punjabi newspaper published by the Arya Samaj in which a reference was given to the *Dasam Granth*, that Guru Gobind had written about the 404 characteristics of women in their behaviour. Because of this, the Arya Samajis stressed that because of this derogatory remarks of Guru Gobind Singh, Sikh women should leave Sikhism. In reply to this allegation, the Singh Sabha gave a befitting answer by mentioning the references from the *Hindu Granths* such as the *Vedas* and *Smrities* of Manu in which a very low level remarks on women have been immensely given. On the contrary the Sikh Gurus especially Guru Nanak Dev gave very high status to women in *Gurbani*.³¹⁹

The criticism by the Arya Samaj of the religious beliefs and practices of other religions and also some issues related to Hinduism came under the attack of the Singh Sabha. Specifically the Samaj's criticism of Rama, Krishna, Christ and Prophet Mohammed was rejected by the Singh Sabha as they perceived it capable of creating disharmony

TE/ gkg gB thukoh? eV/ xN? ok; . .
B" osB, 1 ngp 1910H

³¹⁸ n'go yf; frnk wbk ;ki b'e'
nkJhnk nr Bf; KG xo p'm rJhnk
j kfJ j fJ rJh w' wEki b'e'.
woB ; ko/ prkbh prkb T's/
ekoB cko; h cko; h i kB fdd/
woj N/ i kd/ wo j NB Bkj H
woNhi p'bh Bf w' Bk j kD fdd/
fJe d/ gi kp ntbVk j?
fi E/ fJ; dh p'bh Bf gD X'e/
@gi kph (p'bh) wksk dh co: kd,# irihs f; x soeh, ykb; k ; wkuko, 11 i Btoh,
1912H

³¹⁹ ;' feT[wdk nkyhn? fi s i wfj oki kB[
xkb ykU/ eS j El dfJ, BkBe okfj gSkD/ ; fJ. .
@ykb; k Xow dh ; q Nsk,# ykb; k nypto, Btpo 1901H

in society.³²⁰ Further the Arya Samaj criticism of Guru Nanak that he had no original knowledge but he acquired it through the company of Hindu Saints in childhood. In rejecting this criticism the Singh Sabha quoted references from the writings of Cunningham and Macauliff which emphasised that Guru Nanak was scholar who had studied critically the Quran and the Vedas and references were also given of the instances from the Janam Sakhis in which Guru Nanak's capacity to ask questions from his teacher has been mentioned.³²¹ In order to prevent the Sikhs to join the Arya Samaj, the prohibition by the Gurus to worship the Hindu gods and goddesses was stressed upon.³²² The elimination of caste distinctions among Sikhs, references from Gurbani were often utilised.³²³ The anti-

³²⁰ n; hl pj s; ; wMk Ee/ n'go nkolnk tX d/ jh i kD nr/.
 wj kGkos s/ Gkrts gbkD sUh wd/ rd/ jh gE/ psbkD br/.
 cb dy' ni hb epkB skUhl, byk MfmD/ d' d brkD br/.
 Jh; k, okw s/ feq B no bph j i os, ; G B' d' dlnk y'b pykD br/.
 wjk sl ; { ofyne rp{ ih B' wdk urk Jj wj' eYkB br/.
 f; yk ; fonk dh pho ew' ndo, ykj wykj jh o'; tykB br/.
 pd' pdh c; kd B' SVE/ s/ nr d/ d/ nwB B' bkD br/.
 @gi kph ; pw/ B' fNeth ugV, # o' i kBk ; j'hd, nfw; ; o, 19 d; po 1914H

³²¹ i kb w' x; w; eo ws ekrd eo ; ko
 GkT[ebw eo fus fbykoh rp gS fby phuko
 fby Bkw ; kbfj fby fby ns Bk gkok tko
 pkpk Jj byk fby i kD. fi E? byk wrin? fsE? j fJ ; uk Bh; kD[.
 fi ; s/ gkXk ih j fonkB j'J/ no Tj BK B' ; uk ; s wB e/
 @ybh SNh d/ fdsh no ; dBh gJ. ##
 @gi kph ; pw/ dk Xek, # B" osB, 1 cotoh 1911H

³²² t'bk j? ; Gb ikt' eo' ; Xko ih
 frnk cb tes jE nkt/ Bk : ko ih
 ; bK d/ gS j'e/ frdV ; dktBk.
 f; yh dk Bkw j Nk e/ fj d{ ej ktBk.
 wkor rp{ BkBe dk Sve/ nMV B' iktBk
 f; yh d/ Bkbl urk nko: B' i kDBk.
 - - - - -
 ; b B' ni ; kvl ; sh dpktah
 Gbl s/ d/th ; hsk Tj th volktah.
 - - - - -
 rp{ dh pkDh eh d; dh fgnkfoU
 n't/ s; hl Gy dh f; yh Bk XkfoU.
 @wrD f; x gVl dot/k fi bk i j bw, # ykb; k ; wkuko, 4 i Btoh 1912H

³²³ i kfs i Bw Bfj gShn? ; u xo bj[pskfJ,

Sikh propaganda was seen as the act committed tyranny of Wali-Qandhar against Guru Nanak and was perceived as his ultimate defeat.³²⁴

Utilization of *Gurbani* was made use of on large scale for the eradication of superstitions and evil practices prevalent among Sikhs.³²⁵

For the purpose of removing inequalities among the Sikhs historical episodes were given that rejected these social discriminations.³²⁶ The objective of creation of the Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh often repeated in the efforts of the Singh Sabha to inculcate

;k iks ;k gks j? ij/ eow ewkJ/
 nr? iks Bk i'ol j? nr? ihT[Bt?
 fi Beh by? gs[gt? ur/ ;Jh efJ. (tko nk; wj bk 1)
 dhB d[Bh dk tkfj d wbjk ; fsrp{ BkBe dt, ;H rmk f; x
 e/tb npkdkB, ykb; k *gkoblwN riN*, 13 ngp 1927H

³²⁴ dhB eoB pBsh f; nkbeN tk; h,
 ;kB{ d/tDk nkD dhdko fgnko/
 Jj ; ij o j? Tj h ftukoBk i/
 r{ BkBe bJh fi ; dh ; ko fgnko/
 uouk tbi eXko ehsh id Bkb ; fsrp
 fvrk nk uobh rBkj rko fgnko/
 idl ehsh gty: k ; fsrp dh,
 wp; d Xkfonk i kB eosko fgnko/
 r{ fBdek dk N'bk pVk i kbw,
 T{/ eo fojk rM/ tko fgnko/
 @E nr/ g{eko, # ; do f; x Tgd/ e, ykb; k ; *wkuko*, 11 d; po 1914H

³²⁵ eow Xow gkyw i' dh; ?
 fsB iw ikrksh bN/
 fBopkD ehosB rktj[eos/ ek,
 fBwy f; w{ fi s SN/
 ; kuh fbt? fpB dj fBwkDh,
 dj fBwkDh fbt? pkMj[
 fenk eo? thukohnk.
 ykb; k ; *wkuko*, 6 i Btoh 1916H

³²⁶ dj ok w; hs ; Jh g{ k
 n" fBtki UJh wkB; ; p?
 J{e g? nB{e e' g{kt{ j?
 dtsk ndt i S r{p,
 spe fj d{ fBnko/ d/ wB
 e/ G/ e' g{kt{ j?
 J{e? BB J{e? ekB dj J{e? pkB yke pkd
 nkswk n" nkp e' opkt{ j? nbj[nGy ; Jh ypkB
 nb epkB UJh J{e jh ; og ; G? J{e jh pBkt{ j?
 d/ a *dogD*, 29 d; po 1938H

a sense of commonality and equality. At the same time these feelings were aroused by the mentioning of the love between Radha and Krishna.³²⁷ The mutual dissensions among the Singh Sabha were to be removed by the mentioning of the *Gauravshali* Sikh history along with the sacrifices of Sikhs for their survival.³²⁸ Further during such occasions they also made use of some events from the life of Guru Nanak including his dialogue with the *Naths*, his visit to Mecca and the Story of *Sacha Sauda* (True dealing).³²⁹ For inculcating unity among Sikh there is utilization of the sacrifices of Guru Gobind Singh and his family.³³⁰ For the purpose of keeping the Sikhs in good sense, the example of Guru Nanak's meeting with the *Sajjan Thug* was given as an example to be followed.³³¹ The celebration of Sikh days were compared to the

³²⁷ feE/ okw Bkw feE/ wkXtk fXnkB feE/ yj b e/ gbkD
 pd gvs ; DkTdk. fwb uko toBk d/ rkTpd/ Bh rls feE/
 r'gh BkE r'oh d/ Bkb ok; gkTdk. p' / pki tkb i/ Bk
 ; h' r'p{ r'fpd f; x' fj d dh ewkB j E ftu b'e/ nkTdk.
 @ftsk p'pk Td? f; x' i h' pdh, # B" osB, 1 ngp 1910H

³²⁸ Ssh ew fgnkoh i kr
 Bhd xokV/ Bk jD wko
 sb/ tfvnl dy T'nfJnk
 nkgDk pd pd eNtkfJnk
 fd'sh y'goh Tj Bk b'j kJh
 wy Eh ; h' Bk i ok n'bkJh.
 - - - - -
 j'J/ fJeso fwbj [wbl Gkjh
 d'fpXk d'p eoj [fbt b'Jh.
 @N dk Ssh fsnr eo, # w'r b f; x, ykb; k ; w'uko, 9 i B, 1916H

³²⁹ skod' n? ; tkwh ! j'Jh t'vh pdBkw i r, cN sb/ gE X' h nkel eB Mkod'
 BkEgph ike/ d; h iku ; uh nkosh, Tj Gt yvB dh nkosh tykod'.
 cfonk ; h fi t' w'ek cb' ; kv/ fdbk skJh, g'v bs nkel fdb epl u g; kod'.
 fi t' ; u/ ; d/ tkbh iku d; h fgsk i h B' f'st' ; uk ; 'dk nfGokj h j N vkod'.
 @tkbh# gE r'p{ i { e/ sko d' ; h j' hok f; x' okj h, ykb; k g'kobh'w'N r i N,
 13 ngp 1927H

³³⁰ ebrh tkfbnk fgsk dhdko dj , dhdko dj , Gt ; krol eo gko dj
 gE sbk cb vktkvb j? ; kfi nk s' fi ; B' pN/ uko dfJ.
 v'bdk j? p'vk fj d dk ehsk ; h i' gko s' gotko dfJ
 c' sbh sbh j' r'Jh/ p'w'j ko, nkgB/ tork fJ; B' cb ; odko dfJ.
 @'tk ; de/ fe; sol, # oxpho f; x' pho, d' a dogD, 19 i Btoh 1937H

³³¹ fBoekoh i's fpB sb/ jD, Sv fd's/ w' j' b ; j kol.

evolutionary process of Sikh movement when under Guru Gobind Singh's leadership, the Sikh movement had acquired a powerful status with the creation of the *Khalsa*.³³²

GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT 1920-25

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the position of Sikh institutions including the Gurdwaras began to deteriorate. Gradually with the annexation the control of the Gurdwaras came in the hands of the *Mahants* and *Pujaris* who became not only corrupt but also practiced debauchery and idol worship. Keeping in view significance of the Golden Temple politically, the Britishers appointed a committee of the Sikh Sardars and also designated a Manager to look after the affairs of the Golden Temple. He was a British appointee with no powers. Actually the British Government began to interfere by the appointment of *Sarbrah* in 1882 and also appointed pro-British Sikh Sardars along with the *Mahants* and *Pujaris* in Golden Temple and also in the major Sikh shrines in Punjab.³³³ The prominent Sikh gurdwaras that were taken under the British control included the Golden Temple along with Akal Takhat, Baba Atal and Durbar Sahib at Tarn-Taran.³³⁴

; i D fi j / bŷk j h gkgh, sbh ofj ws B/ skol.
 ¶Boækoh i 's, # fBowkD ; or'Xk, d/ a dogD, 26 Btpo, 1939H

³³² ni Tŷ fgnko/ dk i Bw fdB j? ; ŷh fj d Bŷ fi ; irkfJnk ; h
 wksk fsgs dh eŷl i Bw bæ/ ; ŷ ekbŷ dk fi ; ej kfJnk ; h
 Gŷ/ GNfenK fuofdnl fcofdnl Bŷ ; fsBkw fi ; wso fdŷ/kfJnk ; h.
 f; Nk Tŷ dk eŷD fjs d; w BkBe, e/ rV dhtkB ; i kfJnk ; h.
 ; Xk spŷ d/ ftL fsnko eoe/ gi g: kfonK nfwŷ SekfJnk ; h.
 ¶pŷ BkBe B/ nkDe/ ni tho' # Tŷ kro f; x, ykb; k gkobhwN ri N, 13 ngŷ
 1927H

³³³ Sohan Singh Josh, *Akali Marchian Da Itihas*, Aarsi Publishers, Delhi, 2000, pp. 25-26.

³³⁴ K.L. Tuteja, *Akali Andolan, 1920-25*, in A.C. Arora (ed.), *Punjab Dian Lok Leharan*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989, p. 130.

The new management of the Sikh shrines was not only pro-British but also began to act against the Sikh sentiments when this leadership opposed the movement of 1909 and compelled the Sikhs to join British army during the World War 1 and also after the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, the management bestowed upon a *Siropa* to General Dyer.³³⁵ These incidents created resentment among the Sikhs and also feeling of hatred against the priestly class. Consequently, the sensitive Sikhs launched a movement to liberate the Sikh shrines from the control of the corrupt pro-British management. It may be mentioned here that the new educated Sikh middle class leadership even suspected the activities of the Singh Sabha along with the Chief Khalsa Diwan and perceived them as the British loyalists.

With the objective of reviving sanctity of the holy shrines and their freedom the Sikhs established a 'Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee', on 15 November 1920 and also founded the 'Shiromani Akali Dal' on 20 September 1920. The purpose of these two Sikh bodies was to launch a peaceful agitation and through democratic means to achieve their aims. Although the *Morchas* of the Sikh movement were agitational in character but the authority used violence to crush them.³³⁶ The first conflict between the Sikhs and the government ensued in January 1920 in Tarn-Taran. It was provoked by the *Mahants*. Two Sikhs fell victim to it. Events of this kind were repeated on a wider scale at Nankana Sahib, the birth place of Guru Nanak. On 20 February 1920 Bhai Lachhman Singh led a Jatha to put an end to the scandalous state of affairs prevailing under the management of *Mahant* Narain Dass at the Nankana Sahib Gurdwara. Armed Pathans and desperados hired by the

³³⁵ K.L. Tuteja, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Mahant fell upon the peaceful *Jatha* and killed about 200 Sikhs. It was a major Shock. In addition large numbers of the wounded were burnt alive. Yet the Sikhs remained peaceful. The government resorted to repressive measures to suppress the Sikh movement. On 7 November 1921, the deputy commissioner of Amritsar took away the keys of the Golden Temple. This would have provoked another stir but the government yielded and returned the keys to the Sikhs.³³⁷

After a few months another clash occurred at 'Guru Ka Bagh'. Every day a *Jatha* of Sikhs went to the disputed spot and was mercilessly beaten by the police. In August the police shot down a number of Sikhs. The struggle still continued, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, a sympathizer of the Sikhs observed the martyrs day to honour all those who had laid down their lives at Nankana Sahib. The British government forced him to abdicate. This compelled the Sikhs to launch another agitation called 'Jaito Da Morcha'. They led Jathas which were subjected to all kinds of torture. The atrocities perpetrated by the police on the peaceful Sikhs aroused public sympathy. While the 'Jaito Morcha' was still going on, another clash took place at Bhai Pheru in the district of Lahore. The Sikh resentment, turned as *Akali Lehar*, began to fade in 1923. The more radical section of the Akalis did not approve of the non-violent method of struggle and formed a separate organisation called the 'Babbar Akalis' to meet the British challenge.³³⁸ The pressure created by the violent methodology of the Babbars resulted in the passing of the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Act on 28 July 1925.³³⁹

³³⁷ K.L. Tuteja, *op. cit.*, p. 132

³³⁸ Navtej Singh, *Challenge To Imperial Hegemony: The Life Story of A Great Indian Patriot Udham Singh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1998, p. 25.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

Before discussing the strategy and methodology adopted by the leadership of the Gurdwara reform movement, it is imperative to describe some of its leading personalities who from its very inception led the movement to its logical conclusion. Among the founder members of the Shiromani Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee included S. Mangal Singh, Prof. Niranjan Singh, S. Harchand Singh, Master Sunder Singh Layalpuri. Giani Hira Singh Dard, Master Tara Singh, M. Bishan Singh, S. Sardul Singh Kavisher, S. Daan Singh, S. Amar Singh Jhabal, Jaswant Singh Baba, Kharak Singh, Bhai Jawahar Singh, Nanak Singh, Mohan Singh, Ram Singh, Teja Singh Samundri, Harbans Singh Atari, Mohan Singh Vaid, Prof. Teja Singh Bawa Harkishan Singh, Kartar Singh Jhabar, Teja Singh Chuharkana, Teja Singh Bhucher, Baba Kehar Singh, Bhai Hajara Singh, Bhai Hukam Singh (Martyrs of Tarn Taran), M. Mehtab Singh, S. Lachhman Singh Dharowal, S. Dalip Singh Sangla, S. Bakhshish Singh, S. Amar Singh, S. Butta Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Bhai Uttam Singh, Sunder Singh Ramgaria, Sohan Singh Josh, Arjan Singh, Sundar Singh Batala, Seva Singh Thikriwala, Giani Kartar Singh Kartarwalia;³⁴⁰ Giani Sher Singh, Gopal Singh Qaumi, Jathedar Teja Singh Gurdaspur, Jathedar Teja Singh Alawalpur, Jathedar Inder Singh Sialkot, Jathedar Nand Singh, Jathedar Partap Singh Hushiarpur, J. Wariam Singh Lahore, Jamadar Sahab Singh, Dharam Singh Namdhari, Prof. Sahib Singh, Baba Gurdit Singh Kamagatamaru, Bhai Karam Singh, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, Master Mota Singh, Ravel Singh, Wariam Singh Garmoola and Widhata Singh Teer etc.³⁴¹ Besides, a number of non-Sikh leadership of the country also supported the cause of the Akalis. Mention may be made of Saif-ud-din

³⁴⁰ Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Struggle : A Retrospect*, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, p. 143.

³⁴¹ Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-88.

Kitchlew and Jawahar Lal Nehru visit to Jaito and message of Mahatma Gandhi.

The basically peaceful Gurdwara reform movement cum the Akali Movement took to a number of strategies both of mobilization of the Sikhs as well as consolidation of the movement against the priestly class and the British administration. The Movement adopted the methods of holding of meetings, constitutions of various *Jathas* (bands of Sikhs), peaceful processions, deputations to the local authorities pressing for their demands, delivering of lectures in public gatherings, Picketing outside official places, courting of arrests, holding of religious congregations called *Diwans*, influencing Sikh army units and also taking services of the ex-soldiers, publications of literature and newspapers, making of propaganda committees to publicize the cause of the Sikh movement, non-cooperation with the administration, religious gatherings, issuing of *Hukamnamas*, bearing of black turbans, publication of Akali propaganda pictures and their circulation among the Sikh regiments, bearing of black turban and swords by some soliders in the army etc.³⁴² It is important to note that the workers of the Akali movement adopted a number of methods to influence the Sikh soldiery through secret propaganda. Its included the distribution of seditious pamphlets, informations, newspapers, letters, secret agitators, open agitators, the speeches of the *Granthis*, publications of the S.G.P.C., creation of obstacles to the recruitment in the army, boycott of the railways and some other secret matters.³⁴³

The movement produced immense literature for the propaganda. These included the pamphlets and newspapers along with some books. *Akali Te Perdesi, Akali Goonj, Akali Ranjit, Babbar Sher, Khalsa, Qaumi*

³⁴² *Ibid., op. cit.*, pp. 514-520.

³⁴³ Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-317.

Dard, Desh Sewak, Khalsa Akhbar, Khalsa Smachar Khalsa Advocate, Nirol Khalsa in Punjabi. There were some newspaper in Urdu, English and Hindi who supported the Akali movement³⁴⁴. Some of the important Pamphlets produced by the *Akali Movement* were : *Angreji Raj Vich Mitti Kharab* by Hardit Singh Rawalpindi, *Naukershahi De Julam Da Namuna* by Giani Maan Singh of Lahore *Guru Ke Bagh Vich Gore Shahi Tufan* by Niringan Singh Sarl, *Naukershai Di Kartoot* by Natha Singh Ramgharia, *TaaJe Jakham Arthat Guru Ke Bagh Ka Nazaara* by Maan Singh, *Zulaman Da Tufaan Arthaat Saka Guru Ka Bagh* by Bhai Mehtab Singh, *Jaito Vich Khoon Da Parnala* by Rattan Singh Azad, *Naukar Shai Di Chhati Vich Shantmee Gola* by Rattan Singh Azad, *Zulm De Waan, Jaito Vich Khoon Di Holi* by Mula Singh Dukhia and *Dardan De Hanjhu* by Bhai NihalSingh Akali etc.³⁴⁵ For the purpose of analysis of utilization of 'History' only some newspapers produced and related to the Akali movement have been selected from the immense literature. These are mainly *Akali Te Pardesi, Babbar Sher* and *Ranjit*.

The reformers of Gurdwara movement motivated the followers through reminding the Sikhs of their proud heritage and history. They were also told about the innumerable sacrifices made by the Sikhs for the protection of their religion. While narrating these sacrifices special coverage was given to the atrocities committed on Bhai Sati Dass and Bhai Mani Singh.³⁴⁶ During the agitation not only the Sikhs of Punjab

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

³⁴⁵ Mohinder Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-244; Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 497-500.

³⁴⁶ dÞhñk i kDdh ; ðk dh eW sBf wodh oj h i hef nkgDh nkB pðb/ nkB ; kB pðb/ fi d i kB pðb/ s/ i j kB pðb/ pj w r: kB pðb/ eJh by i M/ esbrkj ndo, eJh wkoe/ wo/ wðkB ndo. eJh ; h; bkJ/ f; yh f; de Tš/ çðk ; funk d; N wðkB ndo. eJhñk tX wB; ð sl j m oyl/ ykso rþf dh r'o ; wkB ndo. ; h; nkfonk j m fuoktd/ oj/ pð pð d/ skJh eNkt d/ oj/ eWñ ; kB dk ni ; tkb nkfJnk, }þow oki wðkpb/ vN frnk.

but from foreign countries also joined the movement.; The acts of bravery shown by these two categories of Sikhs have been equated with the sacrifice of the Mansoor.³⁴⁷ Guru Nanak Dev was often remembered as the founder of the Sikh religion and equality and his followers were appreciated. Further in order to bear the atrocities and repressions the Sikhs prayed to Guru Nanak to bless them with courage to face it.³⁴⁸ Also the same request was repeated in their prayers to the last Guru Gobind Singh. Besides there were repetitions of atrocities committed on the Sikhs by the Mughal State. At the same time the emphasis was also given on the episode of Panja Sahib in which the Sikhs were martyred by giving their lives before the train.³⁴⁹ During the despatch of the *Jatha* prayer was made to the Guru to encourage them to make sacrifice for the protection of the religion and the crucifixion of Mansoor was also referred to.³⁵⁰

gE fgnkoV/ tes ; Gkb bDk, MVh bktDh sX eppkBhnk dh.
; h; nkfonk j m fuoktd/ oj / pd gSh, nekbh s/ god/ h, 6 d; po 1924H

³⁴⁷ bX ; S ; w'po' nip Mb e/ ebrh tkbV/ d/ pke/ pio nkJ/
pbdh ; wK Bf dy fdbrio j'e/ okj nyV/ gj kVK Bf uho nkJ/
pdb/ je d/ woB wB; p nkJ/
@pdb/ je d/ woB wB; p nkJ/# nk; k f; x o'r'h, *Tgo'es*, 10 d; po, 1924H

³⁴⁸ feqk ; w'p w/ p'pk r'p{ BkBe ih, XB sb/ f; y XB g'hwk sl nkg j?
oks fdB gj ok d/t/ f; yk Bf sokD bJh, fpod gSkD p'pk, py; / ; G gkg j?
glo; pBKD bJh, o; sk fdykU/ ; Uk, i bll ftU g'wh sb/ g'kd/ ; skg j?
bkb sb/ p'pkb ih yf; h yf; h tX nr/ fyV/ wE/ i gd/ B/ @tkfj r'p# ikg j?
'fpod nkgDk fgsk ; Gkb yk jD, # fJdoihs eb, *Tgo'es*, 12 d; po, 1924H

³⁴⁹ j/ ebrhXo g'hw fgnko/ pki k tkb/ ; KJh, fdnk dj kJh.
dyh pfunk e'w fdnk Bf nke/ do; fdykUh ; mD oykUh.
Tj th ikbw obk j mK dj ; j'hd eokJ/ Bfj z gSskJ/
osh Bk v'v/ ; te sb/ eJh goyk ftu gkU/ wko ygkU/
; ks gi r'p f; yk iE/ nsh p'j kb eokJ/ phVh gkU/
'; h ebrhXo ih d/ do; dh f; e, # JJe pd gSh, *Tgo'es*, 17 d; po 1924H

³⁵⁰ tkj tk bkvb/ r'p{ d; w/ a ih d/ ykq Xow dh jD eppkB ubl.
fcdk Xow sl ikB s/ wkb eoe/ eoB Xow Bf ; h; g'pkB ubl.

The toadies of the British government called the *Mahants* and were encouraged by the administration to commit anti-Sikh activities and their actions of atrocities were equated with the tyrannical behaviors of Kans, Ravana and Harnaksh who destroyed themselves while committing tortures against others.³⁵¹ At the same time the reformers also emphasized on the cooperation given to the British during the World War 1 when the Sikhs made large scale sacrifice to defeat the Germans, in turn the British government awarded them by the passing of the Rowlatt Act, the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh the Budge budge incident and the tragedy of Nankana Sahib. It was also mentioned that the loyalty shown by the Sikhs during the last 70 years also was not taken care of by the British who was bent upon suppressing the peaceful Gurdwara reform movement through violent means.³⁵²

The Punjab was a peaceful province where the romance of Heer and Ranjha was prevalent but the policy of the British had converted it into a fire-ball.³⁵³ In the Sikh literature mint for

rp{ do s/ eo' nodk; fgnko/ j't/ nkswk tkr wB; p ; kvh.
 'r bh ecBhnk s/ jEh pB rkb/ ; h; pB ; j o/ Bkb ; hB sp gJ/# *Tgo'es*, 20
 d; po 1924#

³⁵¹ oki wd ftu wfsnk wB wkoh, uBh nB ; h e; popkd j fJnk.
 oktD os ofbnk ; kok ir ikD/ ekb pB gkt/ f; o/ ; kd j fJnk,
 pMk rofenk dS j oBke; A dk, Gkth ekb Ehl fco/ ni kd j fJnk.
 i j Vk }pw eodk nkyo roe jdk, JJ' c? bk nkfd i r kfd j fJnk.
 s{ eh ; wMBkFJ sb/ i }pw nr/ n; hl i kpok ; h; Mjek fdnkr/ <
 @j o# eth eNhnk ebeSk, *Tgo'es*, 21 d; po 1924#

³⁵² ; so ; kb d/ d'; sk eh ejhJ/ urk d'; sh dk nr gkfbnk Jh.
 fJj th n; hl j k sbk fj ; kB wBd/ ; S/ gE B{ Np i r kfbnk Jh.
 sbh ykso eppkBhnk pj s eoe/ n; K nkgDk nkg rtkfbnk Jh.
 Skbk wko ; wtoK ftL epl/ j EI i owBK sB{ pukfbnk Jh.
 NN/ fi ; w j fJU idl ir wpek, o'bN fpb fybDk ftykfbnk Jh.
 pipi xkN s/ ifbthkpr d't/ shik Bkb BBekDk obkfJnk Jh.
 r p d hkok ; Kko d/ okj nr/ j eV d; e/ oVk nNek fbnk Jh.
 ; hB/ ftL nbpVk pkfbnk Jh, ; pi f; x, *Tgo'es*, 2 ngp 1925#

³⁵³ efj d/ ub UJ/ pkr dh ; b eohJ/
 ni sk Bthl p; s ; j kh j'Jh j?

propagation for motivation, references were also made to the wars of Bhai Gurdas and were aimed to inspire the Sikhs to make any kind of sacrifices.³⁵⁴ The period of Guru Gobind Singh heightened glory was also remerged when Guru Gobind Singh acted as a monarch by riding a horse with sword and arms and Falkon sitting on his shoulders. Also that he was accompanied by Panj Piaras (five beloved ones), four sons (Sahibzadas) and the military troupes. They use fought with the enemies and the depiction of such scenes were ment to inspire Sikhs to lead similar position.³⁵⁵ The killings at Jallianwala Bagh and the well were often quoted as the symbols of British tyranny and the Sikhs were asked to go their heads before these holy places of sacrifices.³⁵⁶ They were also

j | B jho dk upk otb fyVnk
 tyk okfMnk MpwN gkjh j'Jh J/
 fejk ty yk nyhnk yb Gkjh,
 ewh pkr Bf nr fe; bkjh j'Jh J/
 @dod dh XDh#, dod, Tgo'es, 3 ngtp, 1925H

³⁵⁴ ; u ; kfj p nwo ; u, ; uh rppkDh
 ; u/ ; sh ofsnk dorfj ; y wkDh,
 fi B ; fsrp ; u fXnkfJnk fsB ; y fpj kDh.
 wBwfy dorfj wkhnkfJ; fsb ghV/ xkDh.
 rpwly i Bw ; dk ; yh wB; y dj bk.
 tkj | tkj | rfpd f; x nkg/ rp ubk.
 @tko Gkjh rpdk; #, Tgo'es, 13 ngtp 1925H

³⁵⁵ nyk ukj dhnk ebrh s/ fi rk tkbk, ; j Dk Bhb/ dk cb n; tko fd; l
 ; a sq gi s/ j E s/ pki fuNk, ; i / j E ftu fyuh sbtko fd; l
 uko/ ; kfj pikd/ Bkb/ gi g: ko/ fgS/ cl dh nkt dh vko fd; l
 Nkh ny eoe/ tj dk gE pB/ t'bh fwNh ftu jdk ytko fd; l
 dod dh XDh, @dod## 3 Tgo'es, ngtp 1925H

³⁵⁶ ; hBk efpnk nyhnk vpl rJhnk.
 i k w! i kfJ i fbhktkbk pkr fvnk.
 - - - - -
 eb' yj p'b/ nvh wj p'nk,
 @J w! kcoK ! d; i k rb wB##
 @wb/ ftu gJhnk oj hnk Yb bEK,
 J! rb dk j? ; hB/ ; b wB##
 - - - - -
 pkr dy nkt/ wV wV : kd Tj fdB,
 fJE/ fet! wi bWk d/ ; kj fBeb/
 Gkjh ! GpBk Bk id fJ; okj i kBk,

reminded that in this agitation not only the older and young but children also participated. Their is mention of an example at the Jungle of Nabha when a government official asked a child to beg pardon but the boy refused bravely with the mentioning of the sacrifice of Sahibzada Fateh Singh in Sikh history and also stressed that he has received this tradition of sacrifice from his heritage.³⁵⁷

The spirit of fearlessness inculcated through the creation of the Khalsa was emphasized to face the repressive rule of British.³⁵⁸ The Jatha being sent to the Gangsar Gurdwara at Jaiton was made aware of by the mentioning of the burning Pole and the Sikhs were asked to act like Prehlad.³⁵⁹ The agitators of Gurdwara reform movement drew heavy inspiration from the Sikh Gurus and this very fact had made them brave. The attachment of the Sikhs to the house of the Gurus was equated with the love affair of Sohni and Mahinwal.³⁶⁰ The Sikhs resented that the

ndp Bkb rodB B{ M{ekfJ i kBk.
; ko/ gE d/ ; h; nī GN sbh, Gkt/ goy b? fyu sbtko nke/
Tgo'es, 13 ngtp 1925

³⁵⁷ edh ; fDnk j? @; y puk eJh,
j kfonk ni she gD ; z ko ftul.
Tjwo fej Vh d/ ftu csj f; x ; pw/
fej k bbeko fJNK dh dhkto ul.
fuDI ! Ssh fSD' . . Fjeo j? e'w bJh
; h; dfJ ; pyo{ i k ; z ko ul
Xko sbtko dk y'c eh J/
i dl i Bw j fJnk wbk sbk dh Xko ul.
i Bw j fJnk wbk sr dh Xko ul @i ue## eth eNink, ebesk, Tgo'es, 13
ngtp 1925H

³⁵⁸ byk j'D i/ s'g w; hB rBk, sk th ykb; k Bj hl j? voB tkbk.
nfwš Se e/ ebrhnk tkbV/ dk, ; tk by Bkb fJe j? bVB tkbk.
fgnko/ gE dh nkB s/ ; hB pdb/, jo fJe f; y j? ; bh s/ uVB tkbk.
@nfwš ; est#, e/ o f; x piki, Tgo'es, 13 ngtp, 1925H H

³⁵⁹ j U e'wh gtfBU XB s; hl i j V/ Xow sl j'D eppkB ubl.
sfgnk Ew i pwh r r; o ndo, pD gj bkd j' i chnk gkD ubl.
joB tkrok nkg eppkB j'e/ BSk Bck e/ w; e c'bkD ubl.
@ul oj/ ; j hdh dk fdbk ndo, ; rs uē Bl 362, Tgo'es, 26 ngtp, 1925H

³⁶⁰ Tj/ yFp{ feT[Bk ykb; k/ dh i r ftu, ykb; / d/ Tj/ gi k BkBe fBoekohi dk.
xV/ Tj/ fmbh i kdh gk; ' fe; / gfSnk uk, feE' tb f; fynk s{ xV/ tkbh skoh dk
nj' i j / uVl j J/ MBK mkmk wkod/ fu, n'vk Gkr pš fet' xV/ Tj/ skoh dk.
fmbh i kdh ; j Dh pj eYe/ efj D b'rh, nkt/ fi t{ sB{ d; k tb J/ ; skJh dk.

British had sided with the Pujaries and Mahants at the cost of the loyalty of the Sikhs.³⁶¹ The Sikh women when demanding for their rights also mentioned the actors of the Ramayans like Sita and Kekai who also took part in the protest, also that the great Indian religious personality including lord Krishan, Guru Ramdas and Guru Gobind Singh had equal rights to the women. At the same time women also acted bravely during struggle.³⁶² Their is utilization of the sacrifices that began with the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev till the sacrifice of the entire family of Guru Gobind Singh and the other Sikh martyrs in between along with the bravery shown by the Sikh women during such occasions was stressed upon to inspire the followers.³⁶³ The way Guru Arjan Dev gave his life

oḷe Tj i kD fet/ nyw gkm oḷyD/ s/ fi j d/ f; o Tḷ/ gi k BkBe fBoekoh dk.
 i kḷwk dk gi k s/ f; æi k Tj Bḷ nkydk eh, Gkjh nso f; x nso, *Tgoès*, 10 wJh, 1925H

³⁶¹ ;so ; kb sb/ tckdko ofj e/ n; hl tsBhink sl th pdBkw j'J/.
 e/tb J/ bJh fe sḷ fJB; kc eo; ḷ sb/ jE pB oj/ rḷokw j'J/.
 biyK bkb bkJ/ sbh ofynk bJh, tḷh Bkb sb/ ik ; rḷw j'J/.
 pdbk Bḷhink dk ukbpki fds' < ; kv/ tḷhink d/ Bkb ob pḷh.
 fJis nkB ; kvh fi d i kB ; kvh, rḷp n; EkB th ; kvV/ wb pḷh.
 @ḷpdtkok fpb s/ ; so ; kb/ fwso dh goy, @GykoH#, *Tgoès*, 17 wJh, 1925H

³⁶² n; hl je jh nkgD/ wrdhnk j k, ; kBḷ b'e nḷt/ ekj Bḷ o'ed/ B/.
 n; hl op d/ nr/ gḷeko eohJ/ Gb/ b'e ekj Bḷ ; kBḷ N'ed/ B/
 eeJh op d/ ftu ; h pḷj fdsh, nkyo jḷ dh Tj Bḷ Tḷmhe j? ; h
 ; hsk i rḷbk ftu ik dḷy Mb/ Bkb je d/ Tj Bḷ gḷs j? ; h.
 gḷk nḷhJ/ - - - fi BK ehs/ jḷ Tj BK dD/ feTḷ uhed/ j'.
 je fdḷk ; h feḷ B ih B/ wEk nkgD/ Bkb fNetkTḷk J/.
 je pyf; nk j? okw dk; rḷp{ ih, wdo nkgD/ Tḷgo fpmkTḷk J/.
 je fdḷk ; kBḷ nkg d; w rḷp{ ih, pḷN/ ftu gsk; / gtke/ s/.
 je nkg fdḷk rḷp{ gE ; kBḷ wkjh Gkr' sl i r eotke/ s/.
 @ḷpdtkok fpB s/ f; xDhnk d/ je, fJe GD, *Tgoès*, 22 wJh 1925H

³⁶³ p/ æ goy b? ikpok cb jD sḷ n; hl pd pd nv eNtkb/ gfj bk,
 uVḷ/ uoyVh ; h; sḷtk fdḷ/ Bkb nkfonk d/ rJ/ fuokfJ gfj bk.
 fi d/ ih ; V/ ftu Gḷhink d/ NN/ NN/ rJ/ eokfJ gfj bk.
 ykso Xow dh rḷp{ ; jḷhd j'tD, sk fco f; y ; jḷhdhnk gkD feTḷ Bk.
 ; opz tkfonk fi BK B/ f; iYK Tḷs/ tḷb/ goy d/ nr/ Tj nkD feTḷ Bk.

peacefully accepting will of the God became an emotional symbol to carry on any agitation.³⁶⁴ The tyrannical Mughal rules including Aurangzeb, Farkh Siar and Mir Mannu who in their efforts to eliminate the Sikhs were destroyed themselves in the process. The mythological actors including Ravana, Kans and Harnaksh were dubbed as symbols of evils.³⁶⁵

The Heroes and Heroins related to the Punjabi romantic gentry such as *Sassi-Pannu*, *Heer-Ranjha*, *Sohni-Mahinwal Lela-Majnu* and *Shirin-Farhad* found place in the literature and their love was compared to the dedication of the Sikhs his Gurus.³⁶⁶ In order to create unity among the Sikhs, they were reminded of the Sikh history when they had to bear a great loss during the divisions of the Sikhs into *Tat Khalsa* and *Bandai Khalsa*. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was seen as an independent Sikh ruler

ੴ ; ਜ ; ; ਜਿ ਹਿਹਨਕ ਗਕਿ ਫੇਟਿ ਖਿ, ਗੁਹਿ ਏਠ ਫ; ਖ ਏਠਏਠ, *Tgo'es*, 26 ਵਜਿ
1925ਠ

³⁶⁴ ੴ ; ਏ ਗੁਹਿ ਸ/ ਖੋਠ ਨੋ ਖਿਠ ਫਗਿ, ਪਦਿ ਠਿਹਿ ਸ/ ਜਿ'ਯਿ ; ਸੇਕੋ ਠਿ'ਕ.
ਿਕਿ ਨਗਿਠਿ ਨਗਿ ਰਠਿਯਿ ਗੁਠਿਕ, ਠਿ ਠਿਕਿ ਸ/ ਜਿ' ਠਿਗੇਕੋ ਠਿ'ਕ.
ਠਿਕਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਗੁਠਿਕਿ ਸਿ ; ਪਿ, ਠਿਯਿ ਠਿਕਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ; ਏ ਖਿ ਮਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ.
ਠਿਠਿ ਏਕੁ ਮਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਫਗਿ ਗਿ ਠਿ ਨਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਸਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ.
ਫੇਟਿਏ ਠਿ ਠਿ ਠਿ ਸਗਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿ, ਗੁਹਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ, *Tgo'es*, 3
ਿ ਪ 1925ਠ

³⁶⁵ ਿ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਵ; ਸਿ ਜਿ'ਏ, ਏ ਠਿ ਠਿ; ; ਠਿ ਠਿ/ ਜਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਗਿਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿ ਜਿ' ਨਿਠਿ ਪਿ ਠਿਠਿ, ਵਕੋ ਵਕੋ ਏ; ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਠਿਠਿ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿਠਿ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ; ; ਕੁਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ' ਗਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਠਿਠਿ ਵਠਿ ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿਠਿ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਗੁਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ, ਠਿਠਿ; / ਗਿ; / ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਗਿਠਿ/ ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਪਿਠਿਠਿ, ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ/ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਵ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ; ਸ/ ਜਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ/ ਪਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ; ਠਿ.
ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਠਿ ਨਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਪਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ, ਮਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ/ ਨਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਠਿ ਨਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਪਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ, ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ, *Tgo'es*, 5 ਠਿ ਪ 1925ਠ

³⁶⁶ ੴ ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਸਿਠਿ/ ਠਿਠਿ ਨਿਠਿ, ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਵਕਿ ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ; / ਸਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
; ਜਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ੴ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ, ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ; / ਨਿਠਿ; ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ.
ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ, ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ.
ੴ ; ਜਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ! ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਗੁਠਿਕਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ, ਠਿਕੇ/ ਵਕਿ ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ.
ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ/ ਸਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ, ; ਕਿ ਸਿ/ ਠਿ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿ ; ਪਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ.
ੴ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿਠਿ; ਕ; ; ਠਿ ; ਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ ਠਿਠਿਠਿ, *Tgo'es*, 6 ਠਿ ਪ 1925ਠ

who founded it through the unity of the Sikhs. But the divide that erupted after his demise and the treachery shown by some Sikh leadership resulted in the annexation of Punjab by the British. These examples were stressed upon in order to maintain unity during the movement.³⁶⁷

The literature admitted blunder of the Sikhs being remained friends of the British government despite the attitude of the administration during Guru Ka Bagh, Nankana Sahib and Budge atrocities.³⁶⁸ To justify the policy of non-violence adopted by the Gurdwara reformists, there is reference to the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev.³⁶⁹ The Sikhs were not scared of the British repression since they were proud of being a nation created through struggle.³⁷⁰ Often the Sikhs drew inspiration from the

³⁶⁷ toel' c'b fJfsjk; d/ ty feXo/, wuh ftu Gkos jkb jkb feXo/
n'go f; y T'p/ fi T'p/ i'krd/ ; B, fd'sk t'bh'nk B' r'kb r'kb feXo/
feT'fe J'esk pb g'leow ; kvk ftu i'rs d/ p'j's w; j'p j? ; h
- - - - -

gk'Jh d'X ek'ih i' d' nkD p'd/, Gkoh ; h dopko dk fgnk MrVk.
nv' n'v' p'd'Jh s/ ykb; / j', okDh c'N B/ w'kfonk y'p orVk.
T'f' sl fgSl cb r'fYnk gE ; kvk, b'r'k ftu gi'kp d/ oki eoB/
X'w g'Jh cb d'f' oh p'ko ; kvh, n'Ne okj fd'sk d'f' w'D Gki eoB/
po d'f' oh g'Jh ; h c'N nke/, xo d/ G'd B/ oki ; G B; N ehsk.
sys ski ; G c'N popkd eoe/ j'k'J/ ykb; k gE B'f' B; N ehsk.
i'Ep'd j' ykb; k ofj v'f'Nnk, e'Jh J/, B'f' ed/ Bk wko ; e/
oj/ wouk r'f'v'nk t'y oj'k, pho ykb; k ed/ Bk j'ko ; e/
i'Ep'd j' ykb; k ofj v'f'Nnk, ; L ; kX'f; x ; b't'k'bh'J/, T'go'es, 11 i'p 1925h

³⁶⁸ nr nr e'N' bkt'f' y'goh B'f' eo/ cb ski'k o; w U'goh B'f'
j'k' nc; ; sB'f' nyfsnko j' B'j'hl ; k'bh' j'ew ck; h d/ ; B'kd tkb/
B'k'G/ p'hV ndo }b'wh G'hV g' r'Jh, wsk ghV j't/ i'yw ; hV i'k'thl
B'kb/ t'y eh'e'f' B/ nv'b p'm/, sb/ j'ew s/ cb u'v'wD tkb/
e'v'oD fe; so'hl sb/ ; dkD tkb/, n'kswk f; x ; h'f'so, # T'go'es, 12 i'p 1925h

³⁶⁹ feE/ ni ph'N'N'h i' j'V'k nkydk ; h d'; sk B'f' j'Nd/ Bk f; x Gkt'f' feBk wko d'J'hd'k.
e'Jh i'ke/ nky/ T'f' B'f' n'r/ s'X' f; x se'f' ni sB'f' d'f' k T'f' skd ; k'sw'Jh dk.
d; h' okj i'k'f'dnk t/ okj h'nk j'Dh t'f'ynk i/, i'r'h f'Je ; j'Dk j' : k r'mwko : ko.
U; dh f'B; k'bh' nk i'k'bh' wB G'k'Jh i'k'bh', j'h'k s'sh sth T'f' o's ; dh X'ko : ko.
; j'Dk w'bk ; k'Jh T'f' skd ; k'sw'Jh dk, G'k'Jh B'so f; x, T'go'es, 15 i'p 1925h

³⁷⁰ r'bh' wko Gkt'f' Gkt'f' wko dk'sh, Sk'sh n; k dh j' sb/ : ko n'r/
r'p'f' p'kr BBekDk s/ x'k'N pi pi, sbk : kd j' : ko fgnko n'r/
gke/ d'; sh ; k n'r/ G'p p'm/ n; h' i' r' ftu j'J/ ytko n'r/
B'j'hl : kd ; kd j'D foj'k sB'f' g'kb/ s'X' i' eb' eoko n'r/

life of Guru Gobind Singh.³⁷¹ The Sikhs were repeatedly asked not to lose hope during deaths since they were the successors of great Sikh martyrs.³⁷² Prayer was made before Guru Gobind Singh to encourage them to face any sort of violence by the British government.³⁷³ The literature of the movement had also made the use of the concept of devotion among the Sikhs to the Gurus and also to follow the path of Sikh sacrifices.³⁷⁴

There is condemnation of pro-British Sikhs who were awarded by different offices while the Sikhs were suffering at the hands of the

p/ e oi jD i kbwK }bw eob? fgnkok Xow j? i kB dk fgnko Bj h.
 b? jD i kbwK oi e/ }bw eob? Gkjh Bd bkb Bpgph, *Tgo'es*, 14 i B 1925H

³⁷¹ pkiK tkb/ rp{ d/ ykb; / t/ sb/ fi j h Bk eW e'Jh pho fvnh.
 b'Yk d'YV/ Mb e/ ; po ehsk, i ok Bj h go fJj fdbrho fvnh.
 gkfs; lj K ftul ; fJ B; lj Gkoh, ns/ pdrh ftul caho fvnh.
 sys/ fi w h n; wkB d/ cb se, ns/ pdrh ftul cohe fvnh.
 gE ykb; k t/ T'uh ; kB tkb/ nBd ej Nk, *Tgo'es*, 29 i B 1925H

³⁷² sbh neb T's/ eh fgnk gVdk, gE Bkb s' b'Jh ftrkV j bh.
 gE ykb; / Bkb ftrkV eoe/ eh yfNnk Jh d; : ko j bh.
 sbk fynkb j T' ekw: kp j 'tk, Bkb ; yshnk d/ T'go ykb; / d/
 JXo eW ; j hdk dh i kD nfVnk, e'Jh r'o Bk eoh fynkb j bh.
 gi ; h; d/ eo fJ; dk i Bw j fJnk, ; ysh ftu pjko sl t'K cb/
 j bh B' B'ek ; b'j, gkjh r'io f; x g'p/ h pd gSh, # *Tgo'es*, 21 i B 1925H

³⁷³ T) i/ e'Jh wB' i kD d't/ ni sps bkb tb iktk.
 yke ; j hdk dh b? nE' w; se T' d/ bktk.
 p'w'Y j fJnk fwb/ Bk Y'Jh, pkDh rp{ ; Dktk.
 nkyk phpk wr Bk wkch, ev Ek'gV'k bktk.
 wbh noi'Jh, i h'tB eb, *Tgo'es*, 5 ngp 1925H
 w'k p'mh g'p'e p'mh, wbh ey B' dkr Bk b'r/ nek; pkDh, *Tgo'es*, 1 d; po
 1924H

n) ebrh tkfbnk ; D bU noi wbh, sb/ gk; fJj fpB/ nbkt dh j k
 eoh so; wi b'wK dh nkj ; De/ j E i Ve/ tk; sk gkt dh j k
 Gm i bw dk sfgnk ; VB Xowh, fJj noi w' fgsk ; Dkt dh j k
 ftSV/ tho s/ GDK fwbk d't' ; de/ pko pfbj ko w' i kD dh j k.
 wbh noi'Jh, i h'tB eb, *Tgo'es*, 5 ngp 1925H

³⁷⁴ ; kb' g'w b'r'k rp{ Xkw tkbk, n; k do; fgnko/ dk gktBk Jh.
 Gkt/ wko eod/ up up ; kb' skth rp{ dx'bh/ i ktBk Jh.
 w'p{ do; BK dh f; e, e/ o f; x, *Tgo'es*, 11 ngp 1925H

Britishers.³⁷⁵ The Jathas coming from foreign countries to participate the movement were appreciated by declaring them as the successors of the great nation.³⁷⁶ Role of Guru Gobind Singh in the creation of the Khalsa was seen as to inculcate the spirit of bravery to protect the religion.³⁷⁷ The bravery shown by widow of Gurdwara agitation and Bhai Lachhman Singh, the martyr gets special mention and was compared to the affection of Heer with Ranjha and also life of Guru Arjan Dev was stressed upon.³⁷⁸ The early Akali morches were remembered for their spirit and

³⁷⁵ yvs gkm j' rJ/ rBK ub rJhnk
 ihTdh pd ; dle bkgsk j bl.
 pr' bsh gJ/ w' k wkDd/ B/
 fi bl i b ewNhnk pB eoe/
 @N uN# fyskp pj kdoh d/
 - - -
 syst ; N e/ s/ tys gkJ/ vkj vl
 j' oj/ fBbkw xo pko sb/
 yvs gkm j' rJ/ @j sekoh# ebešk, o' i BK ppo ; b, nfwps; o, 18 i Btoh
 1924H

³⁷⁶ ; sk ; w' dok sl f; y gko p' m/ r' p{ Xkw ni id eokB ub/
 eu/ xV/ dh Bjhl gotkj eod/
 f; o Xo sbh i kD : ko r' bh
 i j V/ g' w d/ or ftu i kD os/
 ; k-fJ; e-ewh fgnko, fJdo f; x ehkbbgp, Tgoes, 29 Btpo 1924H

³⁷⁷ i dl i' b s/ i' bw dk oki j? ; h,
 fBskfDnk fj d' hnk okfDnk s/
 fi j Vk dhB wB/ Tj B{ Sv db/
 nky/ br w' b' fDnk eki hnk d/
 fBs ty wi b' w s/ i' bw j' dk
 gE ykb; k pho ; i' D p' db/
 fdb goyD/ bJh f; y' k f; dehnk d/
 @db goyD/ bJh f; y' k f; dehnk d# o' i BK ppo ; b, 29 Btpo 1924H

³⁷⁸ j ho nkfynk vol Bk fe; / e' b/ nri j; e/ wj hnk uokD tkb/
 fdšk Tšo fJj p' m e/ gVh j ho/ voB fe; sok sb/ ; dkD tkb/
 bSwD f; x ; j' hd dh f; x Dh gb, fJe fdB fJj ; j' bhnk ; tkb ehsk.
 ; kJhl tk; s/ GD ih ; u d; Dk, feE/ rJ/ i/ gsh gokD tkb/
 do; B eob ykso xbl jko gke/ j' rJ/ esb f; oski ej kD tkb/
 - - -
 r' p{ noi B ni eoh gVskb nke/ i j Vk ; ks dk s; h ; h okj df; nk.
 fet/ Tj ; s/ f; X/ ; sho spd/ sbh ; ks tkbh bkJhB i kD tkb/
 voB fe; sok sb/ ; dkD tkb/ Gkjh nso f; x nso, nekbh s/ god/ h ; /tkdko
 r[gi k ; kfj p, Tgoes, 8 i B 1925H

the help was sought from God for the destruction of the *Mahants*.³⁷⁹ The Sikhs were asked to leave their life of luxury to participate the movement and they were reminded of the example of Lord Krishna who refused the invitation of the proud Duryodhan.³⁸⁰ Mention was also made of the attacks on gurdwaras in Sikh history but at the same time the attackers were also killed. In this context examples of Massa Ranghar and Nadir Shah were given.³⁸¹ The struggle for the Gurdwara reforms received inspiration from the examples of Mahabharta and the actions of the Arjuna during the war.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ ; De/ rñ nekbh pjkdok dh, iw; h gð Bk Gyhnk Gowhnk dk
 gkT{ Gki gyvh wB wshnk Bf Mfò Mxk rþXkwk s/ Xowhnk dk.
 ti; h idl ; ð tkfj rþ{ Bkw vvk, ; ð gkgk dk bT{ okj towhnk dk.
 fiE/ t; dk joh dk Bkw TE/ eh ew wj sk pd-eowhnk dk.
 ; ðk tkfj rþ{ ; ðk jh Bkw Tj dk, nkyo ; u dk j'tDk p'bpkpk.
 @bdk ; ko j? ; Kh th pfdnk dh, Gkjh ifrdo udlq crtkVk, *Tgo'es*, 7 i ð
 1925H

³⁸⁰ Skjh tye/ iþw dh oks ekbh, ; bñ ebk gB uVð/ skB nkJ/
 ; kv/ fdbk ftu brh ; h UV vkYh, nfwþ ghv dk whj t; kB nkJ/
 do: XB wfj b getkB Sve/ ; kr eXo/ d/tD wkd nkJ/
 - - - - -
 i'sl gli fdnk xb i bkd bñ/ gfj b/ fgi d/ tkr egkj i hef
 @ñ ehVh d/ xo GrtkB nkJ/# *Tgo'es*, 10 i ð 1925H

³⁸¹ edh eð eod/ eod/ eð j' rJ/ i bñ nkg g? rJ/ i bñ gD tkb/
 coy; lno tor/ eJh rJ/ ob/ f; o pB el gkg dk Gko sp rJ/
 j bh ! XD Bk fgnk neVk n't! esb eoB s/ bñ b? ikD tkb/
 Bkdo ; lj tor/ wEk bkD tkb/ wEk Ne el tb exko spd/ rJ/
 @kvk ; po jh ipo gb j'T{ Gkok# *nekbh s/ god/ h*, 25 i ð 1925H

³⁸² ; kb{ dy no Gy dk yç Bkj h,
 tñ/ n; k d/ oð id ce uþ/
 i j o uVh Bk fod/ ; bihs ; hr/
 pñh i j o tkbh Gy/ nð uþ/
 ; ktXkB j' eokr/ gE ; tk,
 noiB tkr yvhoBk je uþ/
 @dj k dhBK ftu gE ; bihs ehsk# rþpy; a f; x el o, *oDihs*, d; po, 1920H

CHAPTER-4

AGRARIAN MOVEMENTS

ANTI-COLONISATION BILL AGITATION, 1907

Despite passing the Punjab Land Alienation Bill in 1901 to protect the peasantry from the increasing burden of indebtedness by the money-landing classes they erupted the first agrarian unrest in Punjab, popularly called the 'Punjab Disturbances' during 1906-07. This peasant 'unrest' was mainly confined to the districts of the canal colonies including Rawalpindi and Layalpur but was soon spread to Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Batala, Ferozepur, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Sialkot, etc.³⁸³

The cause of this agitation was the raising of the irrigation rates in the Bari Doab Colony and also that by the end of 1906, the government had decided to curtail the rights of the cultivators with the avowed intention of reducing them to the position of tenants through the colonization bill.³⁸⁴ Other factors that accelerated discontent was ruin of cotton crop by boll weevil and damage to wheat crop by a blight caused by untimely rains. In 1907 plague had broken out. The workers, low paid employees and other poor sections were hit by steep rise in food prices. In fact the peasant movement against colonization bill and enhanced levies formed part of anti-imperialist peasant upsurge.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Master Hari Singh, *Punjab Peasant In Freedom Struggle*, Vol.2, People Publishing House, New Delhi, pp. 16-17; S.D. Gajrani, *Punjab 1920-45, Agrarian Problems and Role of Peasantry in Freedom Struggle*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 64-67; Pardaman Singh and J.S. Dhanki, *Buried Alive*, Gitanjali Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 32-43 and G.S. Deol, *Shaheed Ajit Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1973, pp. 22-37.

³⁸⁴ Navtej Singh, *Challenge to Imperial Hegemony*, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

³⁸⁵ Master Hari Singh, *op.cit.*, p.16.

The result was the rise of popular agrarian agitation led by the educated middle classes. In early 1907, public meetings were held in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Layalpur to demonstrate public resentment to the official bill introduced to give to the changes desired by the government. Popularly called as 'Bharat Mata Society' took active part in the agitation. Its most important members were Ajit Singh, Sufi Amba Parsad and Lal Chand Falak. They organized meetings at different places and in one of the meeting at Layallpur, Lala Lajpat Rai, vindicating the claim of the peasant to legitimate ownership of the land, commented: Wherefore did the government bring these lands? The blood of our forefathers was shed on it; we conquered it and inhabited it. These lands are, therefore, either ours or God's..... Government officers are servant to serve us and not to rule us. Do not fear the jails nor death.

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Ajit Singh, a fiery orator, who spoke in this meeting, gave a call for revolt. He told his countrymen that three hundred million Indians could easily defeat the hundred and fifty thousand Englishmen in India. The soul stirring song *Pagree Sambhal Jatta*, composed by Banke Dayal, invoked self-respect in the Punjabi peasant. In the face of the persecution and closer of the Punjabi and a threatened 25% tax increase, the movement spread rapidly. At Rawalpindi, Ajit Singh made another appeal for non-payment of the enhanced tax and called upon the peasantry to stop cultivation. The government made some arrests. On 2 May 1907, people observed a complete *Hartal* (strike) and gathered in the compounds of the district courts. Their numbers were swelled rapidly on account of the fact that there was another strike in the government arsenal, the railway work shop and private workshop. The crowd became violent and smashed court furniture. Even the houses of European

³⁸⁶ Navtej Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-11.

officers were not spared. The cumulative effect of British action was the spread of discontent. The members of 'Bharat Mata Society', being prolific writers and fiery orators they launched the idea of nationalism in the minds of the people.

Addressing a meeting in Layallpur, Ajit Singh said : 'We should not help the government whether it works Justly or unjustly, because it does not belong to our country. The English are robbers, we should expel them. The words I am speaking may be an offence; I may be imprisoned or hanged, but I do not care for the law, I wish to trample the law under my feet. The tyrants should be murdered. The motto of the Bharat Mata was; 'Those who are subject to other cannot think of the others'.³⁸⁷ The peasant disaffection spread to army ranks owing to a close liasan between the two. The imminent celebration of the revolt of 1857 and the sympathies of the Sikh infantry with the disaffected, made the government apprehensive of a popular revolt. Consequently the government deported both Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai to Mandalay. In due course the movement abated, partly owing to the repressive measures taken by the government, of course; by the Governor General vetoing the Colonization Bill. The plans of the revolutionary were forestalled by an official raid upon the Tilak Press, Hoshiarpur, in which much of their secret literature was captured by the police. But Ajit Singh's speech expressing the concept of violent revolt were carried forward.³⁸⁸

The agrarian movement which was carried away by Ajit Singh was also actively supported by some other revolutionaries including Sufi Amba Parsad, Zia-ul-Haq, Lal Chand Falak, Kishen Singh, Sawarn Singh and other prominent members who strove to spread the ideology of

³⁸⁷ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, pp.11-12.

³⁸⁸ Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p.12.

programme of the society were: Mehta Anand Kishore, secretary of the Anuman-i-Muhibaan-i-Vatan, Duni Chand of Lahore, Ghasita Ram, Lala Ram Saran Das of Kapurthala, Lala Pindi Das, Dhanpat Rai, Kartar Singh, ex-Editor of the *Edward Gazette* (Kasur), Jaswant Rai, proprietor of *Punjabee*, Dinna Nath of Kasur, Ram Singh, Jagan Nath, Mulk Raj, Paras Ram, Labh Singh, Gurdit Singh, Ram Chand of Peshawar, Zia-ulla of Kasur, Mahashe Narain, sub Editor of the Hindustan (Lahore), Amolak Ram, Gurdas Ram, Muhammad Shafi, and Mian Shahuddin and Sarla Devi.³⁸⁹

The leadership of the agrarian movement not only organised the farmers of the canal colony areas of Lahore, Lyallpur, Multan etc. but also instigated the traders and small shop-keepers of the cities of Amritsar and Batala along with the workers and peons. They asked the official and non official workers to participate in the struggle against the British government. The propaganda of the leadership was so strong among the army units that some of the army men secretly attended their meetings in which lectures were being given to arouse patriotic and nationalistic sentiment. Special attention was given to the Sikhs in the regiments and also to the ex-army men.

The leadership also distributed seditious pamphlets in the villages and open rebellion was preached against the government. The task of generating the spirit of revolt among the Sikh regiments through the militant propaganda was assigned to Lala Madhu Sudan. To the extent that S. Ajit Singh contacted the Bengali revolutionaries, terrorist of the Jammu state and some foreign revolutionaries especially the revolutionaries of Russia.³⁹⁰ Along with the making of appeals from the

³⁸⁹ Pardaman Singh and Dhanki, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4.

³⁹⁰ G.S. Deol, *Shaheed Ajit Singh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, patiala, 1973, pp. 34-35.

stages of public congregations, Ajit Singh by establishing Bharat Mata Society also adopted the strategy of distributing revolutionary literature published by the society to the public in the villages, government employees and among the army regiments.³⁹¹

At the same time the colonies participating in the movement developed their own strategies with prior planning and co-ordination with urban organization; although mass demonstrations brought out as many as ten thousand protesters. The leaders did not stop at merely submitting petitions but escalated towards non payment of land revenue and pressure through Indian army units. Propaganda such as cartoons, circulars and songs inculcating self respect and war like traditions of the Punjabis was designed to appeal generally to the illiterate agriculturists.³⁹² The leadership of the movement besides distribution of pamphlets, organizing meetings, delivering of lectures and tours sort to infuse patriotism and self confidence among the people. Ajit Singh even used marriage party for propagating his ideas. He addressed scores of meetings and speaking in an idiom that was comprehensible to the ignorant. His personality attracted large crowd and he was able to communicate successfully with the common man.³⁹³

The influence of the agitation spread to the districts of Lahore, Lyallpur, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, Ambala, Jalandhar, Kasoor, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi and Gujrat etc.³⁹⁴ Apart from the strategical position the important literature produced under the patronage of Bharat Mata Society included: *1857 Da Ghadr*, *Unglali Pakre Panja Pakra*,

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁹² S.D. Gajrani, *Punjab, 1920-45, Agrarian Problems and Role of Peasantry in Freedom Struggle*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2009, p. 54.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

³⁹⁴ S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

Baghi Masih, Mehbooban-i-vatan, Bandar Bant and Desi Fauj. The movement also made use of the different newspapers by publishing their ideas. Prominent among such newspapers were the *Punjabee, Jhang Syal, The Tribune, Hindustan, Weekly India, Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Fulwari*. It must be noted that this agrarian agitation of 1907 became very popular with the poem *Pagri Sambhal O Jatta, Pagri Sambhal O*, (take care of thy turban-self respect O! Jat) composed by the poet Banke Dyal of Gujranwala and was first recited by Prabh Dyal, editor Jhang Syal in a meeting at Gujranwala.³⁹⁵

Coming to the utilization of 'History' by the movement in its literature and their speeches, it has been noticed that the leadership of the movement more or less remained confined to the contemporary events of history under the British rule. Its use of pre-British historical events, particularly to the Sikh history is very limited. The first utilization of history available is pertaining to a speech of S. Ajit Singh delivered in a public meeting at Amritsar on 28 March, 1907. He emphasized that prior to the advent of the British in India the country was prosperous and the British interests resulted in its destruction. To prove his point, he referred to the plight of the indigo cultivators of Bihar.³⁹⁶ He also mentioned to the revolt of 1857 in which he criticized the Punjabis for helping the British

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38; Pardaman Singh and Dhanki, *op.cit.*, pp. 32-36 and Master Hari Singh, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 20-22.

³⁹⁶ *of w Td: r sl fJbktk Bhb dh ysh th pV/ ftek; ftU ; h. ; oeko Bf nkgD/ wst bJh Bhb dh bV gJh. fJ; bJh Tf B/ prkb d/ tkj hekoK Bf vY nkBk gsh tkj heko de/ Bhb phi D s/ wipb ehsk. ns prkbhnk B/ prkts eo fdsh. Tj BK Bf ed ehsk frnk ns/ Tj BK dh ikfJdkd ips eo bJh rJh. Tj BK ftul eJh sk nkgD/ fusktkB wkggnk Bf tyD bJh th Bk gos/ ns/ Tj BK dk eh pfDnk, fJj rb ni se fJe Gd pDh j'Jh j? ; kv/ ; t; e fJE/ jh Bjhl oel. TBk B/ TBk dhnk gsBhnk dh gs bND bJh gmkDK d/ j tkb/ eoB dhnk Xowelnk th fdshnk ns/ fJj BK ngwkBi Be Xwehnk Bf ekoi og th fdsk frnk.*

G.S. Deol, *Shaheed Ajit Singh*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, patiala, p. 108.

government who in turn did not give any special rights to them as Todar Mal and Birbal had received from Akbar for their services.³⁹⁷ Ajit Singh also critically evaluated policies of the Indian National Congress pursued during the last twenty years in comparison to the anti British movement in Australia and Africa.³⁹⁸ He further made use of the contemporary events through the indication of the struggle by the women in England and their ultimate success.³⁹⁹

The leadership in their lectures repeatedly emphasized the decline of prosperity of the country, the declaration of Queen Victoria in 1858, and the famine of 1877 terming it as the product of British rule.⁴⁰⁰ The leadership was also very critical and it repented the great help rendered by

³⁹⁷ w/ gSdk jK fe gi kp B/ rdo d/ d'bkB fdsh tvwph ; jkfJsk d/ pdb/ ftu eh gkfJnk j? fi jV/ ; h; so n; h nkgD/ fwsok, rtkYhnk s/ fo; s'okok ftoK, postBth ; oeko dh ; pfynk bJh tosd/ oj/ jK ; kv/ jEK ftul y' bJ/ rJ/ jB. eh jD ; kBf Tj' fi jhnk gdtink glgs j'phnk jB, fi jVhnk fe Nvo wb ns/ phopb Bf wfb ; kwoki ftu glgs ; B.
Ibid., p. 109.

³⁹⁸ fJ; d/ a d/ jo fJe FG-fJSe dk gkktB eošt j? fe toswkB p'okh Bf ysw eoB ftu : rdkB d/t. fgSb/ d' djkenk d'bkB ekro; fJ; wst dh glgsh bJh : sB eo oj h ; h. fJj fJ; f; N/ s/ gj'uh j? fe Gkos ftd/ h i'p/ ftu ed/ th yf; j'kb Bjhl j' ; edk. ; o cpo ubk frnk, go fwh wN Tf; dh EK s/ j? n; N'phnk B/ ; EkBe ; oeko bJh eJh doyk; s Bjhl ehsh, Bk jh p'ok B/ eJh g'p'EBk g'so Gfink j? Tj BK e'tb nro'k Bf fJ; rb dk nfj ; k; eotkfJnk j? fe Tj : K ns/ ; ksh dh ebk ftu Tj BK d/ ; wkB jB.
Ibid., p. 110.

³⁹⁹ sj k'bf d/ a dh ykso ep'pkBhnk eoB ns/ ok; Noh fj'šk Bf tXkTD bJh efmB i'htB f'pskTD bJh f'nko ofj Dk ukj'hdK j? fJr b'v dhnk n'bsk B/ nkuoD dh nd'G's ; aesh ns/ nfi'š fB; u/ dk g'rnk ehsk. Tj BK B/ ekwBi ; dB s/ j'wbk ehsk, ; kohnk o'ektNK sV fdshnk, ns/ nkgD/ d'lyk Bf ; dB ; kj wD/ o'yD bJh ; BwkB : r n; p'bh s'e gj'ju rJhnk. ws nfXeko bJh nd'fBekoh fJ; sohnk ; cb j' rJhnk, go eh Gkosh wod ; cb Bjhl j'Dr/ <
Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁴⁰⁰ gjf bh tko idl bkov eb'Uht B/ w'p; dkpkd tfynk ; h, Tf; B/ nkfynt ; h fJj b'vB sl th yf; j'kb Bro j? HHH 1858 Jh ftu wj'kokDh B/ n'bkB ikoh ehsk ; h fe Gkoshnk s/ nro'k d/ nfXeko pokpo ; wM/ ikDr/ go n; bhns fJM Bjhl j?
1877 Jh ftu idl 50 by' b'e ekb dk f; aeko j' rJ/ ; B bkov fbNB B/ wj'kokDh fteNohnk d/ Gkos dh w'bek j'D dk n'bkB eoB bJh fd'bh ftu dopko ehsk. idl ekb dk fi'eo nkfJnk sk bkov fbNB B/ fejk fe Tf; Bf fJ; wkw'bf dh ; uBk ; w'f; o Bjhl fwbh ; h.
G.S. Deol, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

the Punjabis to the British in their wars with other countries.⁴⁰¹ In a lecture delivered at Rawalpindi on 21 April 1907 the leadership stressed that the only strategy to expel the British was the need of Hindu-Muslim unity. The economic destruction of the country and occurrences of famines were condemned in comparison to the attitude of a Chinese ruler during such happenings.⁴⁰² Another prominent leader of the agitation Lala Lajpat Rai made a speech on 27 March 1907 at Lyallpur and addressed a large gathering there. He reminded the masses that once they were rulers of this land and for that their ancestors had to make great sacrifices.⁴⁰³

Another lecture delivered by Lajpat Rai at Amabala, he stressed the need for Hindu Sikh and Muslim unity for the creation of patriotic force against the British giving examples from the history of Europeans nations. He even referred to the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 by declaring that such a small nation could defeat a bigger power.⁴⁰⁴ While addressing a gathering in canal colony S. Ajit Singh exhorted the Indians

⁴⁰¹ rdo wról n;h dñ/ : KK ftL postBhñk dh ykso bV/ jk. n;h Tj BK dh Gkos d/ jkew pDB ftL ; jkfJsk elsh j? fJj ; funk fe Tj ; kv/ Bkb fBñkfJ eoBr/.

Ibid, p. 112.

⁴⁰² uhB ftu fJe tko nekB g? frnk ns/ fJ; d/ ikoh ofjD dk vo ; h. b'e tñh frDsh ftu nekB dk f; ñko pD/ ns/ ; ko/ d/ a ftu w's okDh dk g; kok j' frnk ns/ eñdos swk; h dyD bñh. ekb eJh 11 ; kb fojk. ns b'ek B/ oki/ Bñ Br/ gbh - Br/ f; o sBl wBl shoE : ksok eoB dh pBsh elsh. oki/ B/ pBsh gñkB elsh. f; Nk fJj j fJnk fe jkbks pdb rJ/ pjs urh po; ks j'Jh s/ b'e spkj j' D' pu rJ/ ty' jkew Bñ i Bsk Bkb feBh jwdodh ; h.

Ibid, p. 115.

⁴⁰³ Your self respect consists only in guarding the honour of your country and helping you brethren. Your forefathers shed their blood for this self respect. Man is but mortal. You were once the rulers in this land. You were a mighty nation.

The Punjabee, March 27, 1907.

⁴⁰⁴ The Japanese have recently shown to what lofty heights patriotic fervour can rise. A mother's stabling herself in order to free her son from the burden of her maintenance so that he might go to war and die for her beloved country..... Even in European countries, with their long legend of national patriotism such examples of sublime devotion are rare.

The Punjabee, April 6, 1907.

to respect the traditions of their *Rishi-Muni* in order to inculcate the spirit of pride against the prevailing slavery. In other words utilizing the rich heritage of the Indians.⁴⁰⁵ He also referred to the exploitative mechanism adopted by the imperial power in India.⁴⁰⁶ Emphasis was also given on actions of the ancestors along with the contributions of the Sikh Gurus for eradication of such situations.⁴⁰⁷

In another lecture delivered at Lahore on 7 April 1907 the leadership referred to the role of Guru Gobind Singh and the *Panj Piaras* in the abolition of the Mugal Empire.⁴⁰⁸ The leadership is not only keen to make use of the 'history' but it reflected their sense of discrimination and critical examination. It is mentioned that the epic hero of Ramayana Lord Ram Chandra suffered exiles at the direction of his family members but Guru Nanak Dev and *Pooran Bhagat* underwent difficulties for the welfare of the society. Therefore it was suggested to follow examples of the latter.⁴⁰⁹ The contemporary historical events occupy the central

⁴⁰⁵ f; d; skBhnK B; f; d; skB ftL j J/ wj kB fo; hnK wBhnK bJh ; BwKB dh wr eoBh ukj hdh j? f; d; skBh, f; d; skB B; nkgDk Bj hl efj ; ed/ fJj wbb/ dk ; h, wbb/ dk j? go j D fi nkdK db wbb/ dk Bj hl oj k.

G.S. Deol, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴⁰⁶ bNbl fJ; d/ xo nkTdl oj/ ns/ 250 tol fJ; B; bNdl oj/ j D f; d; skBhnK dhnk nyk yBhnK jB ns/ bNfonK B; sps geV fbnk i kt k.

Ibid, p. 27.

⁴⁰⁷ n; hl Tdl s; eM Bj hl eo ; ed/ fi Bk fuo s; nroli h oki B; ysw Bj hl eo bbl/ sj kB; nkgD/ p}brk d/ gd fuBK s/ ubDk ukj hdk j? Bj hl sk pknd ftu sj kB; gSskTDk gtrk. ; kv/ p}brk B/ th fejk ; h @gokXhB ; gB/ ; y Bj hl. rpbk B/ cowkfJnk ; h fe ; z koe gdke Mm/ ns/ cBkj j D tkb/ jB. ; kv/ rpb; ; kfj pkB ; L/ ; B ns/ fJ; bJh op th ; Lk j?

Sudarshan Kumar, Jagmohan Singh (ed.), *Pagri Sambhal Jata Ton Azadi Val*, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Research Committee, 2001, p. 108.

⁴⁰⁸ ; kB; d/ a dk tgko s/ gpK nkgD/ j EK ftu b? bDk ukj hdk j? fJj ws ; u' fe n; hl eM Bj hl eo ; ed/ n; hl d' fdBK ftu ni h d j' ; ed/ jk. sj kB; gsk j? rpb; rfpd f; x d/ gi fgnkfonK B/ ; ko/ d/ a ftL TEb gEb wuk fdsh ; h. wfb fi BK B; pj s skesto ; wMnk i kdk ; h, d/ a ftul pkj o eY wko/ ; B.

Sudarshan Kumar, Jagmohan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁴⁰⁹ wj koki okw udo B/ irbh ihtB dhnk w; hpsK MbhnK ns/ wksk fgsk d/ f; Xks dh nkfrnk dk gkbD eoe/ pkoK ; kb pBtk; efNnk. pBtk; d/ e; N ; j koB sl pknd idl Tj nkgD/ d/ a gos/ sk Tj BK d/ xo gosD s/ dhkbi dk fsTj ko wBkfJnk frnk. j D idl okw udo dk gso fpgB udo gkb i bl d/

space in the utilization of the 'history' when an example from the revolt of 1857 had been cited that how during the course of rebellion a British officer named 'Vilbi' preferred to destroy the arsenals to save his companions otherwise it would have resulted in the destruction of the whole unit and while doing so he sacrificed his own life.⁴¹⁰

To bring awareness among the people against the British exploitation the stress was given to remind the public that they belong to a nation of the braves to face any challenge.⁴¹¹ Also that the utilization covered the history of England when it was mentioned that the people had to make great sacrifices, long imprisonments and undergo tortures to achieve freedom from the monarchy. The literature is also critical of the British policy of divide and rule when it is led to the disputes among the Namdhari and the Muslim butchers that ultimately resulted in the large scale sacrifices of the Namdharis by the blowing away from cannon

e;N ;jkoB sl pknd tkg; nkfJnk j? sk n;hl fJ; xNBk s/ i;B feT[Bk wBkJhJ/

okw udlo ih B/ nkgD/ fgsk dh nkfrnk dk gkbD eoe/ e;N Mb/ ;B. gos{ rpf{ BkBe d/t ns/ g6B Grs B/ etb s/ etb nkgD/ nkdo;ll ykso e;N Mb/ ;B. Tj BK sk nkgD/ wkfgnk dhnk B;hjsk dh th gotkj Bjll ehsh ;h. fpgB pkp{ B/ rpf{ BkBe s/ g6B Grs d/ Tgd;ll s/ nwb ehsk j?

Ibid, p. 121.

⁴¹⁰ 1857 d/ rdo d'bkB fdbh febl ftlu iBob ftbph d/ nXhB fJē j fEnkok dk iyhok ;h. idl ftdoj'lnk B/ jwbk ehsk sk iBob B/ ;funk fe i'eo j fEnkok d/ iyho/ Tgo ftdoj'lnk dk epik j' frnk sk fJē th nroa pūk fi Tpk Bjll pur'k. fJ; bJh T; B; id j'o e'Jh okj Bk fdf;nk, fi; gpeko Tj bkuko ;h, sk T; B/ j fEnkok d/ iyho/ B; nīr bk fdbh s/ fJ; B; d; wD d/ jEK ftul iKD sl puk fbnk ns/ nkgD/ ;kElnk B; puk fbnk. nī sē ftbph dk BK fJfsjk; ftu nfes j?

Ibid, p. 122.

⁴¹¹ Gkos tk;hU ;fsU rkcb' t/ Ybh s;K B/ feT[j? Ykj h j'Jh. ;p'phok dh s;hl ;skB j'e/ nDy fwNhh ftlu feT[fwBkJh j'Jh. nī Tj Vdh gJh i/ pko d'y, tkoh s;K dh eb B; nkjh j'Jh. pDe/ wk i' g'k B; ykD nkt/ Tj vkfJD j'Jh : k fe wkJh j'Jh.

Hira Singh Dard, *Merian Kujh Itihasik Yadan*, Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Jallandhar, 1955, p.

mouths.⁴¹² References are also made to the commentaries of Karl Marx who viewed capture of India as nothing but destruction.⁴¹³ The existence of caste system in preventing uniform force was seen as a hindrance in the struggle against slavery and the institution of creation of Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh had been seen as an instrument for abolition of caste discriminations in society.⁴¹⁴

It is further emphasized that the people in Greece also worshipped many Gods and Goddesses like Indians. There were also many religious distinctions and like ancient India the Greek nation was also divided like the Indian princely states of Delhi and Kanauj under Jai Chand and Prithvi Raj. This led to the invasions of foreign powers who slaved the ancient Greek. These examples are stressed to show that the unity among different nationalities is essential to achieve freedom.⁴¹⁵ To arouse a sense of opposition the examples of King Pores against his fight with

⁴¹² mhe fJ; / soI dhnk xNBktK ; w/ fJrbV d/ b'eK B/ bVkJh bVe/ ni dh jk; b ehs; ; h. Tj BK d/ d/ a ftU th iko; ljh ftU b'eK B/ fJ; / soI jh i }w eo oj h ; h. wj kB fJfsj k; ekoK B{ bVB fpj feb/ ftU eD eoh ofynk. b'eK B{ bSk ns/ pkj k sl w; hB ftu gke/ d'jk gkf; nk sl fyU e/ ftuekol ; oho sV fdS/ i kd/ ; h. b'eK d/ f; o ebw eo fdS/ i kd/ ; h. fi t/ fJE/ BkwXkohnk B{ sgK Bkb pB e/ TmkfJnk frnk. fgb/ B/ ; okos eoe/ BkwXkohnk s/ w; fbnk B{ bVkfJnk ; h.

Ajit Rahi, *Bagi Masiha*, Ravi Sahit Parkashan, Amritsar, 2005, p. 46.

⁴¹³ fgSbh ; dh d/ wj kB fuse s/ fcbk; co ekob wcoe; B/ 22 i }kjh 1853 d/ fBT{ koe d/ oi hBk fNfpTB ftU fj d{ skB pko/ Skghnk fuzhink ftu fbfynk ; h nrrol a gfj b/ i S{ ; B, i' fj d{ ; fGnsk sl fes/ Tjub/ ; B. Tj BK dk fj d s/ oki eob dk fJfsj k; spkj h s/ popkdh d/ ; tkfJ j' b eM Bj h ; h.
Ibid, p. 53.

⁴¹⁴ fJ; ; ej V B{ ysw eob bJh jh r{p{ rfpd f; x ih B/ nfwf fsnko eoe/ ; G B{ fJe' pkn/ ftul fgbkfJnk ns/ cb nkg th Tj; / pkn/ ftul ghsk sk fe nkgD/ f; yk B{ nwbh sb T{f/ fJj ; g; N eo fdSk ikt/ fe ; G wBly pokpo j B.
Ajit Rahi, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴¹⁵ ; Bk Bh th ; kv/ tkr pjS d/th d'tfsnk B{ wBd/ ; B. Tj BK dhnk th eJh Xkofwe ; godkfJnk ; B. Tj th Gkos tkr eJh oki k ftU tfvnk j fJnk ; h. fi t/ fJE/ fdbh s/ eB i? ud s/ fgE th oki dhnk fonk; sk. Tj BK dhnk th JEBia ns/ ; gkNoK d' fonk; sk. HHHH Bshi / til f; edo d/ fgU fcbg; B/ ; gkOnk B{ fi S fbnk. i bdh jh ; gkOnk tk; h ftd/ ; hnk d/ } }w sl sr nk rJ/ fi t/ fe ftd/ ; h oki pko/ nk w j }k j? Tj BK fJe ; rmb ekfJw eoe/ owBK gk; l ; jkfJsk wrh. ; jkfJsk eob nkJ/ owBK B/ Tj BK T{f/ epik eo fbnk.
Ibid, p. 101.

Alexander along with the great Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh were cited who taught the Afghan invaders a lesson to remember.⁴¹⁶ The struggle of Rome has been quoted as an example of achieving progress when its population understood its greatness.⁴¹⁷ The exiles of the leadership to Burma has been seen as the future colony of Indians and it was compared to the British prisoners who were dispatched to the Australia continent and were succeeded in its colonization.⁴¹⁸ The literature also referred to the promises of the British made after 1857 and were never fulfilled. On the contrary, the government forcedly asked the Bengalis to cultivate indigo and in the process tortured them and many were killed.⁴¹⁹ In the utilization the actions of the romantic hero Ranjha has been seen as waging struggle against injustice.⁴²⁰ At the same time examples of 'History' referring to the contributions of the Sikh Gurus,

⁴¹⁶ gī kp dk fJfsjk; pVk wkDwšk j? ;kv/ g'o; B/ f; edo tor/ iri{ d/ th dđ yN/ eo fdš/ ;h ns/ oDihs f; x B/ ncrkBi gmkDK Bē Tj ; pe f; ykfJnk fe dbk ypo j w/ k bJh pkj oh j wfonk sl wšs eo fdšk.
Ibid, p. 105.

⁴¹⁷ ow B/ Tē tes soēh ehsh, idl fJEl d/ t; BheK B/ d/ a ; tk dh wj kBsk Bē ; wfMnk. Tj BK B/ nkgD/ ftū fJ; so|| d/ rD gđk ehs/ fe Tj BK B/ iks gks ns/ dšs dh gđkj ehs/ fpBK d/ a Bē nkgk nogs eo fdšk.
Ibid, p. 108.

⁴¹⁸ id w/ wkvb/ gj funk sk wv/ fdwkr ftu fJe ni hp fynkb B/ gk; k gofsnk. w/ ; funk nī sl 120 e/ ; kb gfj bK nro|| B/ nkgDhnk ebBhnk ftūl edhnk d/ f; g Go Go e/ n; Nphnk nkgDh Bth bGh ebBh ftu ; N/ ; h. j'bh j'bh Tj edh TE/ nkpđ j' rJ/. jD Tj BK dh Bth B; b B/ Tē Bē nkgDk d/ a ; theko eo fonk j? eh edh n? k tes th nkt/rk idl Gkosh edh fJB|| ekb/ gkDhnk Bē n; Nphnk tkr nkgDk yē j kb d/ a pDk bDr/.
Ajit Rahi, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁴¹⁹ dJh bek B/ 1857 ftu poskBth ; oeko ftoK prkts eo fdšh fJ; sl pknd eM tknd/ ehs/ rJ/ i' edh th gp/ Bk jJ/. fj dē skBhnk sl i pod; sh Bth dh ysh eokJh rJh s/ fJ; bJh Tj BK Bē efnnk wfonk frnk ns/ eJh Bē wš d/ xkN th Tško fdšk frnk.
Ibid, p. 35.

⁴²⁰ gī Vh ; Gkb U i Nk, gī Vh ; Gkb UJ/.

pDd/ B/ sb/ bhvo, oki / s/ ykB pj kdo.
fj d j? sbk wdo Tē dk gj koh sē

; hB/ s/ yktf sho, oKk sē d/ a j? j ho.
Ibid, p. 30.

Mazzini, and Garibaldi have been made utilized along with the role of militant Congress leadership including Bipan Chander Pal and Bal Ganga Dhar Tilk.⁴²¹ The condemnation of British government for its suppressive policies were compared to the Mughal empire when the tyrannical officials were awarded by the appointment to higher offices.⁴²² For instituting new symbols of struggle it was stressed that these should be aimed at propagating Indian history in order to generate the spirit of pride.⁴²³

ANTI-MONEYLENDERS UPRISING

The period from 1915 to 1947 witnessed a number of agrarian uprisings beginning with the Anti-moneylender Agitation in West Punjab, the Kirti Party, the various Kissan Morchas, the Communist and Socialist struggles. All these formations centered around the issues of the agrarian classes including both of the farmers and the workers. To began with, in the year 1915 an anti-moneylender uprising of peasants emerged in the districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh and Jhang. Majority of the indebted peasants were Muslims and the moneylenders were Hindu Aroras, popularly called as *Kirars*. The causes of this upsurge were the increased poverty conditions due to the prevalence of famine conditions that led to a very high rise in food prices and it led to the great suffering of the lower classes of people including poor peasants. Also that the Muslim cultivators were charged higher rates of interests by the non-Muslim moneylenders. Further to complicate the situation the moneylenders stopped giving loans to the peasants and it led to the peasants revolt

⁴²¹ Pardaman Singh and J.S. Dhanki, *op.cit.*, p. 139.

⁴²² G.S. Deol, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁴²³ Pardaman Singh and J.S. Dhanki, *op.cit.*, p. 196.

against moneylenders who looted wheat stocks of moneylenders and burnt the debt bonds.

In Ahmadpur Sial in Jhang district the first outbreak occurred. In Jhang district alone the peasants formed bands of 200-600 and committed about 70 dacoits. Soon the movement spread to Multan district where in Kabirwala tehsil 34 dacoits took place. The most important of these was the Basti Sikander riot. In Multan district there were 6 dacoity cases. The riots reached Rangpur, north of Muzaffergarh district. The influence spread and it reached to the Leiah tehsil and to Alipur tehsil in Muzaffergarh district. About 32 riots occurred in Alipur tehsil only. The total number of dacoities in Muzaffergarh district was 60 and the rising lasted for three weeks in Muzaffergarh district. The peasants also looted shops, burnt account books which recorded their debts and destroyed the property of moneylenders. It was reported that 4 or 5 persons died of injuries. The uprising was suppressed but nothing was done to relieve distress of indebted peasantry.⁴²⁴

KIRTI KISAN PARTY

Before Kirty Kissan Party was set up on 12 April 1928 at Jaliianwala Bagh, a number of Kirty conferences had been held in different districts. A Kirty conference was held at Hoshiarpur on 6-7 October, 1927 under the presidentship of Sohan Singh Josh. Another conference was held on 17 October 1927 at Chak No. 50 in Lyallpur and was presided over by Tara Singh, a local peasant activist. At this conference a Desh Sewak Kirty Sabha was formed. Sometimes later, the Kirty leaders instead of organising Kirti Sabhas proposed to set up a Kirty Kissan Party to organize workers and peasants. Among its objectives and

⁴²⁴ Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78.

aims were the establishment of independent republic of the labourers and peasants; to assist the economic, industrial and social movements and to organize labourers and peasants in order to mitigate their economic exploitation and grievances.⁴²⁵

The Kirti Party had its headquarter at Amritsar. It focused on demands of the peasants and labourers including the abolition of *Nazrana*, reduction of rent and fixed rates of interests. The Party in collaboration with the Naujwan Sabha also tried to capture various trade unions, press unions and the railway porters unions.⁴²⁶ Bhai Santokh Singh who was influenced by the Marxists ideology and had studied the Communist movement in Moscow started in 1926, a Punjabi monthly journal called *Kirti* with its symbols as hammer and sickle.⁴²⁷ This newspaper that emphasized on the problems of the workers and the peasantry and in turn a large number of them gathered around the newspaper and ultimately, it help the leaders to form a party of the same name. Although the name was the Kirty Party but due to the fact that 80 per cent of its followers were peasants and therefore at the popular level, it was generally called as Kirti Kisan Party.

In a meeting held at Amritsar in 1927, Sohan Singh Josh was elected its secretary and Abdul Mazid as joint secretary.⁴²⁸ Its other active members were Karam Singh Cheema, Udham Singh Kasel, Santokh Singh, Chain Singh Chain, and Bhagat Singh Bilga etc. Under the British rule condition of the peasantry became miserable and the party organized debt committees and they were active to abolish various

⁴²⁵ Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 168-170; Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement In Punjab (1926-47)*, Anupma Publications, 1979, pp. 82-83 and Satya M. Rai, *Punjabi Heroic Tradition, 1900-1947*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1978, pp. 99-102.

⁴²⁶ Satya M. Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Nazranas, land revenue taxes and reduction in their rates, fixation of interests on loans and also to the reduction in irrigation levies. The British government became apprehensive about the increasing influence and activities of the Kirti Party and the British government in 1934 declared the Party illegal and banned it.⁴²⁹ Consequently under the British repression majority of its members joined the Communist Party and began to organise various Kissan Sabhas in the rural areas of Punjab. The Kirti Kissan Party remained active till 1938 under the patronage of Communist Party when it again assumed independent character during the World War II till 1945.

So far the activities of the Kirti Party are concerned, these may be conveniently divided in two phases: 1926 to 1934 and 1939 to 1945. The programmes of the Kirti included the nationalization of all means of production, acquiring of land from big landlords and to be divided among the cultivators, reduction of land revenue demands and its imposition on the produce and not on land, no tax on small holdings, increase in wages of industrial workers along with reduction of working hours, provision of loans to the cultivators, and also machines, seeds and scientific assistance, reorganization of village Panchayts with representation to cultivators and workers with powers to impose revenue and lastly establishment of a 'Kirti' or 'Bolshevik' type state.⁴³⁰

During the period from 1926-29 the Kirtis continued to declare that they were deadly enemies of capitalism and imperialism and wanted to install a workers and peasants government in India. It adopted the path of revolutionary mass action and to establish a completely democratic

⁴²⁹ Ram Singh Majitha, *Hindustan Di Larai Vich Punjab.*, Vol. 2, Punjab State Freedom Fighter Organisation, Moga, 1988, p. 185.

⁴³⁰ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

republic of workers and peasants.⁴³¹ As a strategy the Kirti Party emphasized to create discontentment among the ex-soldiers. On January 7, 1929, ex-Risaldar Anup Singh arrived in Lahore with a Jatha of 800 ex-soldiers to represent grievances to the governor. They were denied meeting and were dispersed by the police. Many of them were arrested. Serious discontentment prevailed among those ex-military men of Sheikhpura district who were demobilized without a pension or a grant of land. The centre of agitation was around Lubana villages of Sahad, Natheke, Toria, Mirpur and Thamke. Anup Singh organised meetings during 1926-28 at various places mainly in the district of Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Jullundhur, Ludhiana, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur. His activities were supported by various newspapers such as the *Zamidar, Gazetteer, Milap, Inquilab* and *The Akali*.⁴³²

In April, 1930, Hissar Kisan Sabha headed a campaign against the payment of rents to the landlord in kinds. It was backed by the Congress workers and the Kirti Kisan Party. They intensified rural propaganda in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Lyallpur. At village Jhaman in Lahore district Police and military force had to be employed. The same show of force was repeated in Amritsar district. In certain villages of Sheikhpura numerous arrests were made to suppress the agitation against payment of revenue. In eastern districts the agitation had spread to a serious extent in all the minor towns and many of the villages. In Lyallpur, a series of meetings were held in the countryside. An 'All Bar Zamidar Conference' was held at Lyallpur on 20 June 1931 and was presided over by S. Mangal Singh.

In the south east of the province tenants were finding it very difficult to pay water rates. The Nilibar Zamidars Committees of

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴³² Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.

Montgomery and Multan districts in their meeting on 18 July 1931 asked the peasants not to pay the revenue. The Kirti Party held its annual conferences in 1930 and 1931 in Lahore and Karachi respectively. The Lahore conference was presided over by B.T Ranadive, a Communist from Bombay. He criticised the Congress leadership and asked the Kirti Kisan party to follow the political line of Communist Party of India. The Kirti Party throughout the period 1931 to 1936 followed the policy of criticism and denunciation of the Congress. By 1931 the Kirti Kisan Party had a stronghold in Amritsar district. In Jullundhar district it held a series of meetings in the villages and advised the small agriculturists to agitate for the immediate reduction of land taxation. This movement of non-payment of revenue continued in Amritsar district and later on spread to Sheikhpura and Gurdaspur and the districts of central Punjab and the north-west.⁴³³

From November 1929 onwards, large batches of Sikhs including members of the Ghadr Party returned to India from the United States of America and Canada on the pattern of the Ghadr revolt of 1915. The government took serious note of the development and arrested three Moscow trained Ghadr Party members. Till 1935 Police arrested some 40 trained Communists who had returned to India and were working at different places. These revolutionaries were Teja Singh Sawtantar, Gurmukh Singh, Pirthvi Singh, Iqbal Singh Hundal, Harbans Singh Bassi, Chanan Singh and Bhagat Singh Bilga. The Kirti Kisan Party offices were raided on 22 June 1932 and amongst other literature police seized copies of a cyclostyled Urdu pamphlet entitled "The programme of the Indian Communist Party". Members of the Kirti Kisan Party who were outside Jails continued to pursue their activities. A Kirti Kisan

⁴³³ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

Conference was held at Nankana Sahib on 12, 13 November 1932. It was attended by 2000 people. Processions and meetings to protest against the judgment in the Meerut Conspiracy case were organised in collaboration with Naujwan Bharat Sabha in Amritsar and Lahore in which 900 people took part.

On 10 February 1933 a body known as the 'Rajse Quidi Chhuro Committee' was organised with the object of securing the release of the prisoners of 1914-15 and to assist all political prisoners. Delegates were sent to tour the province and enlist the support of the people. In the later half of the year 1933, a few conferences were held in Amritsar and Hoshiarpur districts. Further a Labour Research Society, Unemployed Workers Union and Press Workers Union were organized by Kidar Nath Sehgal and Abdul Mazid. In order to end all factional feuds Kirti Kisan Party was to reorganize into various fronts or leagues. Branches of this anti-imperialist league were established at a number of places such as Nankana Sahib, Lyallpur, Batala and Amritsar. In September 1934 the government declared the following organizations were illegal and consequently their activities were banned. These were the Anti Imperialist League, Punjab, its branches, committees and sub committees, the Punjab Provincial Naujwan Bharat Sabha, Lahore; The Punjab Kirti Kisan Party, Amritsar, its branches, committees and sub committees, the Amritsar District Kisan Sabha and the Punjab Kisan League.⁴³⁴

After the ban, individuals active in the above organisations sought to group themselves under the banner of 'Punjab Kisan Qarza Committee'. Its first meeting was held at Amritsar on 3 March 1935 and a General Committee of 52 members was elected. The objective was to organize small committees in rural areas to assist the peasants to obtain relief provided by the Indebtedness Act. A number of conferences and

⁴³⁴ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-111.

meetings were held and the Jullundhar district Qarza Committee established 60 branches at various places in the district. It held small village meetings at which speaker combined agrarian agitation with Communist propaganda. The Doaba Rural Uplift Conference was organised at village Patara in Jullundhar district during the month of October 1935. It was attended by more than 2000 people. The Conference demanded cancellation of debts and assessment of land revenue on the bases of income tax. It also denounced the oppressive methods of the government, criticized the National Congress, and urged the villagers to establish Qarza Committees.⁴³⁵

The district Zamidara league of Lyallpur agitated for their demands and sort to mobilise the peasantry on the slogan of reduction in the land revenue and water rates.⁴³⁶ The second phase of the Kirti Party was active during the Second World War in the form of complete Communist organisation. It organised the labourers and women and extended its influenced among peasantry. The Party started its newspaper called *Lal Jhanda* in September-October 1939. Its 800 copies were published and were distributed free of cost. It was a secret newspaper since the party had to stop publication of the *Kirti*. By this time the 'Kirti' Groups had completely controlled the Punjab Kisan Committee and took active part in the agitations of Lahore, Chadik, Chuharchak, Nilibar and Jullundhar. It was also active among the workers of Lahore and Amritsar. It organized some student groups. The Kirti Kisan workers were actively participating among the factory workers of Lahore, Amritsar, Lyallpur, Dhariwal, Abdulapur, Jalandhar etc. It was reported that 17 different unions organized themselves into a provincial Trade Union Congress under the control of Kirti Party. During this time the Kirti group

⁴³⁵ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

organized 30 strikes. Even the Punjab Kisan Committee was under the control of Kirti Group with its membership of 50,000. Both these organizations under Kirti patronage organized dozens of conferences and hundreds of processions.⁴³⁷

In September 1941 The Kirti Party organized Suba Kisan Conference at Fatehgarh Kartana (Ferozepur district). Police resorted to torture the workers, yet 30-40 thousand people participated. In Ferozepur and Amritsar districts three women leaders organized many meetings and stressed the need to establish women organization. The women leadership also actively worked at Muktsar, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Lyallpur and Lahore. With their efforts during the four months the strength of women in the Party rose to 2000.⁴³⁸ The last agrarian protest under the joint patronage of Kirti and Kisan Sabha happened in 1946, popularly called 'Mogha Marcha'. The Punjab irrigation department began remodeling canal outlets (Moghas) in tehsil Ajnala of district Amritsar in order to reduce water supply to a number of villages in Ajnala tehsil. It began at the time of paddy sowing season and brought great hardships to the peasants. It was a device to fleece peasants and raise income of the government from water rates by cutting down supplies through reduced outlets, while keeping assessment of water rates at old rate and using the water thus saved to irrigate more lands. To protest against remodelling scheme, a deputation representing peasants of villages concerned petition the government. The government did not listen the demand and agitation began. What started as a local struggle became the struggle of entire district. It started from the village Harse Chhina on 16 July 1946.

⁴³⁷ Chain Singh Chain, *Kirti Party (During World War-II)*, Published by Desh Bhagat Yadgaar, Jalandhar, 1990, pp. 4-20.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-30.

The government arrested more than one thousand farmers and among these the prominent were Sohan Singh Josh, Achhar Singh Chhina and Gurdial Singh Dhillon. A number of *Jathas* of peasant women also courted arrests, one of being led by Bibi Raghvir Kaur.⁴³⁹ A big Kisan Conference was held at village Sehensra during course of a Morcha. Ultimately the government acceded to the demand of the farmers that the water out-lets will not be reduced. At this the Morcha called off and prisoners were released. Achhar Singh Chhina emerged as a prominent peasant leader.⁴⁴⁰

The ongoing agrarian and peasants agitations led under the patronage of Kirti Kisan Party with the help of various Kisan Sabhas and the Communist Party during the period 1926-1947 adopted a number of methodological strategies. These tactics began with the publication of newspapers; *The Kirti*, *Lal Dhandara* and *Lal Jhanda* (The latter two were secret newspapers), help taken from other militant and Communist newspapers, *Desh Sewak*, *Akali Te Perdesi*, *Punjabee*, *Desh Darpan*, *Alan-i-Jung*, *Ghader Di Goonj*, *Mazdoor Kissan*, *Desh Dardi*, *Nawan Yug*, *Zamidar Gazettee Ludhiana* etc; the leaflets including *Railway Worker*, *Inqulabi Mazdoor* etc; pamphlet including P.C. Joshi's *Azadi Ke Ley Aage Baro*, etc.; organizing the gurrela bands, distribution of secret and seditious literature, writing of slogans on the roadsides, schools, bridges and public places; organizing processions, conferences, strikes, hunger strikes, meetings, raising of funds, writing of circulars, pamphlets, leaflets and articles in newspapers; propaganda among ex-army men, workers, peasants and women; celebration of May Day, Highlighting the hunger strikes in the prisons of Deoli and Montgomery and celebration of the Nazarband weeks; presentation of memorandum and taking sympathy

⁴³⁹ Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-322.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

and help from the leading members of the Bar Council of High Court, prominent doctors and journalists including the students.⁴⁴¹

Before proceeding to evaluate the utilization of 'History' by the organizers of these anti-imperialist agrarian movements, it is pertinent to mention some of the prominent leadership which covered the Kirti Kisan Movement and the Communist organization. The dominant leadership of these protests was comprised of Sohan Singh Josh, Anup Singh, Santokh Singh, Gopal Singh Quami, Munshi Ahmad Din, Darshan Singh Pheruman, Udham Singh Nogoke, Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Bhag Singh Canadian, Dr. Satyapal, Kidar Nath Sehgal, Master Kabal Singh, Lala Ram Chand, Teja Singh Swatantar, Bhagat Singh Bilga, Baba Karam Singh Dhut, Bhagwan Singh Longowalia, Teja Singh Chuharkana, Jawala Singh, Chain Singh Chain, Surain Singh Khela, Lohari Ram Pardesi, Giani Hira Singh Dard, Iqbal Singh Hundal, Dr. Bhag Singh, Baba Rur Singh, Baba Rattan Singh Raipur Dabba, Baba Kesar Singh, Wasdev Singh, Chanan Singh Dhakowal, Baba Isher Singh Marwaha, Baba Inder Singh Verka, Baba Bujha Singh, Gurcharan Singh Randhawa, Gandhrav Sain, Vishnu Dutt Sharma, Master Ram Nath, Sarla Devi, Kartar Singh Babber, Chhaju Mal, Kartar Singh Babber (Dumeli), Chanan Singh Tugalwala, Arjan Singh Sach, Ram Singh Ghalamala, Ram Singh Majithia, Bhai Sohan Singh, Naurangabadi, Arjan Singh Dhadra, Jagir Singh Kot, Nishan Singh Rajinder Singh Sarinh, Ajit Singh Garh Padhara, Ujagar Singh Bilga, Shakuntla Shardha, Sushil Kumari, Raghvir Kaur, M.L.A., Achhar Singh Chhina, Ram Kishan, Gurcharan Singh Sehensha, Chanchal Singh, Tirth Singh, Harbans Singh Karnana,

⁴⁴¹ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-101; S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-121; and Chain Singh Chain, *op. cit.*, pp 14-31.

Dalip Singh Jouhl, Jiwan Singh Dukhi, Sodhi Harminder Singh, Usha and Ishar Singh etc. etc.⁴⁴²

These agrarian protests were spread to the districts of Amritsar, Jullundhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Sheikhupura, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Kaimbelpur, etc. In these districts they had their organizations and groups both in the big cities and towns along with the villages. Their organizational structures were more democratic and having its roots from the central committees to the village.⁴⁴³ As has already been described these organizations produced mainly some newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets for the awakening of the peasantry and working class, so it is in these creations that they attempted to take help of history to incite the public and the masses.

To begin with their is mentioning of the miserable economic plight of the Punjabis who had laboured hard to construct towns and cities along with the big palaces, yet they themselves were forced to live in the huts.⁴⁴⁴ The martyrdom of Kartar Singh Sarabha and Balwant Singh of the Ghadr Party has been focused while addressing the Punjabi nation to incite them for ending such condition by taking inspiration from the revolutionaries of Ghadr Party.⁴⁴⁵ The atrocities committed by the

⁴⁴² Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-167; Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-92, Chain Singh Chain, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-50, and S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-139.

⁴⁴³ S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-101; Chain Singh Chain, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-86, and Satya M. Rai, *op.cit.*, pp. 99-103.

⁴⁴⁴ Br/ fcoB BfVBt/ pd/, fJe d/ f; be j MKB bJh
ftU Mf hnk d/ oJ D j w/ k, whj , gkbk Xg ; j B bJh
; j o t; kJ/ j Eh wj b T; ko/ xkb fi ; w s/ xkbh
Xosh, ; j o, wj b ; G wb bJ/ fJe B/ wkoel/ XoBk.
do do opd/ fcoB BfVBt/ fco ykbh d/ ykbh.
feosh r#, Gkr gfj bk, Uneko g#, nfw#; o, gBk 39H

⁴⁴⁵ n? ; i BK s# fropkB ndo
i ok ; u yk frnk fynkb feXo
cyol ew #pbt# , #eosko# tor/
sbl rJ/ nBw#V/ bkb feXo

British imperialism in the form of deportations and exiles of the Punjabis were compared with their own domination in political power which has been compared to the prevailing state of unemployment. Further the British atrocities also find comparison to the torture underwent by Raja Hari Chand and Puran Bhagat.⁴⁴⁶ The literature also criticised the British loyalists whom they considered as having without love for their land.⁴⁴⁷ The Punjab was remembered as the land of five rivers which were responsible for its prosperity. The province was glorified or seen as the land of spritual leaders who created Vedas and also the very fact that the Punjab also produced prominent Sufi saints including Sheikh Farid, Shah Hussain and Bulle Shah.⁴⁴⁸

Ⓜ j hdk d/ pfunk dh ; ko bU,# Tj h, gBk 39H

⁴⁴⁶ sr d; shk j ; shk sVhnk B/
 gkfJnk f; o/ s/ tes itkb feT[j?
 ; do ; psk wpsk tho ; kv/
 fdS/ d/ a gpl/ a fBekb feT[j?
 ed/ n; hl ; h sys s/ ski tkb/
 ni B'eh fwbBh wj kb feT[j?
 joh ud tkr{ t; uj fVnk d/
 eod/ dod Bk ir uxkb feT[j?
 xoh t; fdnk o; fdnk j ; fdnk Bf
 fdSk geV yj / ftU vkb feT[j?
 Ⓜ j d/ skB d/ dVhnk dh cfond,# Tj h, gB/ 44-45H

⁴⁴⁷ Glos to; ntbV/ Gkr sb/
 t; fgnk gokfJnk pfdnk d/
 frnk tsB dk Gb fgnko sBf
 b'rk bkbuh efVnk Xfdnk d/
 Ⓜ Glos t; a efbV/ Gkr sb/# Tj h, gBk 46H

⁴⁴⁸ wbk ; do d/ fgnkoVk
 ; G Xosh dk ; odko,
 gi Bdhnk f; i D wY sl f; i efj D n; hl tvGkr,
 t/ b'e' fJj Tj Gwh j? fi B oph d/ / Gs,
 Tj fYl/ eY/ fi B B/ ou fdS/ uko/ td.
 wf ; de/ ik fJ; Xos sl fi B eY/ eY/ gho,
 j k ; y cohd j f B i j / ns/ pb/ fij / ceho.
 j / d/ a wbl d/ tk; hU, s; hl wk fgU ikJ/ tho,
 Tc ! cb th fwb Bj hl pfd/ fi Ul fJj ; j D/ gi Bho.
 Ⓜ vbk ; j Dk gi kp,# Tj h, gB/ 48-49H

The mutual feelings of hatredness were understood and the people were asked to unite as had been emphasized in the different religious taxes of Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs.⁴⁴⁹ The sufferings of the workers were only understood by the God while the British government was careless in their mitigation. Yet the determination of the workers has been compared to the strength of the 'Sumer' mountain.⁴⁵⁰ There is expression of feelings of the fears the British from the preachings of the 'Kirti' newspaper and it was seen as an equivalent to the threat of the revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin to the government of the Czar.⁴⁵¹ The revolutionary leadership is also conscious of the international developments who did not fail to mention the Opium Wars between China and England and their outcome in the form of the development of the Chinese nation.⁴⁵² The appreciation of the brave

⁴⁴⁹ eo/ soe dʃBnkth fJj fj o; ; koh,
 ; kBʃ ghio celo ; wMkw d/ Bh.
 ; kvh rʃps ncbk; jʔ j ɛw j kBh,
 ybʌ td epkB tykt d/ Bh,
 feTʃ okw, oj hw ydʃ j ʃʃ/
 eʃh so; d/ eʃh sq kt d/ Bh.
 ʃ; j ochʃ, Tʃ h, gBk 62H

⁴⁵⁰ nbca - fJe nekb Bʃ ypo wbh,
 jʌ Bj H wʃj ow wb/ j kb dk Jʃ.
 - - - - -
 ; /; kpsʃ dʃ b" feoshnk dh
 dʃk ; ʃk ndo osk vbd/ Bh
 gops tkr nub ; wʌ j ʃʃ/
 Mki / MyVk d/ ftu Mbd/ Bh.
 Tʃ h, gB/ 70-71H

⁴⁵¹ bkN ; kfj p Bʃ fe; / fJe w; yo/ B/
 fdʃh j E ftu ik nypko feosh.
 sed/ ; ko Tʃ dh jʃ; a rʃw jʃ rʃh,
 f; o s/ jʃ frnk Gʃ n; tko feosh.
 Tʃ B/ ; wʃMnk bʃBB B/ tko dʃh
 fbnk ftʌ gi kp nypko feosh.
 ʃʃʃ fʃʃ nkj Tʃ dh pDe/ sho fBebʃ# Tʃ h, gB/ 91-92H

⁴⁵² ; ʃʃo fgouk eʃk Tʃʃ/ cʃ pBktD tkbk
 uhʃh feosh wʃ j k : ko' jʃek bktB tkbk.
 fj ews nwbh uwʃ; h ehʃh dʃswd j ehʃk,

Punjabis who sacrificed their lives against the British repression and freedom find repeated mention and glorification in the Kirti newspaper.⁴⁵³

The annexation of Punjab by the British was compared to the tactics of deceit committed on the heroes of the romantic folklores of *Sassi-Punnu* and *Heer-Ranjha*.⁴⁵⁴ The Kirti revolutionaries also received exhortation by remembering the repressions committed during the time of Guru Gobind Singh in the form of the martyrdoms of the Guru and his sons.⁴⁵⁵ The continuous and perpetuatory process of committing large scale tortures and repressions were compared to the tragic situation of Boston.⁴⁵⁶ In the struggle against the government the spirit of bravery inculcated through the creation of Khalsa was referred to raise the morale

yB wBk ; G u|x fbnkJ/ wBf bk nchwK
 nkD tV/ ; B d/ a wB/ ftL bxB d/ nBdksk,
 orB ; rB s/ eb : rB bE/ ekbh wksk.
 J/ / nkj ol bke/ wBf etsh yp ; cJh,
 xo wB/ dh bNh ; koh d'bs gkJh gkJh.
 nDy wBh B/ nke/ wBf wkoh ny fgnkoh
 Tm pj| jD j' ik seVk nkb; bkj d/ ; koh.
 uhBh feosh dk j'ek, Tj h, gBk 99H

⁴⁵³ wK pkg Sx/ GD tho Sx/
 dYh fj d dk dy twD ykso.
 - - - - -
 ; coh nkJ/ ; h eoe/ ; co bWk
 ; kv/ se rohph d/ b'j D ykso.
 @gnkok fj d nki kd eod ykso#, Tj h, gBk 110H

⁴⁵⁴ ; i h tkr gBf ; kBf Sbe/ p'nk Bkb j'sk d/ obel
 ; kvk bNe/ ; ij o Gwo i h, - - - - -
 ; kvk dy j kb oMfNnk, ; kBf yfVnk wkfonk wfNnk,
 s' j h gbN d'dl sedho Bf tys gbl/ ekj Bf ssh j ho Bf
 @, kv/ dY B; hp ewi b i h# feosh, i p'kJh 1926H

⁴⁵⁵ ; kvk nkswk ; dk nv'b tho', eo{ eh spr dk tko ; kBf
 yksq Xow dh r'pK B/ g'sq tko/ fd/ / uwedh Be w; kb ; kBf
 @ck; h tkb/ ; j hdk dk ; d/ h#, Tj h, nr; s 1926H

⁴⁵⁶ eJh wko sbtko Eh glo etsh/ b'YK ; j oth Bkb p'pkd i l'bw,
 @, k's# w'pfdnk T's/ Bk o'j w eodk, ghV/ geVe/ fw; b ewkd i l'bw,
 - - - - -
 fj d; skB, p'; skB t'okB j'fJnk, b'bk wkbh'nk ypo r'p'it'o dhJ/
 Tj h, nr; s 1926H

of the movement to continue struggle and achieve victory.⁴⁵⁷ The imperial slavery and repression on the peasants and the workers in China, England and India have been compared to the tragedy of Quarbala.⁴⁵⁸ The policies formulated at the Geneva conference in which the local people were considered as the real proprietor of their cultural heritage also referred to in comparison to the imperial policy of enslavement.⁴⁵⁹

For appreciating the brave spirit of Punjab there is enough coverage to the many historical and mythological events and the land was considered as rich that produced scholars, *rishies*, *darveshas* and the great fighters alongwith the bravery of the romantic heroes of the folklore.⁴⁶⁰ The Kirti revolutionaries wanted freedom of the country and for that they were willing to sacrifice themselves. While mentioning the state of slavery in the country they referred to the *shalokas* of Baba Farid on slavery in the *Gurbani*. It was meant to awaken the

⁴⁵⁷ i r k J h i r k J h T j b k N t / b k b k , p M D d J h i B k i ' s i j V h ,
r p k n k D ; E k g h s b / f t u , d y p b o j h i j V h s b / d o : k t k d /
f d b f t u , T j d y f i j V h p b o j h f j w k b k d h n k i V k f t u .
- - - - -
f i s p k i h n k ; / ; d k p / e c t / d f b n k !
; f s r p { i h ; d k s b / e m h . .
@ d / a B f n ; h ; n ; k v h r o h p k d h , # T j h , ; s p o 1 9 2 6 h

⁴⁵⁸ f j d ; s k B , f J r b k , s / u h B n d o
p / t ; f e o s h n k d h i k B b f D / b J h
f e t / w u o j h e o p b k e o p b k j ?
i l o w f ; s w n x b h n k t r o j h n k , @ T j h , ; s p o 1 9 2 6 h

⁴⁵⁹ n ; h i w k b e j k ; G t b k ; s k d /
i j V h f t u i B / t k s i t h i j J /
e s b b f B B d / t k ; s / f w ; b / v e B
; k o h d B h n k d / w k b e j k n ; h i m j o / .
@ e o s h d / e V k e # , T j h , B t p o 1 9 2 6 h

⁴⁶⁰ j k f J ; d h ; s k B j h , j ' J h e p o s B k b n G d ,
i r u k B D e i s k f r n k B d k , M b f ; o s / e o V / y d .
- - - - -
e J h ; c h , n k ; e , n ' b h J / e J h : X / t v p b t h o ,
e J h g h v e f n / w j h i t k b V / f e s / ; j D h ; i h j h o .
@ v b k ; j D k d / a g i k p , # T j h , B t p o 1 9 2 6 h

consciousness against slavery.⁴⁶¹ The role of Vishnu Ganesh Pingley, a Maratha in the Ghadr Party has been highlighted as someone joining the movement from the different parts of the country. Similarly the episode of Raja Hari Chand in the form of the God for the welfare of the subject has been emphasized.⁴⁶² Shaheed Udham Singh gets prominent place for his action in England and was seen as someone taking revenge on the

British.⁴⁶³ The strong determination of the Kirtis against British repressions was remembered as the strength of that nation who defeated the invasions of Changez Khan and Taimur lane.⁴⁶⁴ In preaching against the British government the Kirti literature also made use of the relevant shaloks of *Gurbani*.⁴⁶⁵ The miserable plight of the families of the those revolutionaries who were either hanged or exiled has been highlighted to

⁴⁶¹ p j s o r p k w h B k b l e p o k d k t k ; j t /
i h t B k f x r i r e b l n k d / j k D h n k ,
- - - - -
@ p k o g o k f J n k p ? B k ; K J h w M / B k d f J .
i / s { J h / o y ; h i h T [; o h o j [b f J . #
T j h , B t p o , 1926 h

⁴⁶² f g r b / f g n k o k ; k o / e w d k ; j k o k G k r ,
d b l g x w k o ; k v h w d d B i n k f J n k ; h .
g t v o g h s k o B / g s k b d / l f y f u n k d k ,
n k g j o h u d n t s k o X k o n k : k ; h .
@ g r b / w o j N k # , d ; p o 1926 h

⁴⁶³ j z k f t u j z G k J h T s w ,
T s w f ; x o t / j z p z j z p h o p b t k B B i
c N r J h S k s h b i r h e k s h ; h B k u h o j f J n k ,
b i r r J h u h k s h j k J / ; p d o w e k B B i
t k ; s / r p k d / G p D K B k d l y h n k i i k B i
d ; D k ; B j k ; k v k e o p k f B X k B B i
@ j z k f t u l j z # , T j h , d ; p o 1926 h

⁴⁶⁴ i h w - i k p o k f J j B j h l s b k , ; k v / ; p o n i r / d w d k o t ? h !
J t ; p o n i r / t i / t i / i k b w , g b / o j / n k y o e k o j k o t ? h !
d l y u r i a y k n s / s w o i ? / o j / B j h l @ ; d k d # ; z k o t ? h !
s b k f w N { B k p d @ B k w p k d t k r { T j h ; h B B / f e j k g j e k o t ? h !
T j h , i B 1926 h

⁴⁶⁵ @ j B w w o B d T { w ? B k j h
i B g o T g e k o h n k J . #
T j h , n e s p o 1926 h

inculcate the spirit of tolerance and bravery. At the same time contribution of Master Mota Singh was equally appreciated.⁴⁶⁶ To encourage the Punjabis to participate the struggle militant verses were taken from *Gurbani*.⁴⁶⁷ The Kirti party literature occasionally compared the story of sufferings to the freedom and prosperity of the Americans and Iranians.⁴⁶⁸ The great sacrifices of the saintly personalities were seen as the light houses for the Indians.⁴⁶⁹ Also the slavery and poor conditions of Indians were remembered in comparison to their own rule and prosperity in history.⁴⁷⁰ The communal conflicts were destroying unity of Indians and in order to stop such occurrences they were reminded

⁴⁶⁶ n? ; i Bk ! s? fro?k?B ndo
 cyo/ e?w w?sk f; x tork
 e?h tho sb/ GrD T?wo e?dk
 ed/ sfenk s? < T?e/ p?k? p?u/
 i r ; 'u y?k frnk fynkb feXo
 sbk frnk nBw?bV?k bkb feXo
 bNe/ ck; hnk gb i co i kb feXo
 Gy/ woB fcod/ p?b/ j kb feXo
 @, j hdk d/ p?f?nk dh ; ko bT?# *T?j h*, nes?o 1926H

⁴⁶⁷ i BBh i B? sk Grs i B e? dksk e? ; p !
 Bkfj sk i BBh p?M oj[ekfj rkt? B?b.
T?j h, nes?o, 1926H

⁴⁶⁸ ed/ dod Bk eod ubkT?D tkbk,
 eodk p?r?B?j j bkb feT[j? <
 nwB uB n?b?B, s?c?k?B ndo,
 t; dh j' nwohe y? j kb feT[j? <
 @j d? skB d/ d?y?nk dh cfonk?J/# *T?j h*, nes?o, 1926H

⁴⁶⁹ wj kgbyk dhnk fi d?r?nk B/ ukBD yV/ w?Bko ehs/
 ; kvh ykso gk?J/ gbB/ eoV/ e; N ; j ko/
 sk i' n; h uk i htB T?u/ eoh?J/ f; fynk Xko/
 ; u/ j ho/ wsh pDe/ uB uweh?J/ skol.
 @nDyh r?b?, *Btk i/r*, bkj b, 29 w?h 1933H

⁴⁷⁰ Gkos w?sk d/ bkvb/ j hfonk UJ/
 i ok y?b d; s? h r?bkw feT[j' <
 sj kvh X?e ; h ed/ i j kb ndo,
 ; ko/ i rs ftu ni pdBkw feT[j' <
 eb oki j e?wsk tkbV/ ;"
 eod/ j o fJe B? ni ; bkw feT[j' <
 ed/ ; ko/ i wkB/ d/ ; kj j? ;"
 ykU fdB/ s/ Gy/ ni ; kw feT[j' <
T?j h, 23 i B, 1933H

of the Rigveda culture of India when the people colonized the country through hard labour.⁴⁷¹ The economic prosperity of the country was also seen as deteriorated due to the invasion of Alexander. The entire India was also seen as a peaceful nation and has been compared with the mythical Inderpuri (place of paradise). Guru Nanak Dev was referred to as a personality who preached unity.⁴⁷² Moreover the literature perceived pre-British India as prosperous and worthy of living and it was destroyed by the foreigners.⁴⁷³ The revolutionaries also referred to the American revolution through which people enjoyed great prosperity.⁴⁷⁴ Being a party with its objective of eradicating imperialism and capitalism kind to establish a socialist government of peasants and workers, there is abundance of the references to the administrations of China and Russia who succeeded in creating peoples government.⁴⁷⁵ The Kirti newspaper

⁴⁷¹ fJj th nkydk J/, Tj th nkydk J/
fcoe{ Mrfvnk fj d popkd ehsk.

; r/ w/ t/ tvfonk B/ oèV fj d B{ n? h nkpkd ehsk.
pbfe wyl Tjuko e/ td wso, p/wpkd B{ ; h pk wpkd ehsk.
exV dV ew ndo ob/ Bkj h, # Tj h, 24 i jkjh 1933H

⁴⁷² Jj Tj nwB ; h i hB{ ep dBlnk fjdo gph sl tX e/ i kDdh ; h.
Jj Tj ekB ; h j hfonk dh, i hj dh fwNh f; ædo B{ mkDdh ; h.
Jj Tj fpS ; h Jèsk dk, fi B{ XowhNK yB gk gkfonk ; h.
JE/ j J/ @d; # pkBh Jèsk d/ fJe Uneko sl fJe fbnkD tkb/
@tsB gi kp, # Tj h, 5 Btpo 1932H

⁴⁷³ Xs @MV jEl ; e wpMk rJ/ fi ; pkrhu/ d/ pN/
w/ T{ rj; B dh pppb jk, Tj j? rj; skB fwok.
pht/ fe/ ; w/ ; h ed/ t; dk o; dk Tj xo th
eh j : k god/ hnk jEl Tj V frnk wekB wbk.
w/ sbk jk Gkos ! ; uk ; /te ; dk oj{ pfDnk
s{ j? fJdogph wbh, s{ j? pètn wbk.
@j d{ skB wbk, # feosh, ngp 1927H

⁴⁷⁴ i h j i ph bvb dk fJe tvk wkfJnkXkoh
ik gk nwohek ndo ; b eoB fJe tkoh
fvm/ T{ B/ feosh TE/ w/ pj kok eod/
wj s/ bkbh yf; hnk tkbh Gyl B/ h ; B wod/
@vb dk wkfJnk Xkoh ns/ nwohek dk i i, # Tj h, wJh 1927H

⁴⁷⁵ uhB tkfonk tkr j' fsnko gfj bk,
EKn EK fJj eoB guko feosh.

also included poetry created on the sacrifices of the patriots. A poem of such genre created in the memory of Bhai Santokh Singh is central to the theme of miserability of India.⁴⁷⁶

The contribution of Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak in freedom struggle was seen with devotion.⁴⁷⁷ Similarly the role played by the great revolutionary S. Ajit Singh received great applause.⁴⁷⁸ The poem written on the brave sacrifice of Babu Harnam Singh of the Ghadr Party emphasized his sacrifice as unforgettable to the Punjabis.⁴⁷⁹ Similarly the death of Rur Singh has been commented upon with vigorous terminology and was termed as the one to encourage fearlessness among the Kirti revolutionaries.⁴⁸⁰ The slavery of India at the hands of the British was

tj bV f; oK sl bkj e/ fJj uB bDk,
 j't/ fJj' B; kBk, Jj h eko feosh.
 of tkr fogpfbek eW eoe/
 cb bD fJj yP dopko feosh.
 'iK sK w's#, *Tj h*, wJh 1927H

⁴⁷⁶ tj d/ w's do: k ndo, j kJ/ oVl frnk ; B/ dk p'bl sbk
 Glos to; a fBeowD @Gr# sb/ b'd frnk i j k B sl Y'b sbk.
 j Dh udoh ty Bk ofj ; eh, b? r Jh bN e/ bkb nwb sbk.
 eY/ she Gfonk SBk nfwsk dk, fdsk udoh w's B/ v'b sbk.
 (fJe eftsk ; h ; sy f; x nwoheB dh : kd ftU gVl)
 @Glos oV frnk ; B/ dk p'bl sbk#, *Tj h*, i B 1927H

⁴⁷⁷ eN/ ; kv/ dYh dy Mfb ; h; nkgD/ s/
 Sx e/ nokw gkJ/ GyB fwbe e/
 pdBk nBé fpfX uoB ewb go
 Glos ; g's pkb r r kXo fsbe e/
 @FwDh d/ a Grs wj koki , pkb r r kXo fsbe,# *Tj h*, nr ; s 1927H

⁴⁷⁸ epdk ; oho fus pBdk Bk Xho i dl
 nkt/ : kd fi e' oksh eNhnk s; ho w/
 oj{ Bk uwedk nihs f; x ; ow/ dk
 uwedk j w/ ; fj dh j hfonk d/ j ko w/
 ; L nihs f; x dh : kd ftU,# *Tj h*, nr ; s 1927H

⁴⁷⁹ sb/ Bkw Tj/ eppkB j D : ko sb/
 eVl < i j Vk Gb/ ekoBkfwNk B' rkt/ Bk.
 dYh dk fgnkok wksk fj d dk d'pkok tho.
 ni j oBkw f; x wYVk fdykt/ Bk.
 @p{ j oBkw f; x dh uoBK ftU ; oXk d/ c'p,# *Tj h*, cotoh 1928H

⁴⁸⁰ M'pdk fw'rd i kDh wfsnk rfi d,
 ; Jh i kDd/ fi Bh Grk ghshnk j ekBhnk.
 oVl f; x i j / tho i wD/ Bh ; kohnk B/

seen as the end of their pride and challenge to the people.⁴⁸¹ It may be noted further that the Poetry of the Kirti revolutionaries has equally made use of the references from history and mythology and when they ever spoke of achieving freedom they emphasized to take care of lessons of the Russian revolution and also the symbolism of the romantic folk-tales of Punjab.⁴⁸²

There is evidence of taking inspiration from Ghadr Party in the literature of these anti-imperial agitations. To the extent that it reflected their deep understanding of the Ghadr movement since there is references to the activities of the Ghadr party in Singapore along with the references to the Ghadr Martyrs who were seen with enthusiasm.⁴⁸³ The literature stressed the need to celebrate days of the martyrdom of different revolutionaries as a symbol of inspiration for future developments of anti-British movements.⁴⁸⁴ To arouse the Punjabis to join the struggle for

; pwl/ d/ pb i r ofj dhnK B; hBhnK
 eo/ Tgd/ @djh# vjod/ GoktK skJH
 j!, b/ tXkt/ fgSbhnK SV ejkDhnK.
 vKh oV f; x dh : kd ftL, #Tj h, cotoh 1928H

⁴⁸¹ Gkos to; a s/ nkDe/ t'bhK Bl d; ' Sfvnk e'Jh fB; hB feE/
 gbh cN Bk fj dhnK ftu i eo, r'o/ ee s/ fp; eNK ykD feE/
 oj h phosk Bk fj d; skBhnK dh, gfj bh nkB feE/ s/ Tj ; hB feE/
 T'so sys T'sl uoBh r'b dh i kj, doik YMd/ ni dopkB feE/
 @Gkos to; a dh dpd; h, # Tj h, cotoh 1928H

⁴⁸² nfVnk d; Bi whnk ckb gke/ edl j't; h fj d ni kd ; kvk.
 i j Vh of; ni kd dh j ho rkJhJ/, oKW fj d B; eo celo rkJhJ/
 sysl sl s/ sl g'p'kg tkbk, pfDnk oj k fj d r'p'kw ed se.

 i j Vk yB ; j hdk B/ v'bl e/ s/ b'fJnk, pkr ; h g'v fJ'scke tkbk.
 @sys' ski s/ sl g'p'kg tkbk, # Tj h, ngp 1928H

⁴⁸³ Gkos wksk d/ g's ; g's pDe/ f; xkgp d/ ftu fdybk rJ/ Bl.
 ehsk i Bw B; ; cb i j kB ndo, ; b/ j' ; j hdnk gk rJ/ Bl.
 w' b'wbB fj d{ s/ f; x ; b/ e'p-fj d dk Yr psbk rJ/ Bl.
 fd'sh ; N r'p'kw dh gv T'sl r'b/ j ko ; j hdnk gk rJ/ Bl.
 T'h' nkT[; j hdk dh edo eohJ/, ; kv/ ek; B; w'y e'w'bk rJ/ Bl.
 Tj h, ngp 1928H

⁴⁸⁴ ; b pkfeU ! d/ a d/ ; p'pho', i kB nkgDh e'w s/ tko rJ/ U
 r'hdhgD/, p'j fdbh s/ ekfJosk s/ s; h' csj gk'Jh Gkt/ j ko rJ/ U

 fgS/ oj/ fj dh n? nDy j hB/, Bj h' s; k dh : kd wBD i'r/

freedom the literature took many examples from Sikh history but the prominence was usually given to the great sacrifices made by Guru Gobind Singh and his family.⁴⁸⁵ The massacre at Jallianwala Bagh on 13 April 1919 in which a large number of people including children were killed along with humiliations of women also finds place in historical utilization and this event was considered as an outcome of the prevailing conditions of slavery.⁴⁸⁶ During 1927-28 the Kirti struggle was at its peak with its aim on complete freedom and by this time its literature condemned the policy and programmes of the Congress.⁴⁸⁷

There is repeated mentioning of the Ghadr Party heroes and their sacrifices especially of Kartar Singh Sarbha, Balwant Singh and Prem Singh.⁴⁸⁸ In order to organize the workers against the British they recited the role of the workers in Europe who strengthened the movement against

fJj BK Bt/ wj b Tt koB/ eh, nrb/ Tt fonk Bt Jj sk YD i'r/
 @1857 d/ ; j hdk dh : kd ftu, # d/ a ; /te, ngp 1928H

⁴⁸⁵ tvk j'o r'okwh sl gk; ej Vk, gkt' Jt, sl st; h SNeKo ; ko/
 ekbk dkr r'okwh dk bj D ykso, ebrh tkbV/ B/ tko/ bkb uko/
 Tj h, nr; s 1928H

⁴⁸⁶ ; kvh nkB s/ ; hB ftu yj fwbrh, fJj s nkpo{ nDy Ttsko p'm/
 j kJ/ j p/ Bk n; h r'okw i eo, vkfJo @j/ fco i'pw Bk eoh i kd/
 pkr i fbnktkb/ tkb/ d/ ftu p'm, GB r'bhnk Bkb Bk Xoh i kd/
 wktk GDK dh ; kj wD/ p'gsh j p'h, dy nyhnk Bkb Bk ioh i kd/
 GDK w's dh ukVQ wk; fw p'u, xN ; po d/ ek; Bt Goh i kd/
 n; h j p/ ni h d s/ cV cV e/ Xe/ wko ; w'p'ol gko eod/
 Tj h, nr; s 1928H

⁴⁸⁷ go jD ikr gJ/ eM gsk br frnk J/ j p/ i kg d/ B/ ypodko feosh,
 feTfe oks fdB ; dk j h gJ/ nkyD, T'uh fJj' g'eko g'eko feosh,
 j w op, ; t? oki dh bV Bj hU, n; h ukj p/ j k ; ks ; oeko feosh.
 'fJj' fdB j't; h nE/ ; oeko feosh, # feosh, ngp 1927H

⁴⁸⁸ f; x eosko ; okG/ tkbk w'sl w'p Bk vodk.
 j Ehl ck; h rb ftu gke/ fJBt wybk eodk.
 fco pbts f; x s/ psk, goW f; x j foekb
 j ; d/ j ; d/ uVQ ck; hnk, i gD ni kd h wkbk.
 @d/ a Grs s/ ck; h#, Tj h, cotoh 1927H

slavery and repressions.⁴⁸⁹ Again the use of Sikh history has been reflected at the time of harvesting the crop with hard labour and this concept was assigned to the gospel of Guru Arjan Dev.⁴⁹⁰ There is reflection of feelings of patriotic sacrifice among the children of the martyrs.⁴⁹¹ The revolutionaries greatly condemned the role of British toadies who for their selfish interest had forgotten love for the country and were participating in generating religious dissensions.⁴⁹² The Britishers were seen as those foreigners who came as traders and became exploiters.⁴⁹³ The international developments in America, Germany and England leading to their prosperity along with pre-1917 conditions of Russian society have been referred to the people as successful examples of peoples' movements. At the same time the literature appreciated the reforms in Turkey introduced by Kamal Pasha and also the developments in China.⁴⁹⁴ The historical incident of treachery of Shivly with Mansoor

⁴⁸⁹ rVh Bhd0 ;s/ GKJhU Tm' j'; ;Gkb'
 :pg tkb/ feoshnk tkr{ tX tX jE tykb'.
 tv nbk B/ gph tvh ieo ir gSkB/
 tk mvh d/ dBlnk nd n? / pj / yb'.
 @nrol a feosBK dk ; d/ h, # Tj h, wkou 1927H

⁴⁹⁰ wbh j kVhU ; kTPd gedh J/ pkl/ noi B dlnk ; yBk ; y ; y el.
 @xkT{ wkt## j' j' xkbk xkdk jk, eD eD fdB dfgj ok dly dly el.
 feosh s/ feo; kB, # Tj h, nespo 1927H

⁴⁹¹ j fJnk eh i/ fgsk ; jhd j' J/ n; hl d/ a ykso pj s wokr/ i h,
 ykso d/ a Gkt/ j' JhJ/ ehwk, ; pe fgsk tkbk d't/ gVkr/ i h.
 @n; hl d/ a ykso d't/ wokr/ i h, # Tj h, d; po 1927H

⁴⁹² ewh pV/ d/ eb wbkj ; B i', ni gb Go Go Tj vpkB tkb/
 Bj hl wB nihd dk dD i'r/ ehV/ wiB d/ fJj fjd; skB tkb/
 d/ a fgnko dh r' hko eh ; ko ikBD, ewk d' hnk d/ mV/ ykD tkb/
 ni/ ybe ydkfJ dk yB eoe/ ol/ Bj hl fJj Xow JhwkB tkb/
 @ni/ ybe ydkfJ dk yB eoe/ # Tj h, d; po 1927H

⁴⁹³ Glos to; hnk ; j' fDnk Sb i' hnkBK, Glos wksk d/ fi ro fdnk bkb i Nk,
 dP dP sl nkDe/ frod sb/ fet/ sD/ tgkohnk ikb i Nk,
 Mf'k bN e/ ; j' fDnk Tj BK sbk, fet/ gk bJ/ dr d' hnk i Nk.
 @sBf Gfbnk ni/ Bk ; ko b' h, # fi whdco ri N, b' XnkDk, d; po 1928H

⁴⁹⁴ fweD, i owBh, fJr bV tkb/ fet/ j' rJ/ B/ wkbk wkb i Nk,
 ni/ eb dh rb j? o' hnk dk, p' bk i' r d/ ftu th ; h jkb i Nk.

has been compared to the similar tactics adopted by the British against the Indians.⁴⁹⁵ The literature also emphasized that the Punjabi Community being a nation of the martyrs would ultimately succeed in achieving the goal and was optimistic that their efforts would not be going in vain.⁴⁹⁶ Further there is condemnation of British policy of 'divide and rule' and it resulted in exploitation of the Indians.⁴⁹⁷

The episode of the 'Shaheedi' of Mansoor that he was inspired from the example of Anel-Haq along with the struggle of folklore hero Faryaad to achieve his beloved Shirin after fulfilling a very hard condition have been mentioned as the examples of exaltation.⁴⁹⁸ The imagined historical behavior of the country that established it as a powerful nation and resulted in the respect of the other countries including Russia and Japan along with the great sacrifices like that of martyrs of Ghadr party were

Noeh ftu j'J/ ; b ewkb gk; h, fetl' eo frnk ty ewkb iNk.
 uhiB upfVnk ; h fetl' sVB/ B{ sb/ ; kj wD/ ty erkb iNk.
 fi whdko ri D, d; po, 1928H

⁴⁹⁵ f; abh Bkw wB; p dk fdbh d'; s, Bkb fgnko d/ cb T{ wfonk Jh.
 fi ro ; fbnk cb B/ sho pDe/ j kfJ j kfJ wB; p g{ekfonk Jh.
 fJNK gbhnrk sl fi j Vk j ; dk ; h, T{ sl cb Bk frnk ; j kfonk Jh.

 sb/ cb dh ; N dk cN t{ k, feTfe gsk sB{ wD/ j kb dk Jh.
 T{ / soH j h fj d wi bW T{ / e j o tosdk ni ; oeko dk J.
 g kJ/ T{ bN/ ukb/ w j ow j kb fdnk, # feosh nfw; o, i Btoh 1928H

⁴⁹⁶ TVe fj d B/ j'J/ ni kd i kDk, ew ; kvh ; j hdnk gD tkbh,
 j D fj d d/ sys s/ pj rh Tj , EK EK i' eph ej D tkbh,
 ; tk d/ a dk fi BK B{ fj ; e b{ k, wfj b wkVhnrk Sv celo j'J/
 rJ/ j ; e/ uVl eJh ck; hnrk s/ ekb/ gkDhnrk tb eJh sho j'J/
 @dyh fdb d/ Tpkb, # Tj h, i Btoh 1929H

⁴⁹⁷ fj d{ f; y wf; bw fsB/ tho ; e/ Gkos wksk d/ g{ s ; dkB tkb/
 wksk fj d dk sj k B/ dX ghsk, ns/ fJe/ fwNh fu i k B tkb/

 gsk Bj h eh ws B{ j fJnk Jj BK, ukb/ ; wMD Bk j { / ; s k B tkb/
 fuNk t j Vek yk frnk y s ; kok, okyh ty' Bk eoB feo; k B feosh.
 #uNk t j Vek yk frnk y s ; kok, # Tj h, cotoh 1928H

⁴⁹⁸ cb : ko dh r bh dk ; b j' t/ ; h; nkgDk sbh NefJ g j bk,
 nBb j e dk ; e wB; p B{ i / i o k ; p h dk b{ sc T{ nkfJ g j bk,
 fw b / ; koh ; kj i kd h co: kd B{ sd, gops uho e/ Bho b? nkfJ g j bk.
 'r b k c e h n k dh Bk j D o j h r k j eh, # Tj h, cotoh 1928H

further cited as the examples of utilizing history.⁴⁹⁹ The struggleful event of Indian history that took the lives of the martyrs and became part of the folk psyche has been compared to those who were reluctant to participate and were termed as dying the deaths of dogs.⁵⁰⁰ The literature saw the Gandhian movement only as meant for the capitalist and hence its rejection.⁵⁰¹ The perceived pre-colonial unity of the country witnessed glorification.⁵⁰² The blessings of Guru Gobind Singh in the struggle were invoked as a personality fighting against injustice.⁵⁰³ The 20th century has been dubbed as the era of slavery, repressions and starvation

⁴⁹⁹ pho fj d d/ ed/ w; j p j ? ; B, feXo frnk Tj ; kB r/wkB ; kvk.
 feE/ f; x pbtS fij/ thio fgnko/ Tgo fi Bk ; h skB s/ wkB ; kvk.
 feE/ ; wk ; h nkD e/ e'Jh d; / eodk ndp ; h o{ i gkB ; kvk.
 ; ko/ ij p B{ dye/ epd/ ; B, i r/ cbe T{ / ; wkdkB ; kvk.

 feos n; hl eoh/ yktD j'o ty'; nri u{ eoh/ j'J/ ubkB ; kvk.
 eodk ndp ; h o{ i gkB ; kvk, # Tj h, wJh 1928H

⁵⁰⁰ b{e/ wbh ; j hdk d/ yB osVh, rkB/ pB bJ/ fj d{ skBhnk B/
 e'wh rhtS ; j kr i p{kB T{, e'Vhnk y{ h d/ ftu w; skBhnk B/
 fi BK e'w s/ d/ sl ; h; tko/ sphnk i r d/ ftu ej kBhnk B/
 wd/ j kb Tj e{ / dh w's wod/ fi BK e'w s/ wko'nk Gkbhnk B/
 e'Je fj dh B{ tkB d/ e'wh pbtb/# Tj h, wJh 1928H

⁵⁰¹ dBhnk sB{ e'k{ bk y'kdh,
 ; " ; " weo cop pBkdh.
 g{ hdkok ykso r'Xh,
 sbh e'N pBKJh u'kdh.
 Mr-V fBpV Gokk Bkb
 j ; a ; Gkb ! j ; a ; Gkb !
 'feq kB fte'nk# d/ a dodh, 6 wkou 1933,

⁵⁰² g'dk ehsk fJe op B/ ; kfonk B{

 d/ a G/ p'bh, fJe sk th
 fJe d{J/ B{ ; wMD Bho ; ko/
 dks op dh bD sl pd ehsk,
 Go ; ed/ Bk yj l Mho ; ko/
 d/ a dodh, 6 wkou 1933, J{esk ; wkBsk.

⁵⁰³ e'dy{# fdbk d/ dod tkD tkb/
 e'rk f; x# i kr'ho fdb dko dodh.
 oy{ bki s{ kvVh r'p{ d; tk,
 i hj d/ fi j k Bk ftu ; z ko dodh.
 e' hTl nkfJnk# Tj h, 13 wkou 1933H

that resulted in mass sufferings.⁵⁰⁴ The early attitude of the priestly class forbidding the lower caste to worship in the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar and efforts of a group of the Singh Sabha in providing them equal opportunity to worship has been highlighted as an example of successful struggle to be followed in the forthcoming agitation. It is also emphasized that the Sikh Gurus gave the concept of human unity. Since the Gurus gave equal space to the writings of prominent Bhakti and Sufi saints in the compilation of the Adi-Granth by Guru Arjan.⁵⁰⁵

The literature is also very critical about the attitude of Indians that resulted in the defeat of people during the Turkish and Mughal invasions and it has resulted in consolidation of slave situations.⁵⁰⁶ The religious ritualism and the related exploitation of the priestly classes was seen as the internal factors of exploitation and hindrance to the internal unity. Contrary to this prevailing scenario preference was given to the Russian model.⁵⁰⁷ V.I. Lenin the Soviet leader and revolutionary becomes

⁵⁰⁴ oþk ! eohJ/ gþko ehj d/ i kfJe/ dþko,
 nsh j' dþynko ; kvh emB ewkjh J/
 ; dh ph; th i' nkjh, Bkb/ Gy bþ fbnkjh
 beh JB/ sVckjh, fpkþ pkb Bo Bkoh n?
 @lyhnk dþhnk ftukoh J/ Tj h, 20 wkou 1933h

⁵⁰⁵ iN fJe wBþ nke/ efj D bþrk, @pkjh Jj ekbhJ/ j d wþkTþd/ B/
 ty' ! ufj V/ uwko i j/ j Dþnk Bþ nfwþ n; k d/ Bkb SekTþd/ B/

 @þe fgsk Jþ; d/ j w pkfoe# rpþ tke s/ eB Bk bkTþDk J/

 ty' ; XBk, epho, othdk; , XBk, ; G' op d/ Grs ; dkJ/ j'J/ B/
 sBþ gsk Bj hl ! gi t' gks; hj B/ feþk Bkb ; fseko pj kJ/ j'J/ B/
 @þe fgsk Jþ; e/ j ew pkfoe,# Tj h, 5 i þ 1933h

⁵⁰⁶ ; þ/ ; dhnk þhshnk, feT[Ybh Ykbh,
 gk; k sþ Bk gofsnk, Bk j'; a ; Gkbh.

 mþrk sBþ mr fbnk, U npi fynkblh

vke{ b? rJ/ bN e/ xo j' frnk ykblh,
 'feosh fe; kB'# wi dþ fe; kB, Tj h, 8 wJh 1931,

⁵⁰⁷ tj bVK U vkeþnk wekok drþki k gk; l
 gþ h b? e/ feoshnk Bþ tv s/ tvk bhJ/
 ggk, wþk gvsK rþhnk cbk: k i kb,

peculiar model in this context.⁵⁰⁸ The repression of the British has been compared to the detail of martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev who was tortured by the Mughal State.⁵⁰⁹ There are references to the mythological actions of the Gods in churning the ocean to bring out *Amrit* but the selfishness developed later on led to the sacrifice of many of the Indians for the sake of the country.⁵¹⁰ There is no dearth of taking example of Sikh history especially the verses of Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Teg Bahadur who gave his life for protection of religion.⁵¹¹ The literature is very critical of the socio-religious distinctions that despite reciting of *Geeta*, *Quran* and *Gurbani*. People were not very consciousness of the main emphasis of the preachings of the Sikh Gurus who advocated unity of human kind.⁵¹²

; kBf efj D j' b eoB j' b Jj Gik dJhJ.
 - - - - -
 nkydk @BEktk# EkTl tkb/ pD' ; ko/ ob,
 oq tkbk fdq a JE/ fyu e/ tyk dJhJ.
 'oq tkbk fdq a dy' fyU e/ fbnkdk,# wi dp fe; kB, 7 i B 1931H

⁵⁰⁸ nkthl fBeb wdkB ftu ni tdk nkJnk.
 rkb/ pB ; j hdnk pho cowkJnk.
 @oBB## fi j / pho ; kj wD/ yV/ gkkoB
 nkgD/ fgS/ spB Bf gJ/ ni trkoB.
 @eosh dh dodBke j kbs,# Tj h, 28 i B 1931H

⁵⁰⁹ ; j' b cbk sl guw rpd/t Tsl, sSh os j? ; h; s/ gkjh i kdh.
 sk sk bj uxk/k B/ bkb ehsh, @ph i's# j? Tsl/ fpmkjh i kdh/
 Skb/ Skb/ jh ; G ; oho j' Jnk, i's dy ftu ; y wBkJh i kdh.
 - - - - -
 gkgh wkoB/ Bf gkg pbh efj dl ; ksh n; k sl Bj hl j NkJh i kdh.
 efj dl/ rp{ i hTDk ; kvk i ; dk J/ ; kEl gkg dh SN Bj hl ukjh i kdh.
 i's dy ftu ; y wBkJh i kdh, Btk i r, bkj' b, 29 wJh 1933H

⁵¹⁰ ; fDnk foVfenk ; h ; kro dTf'snk B/
 ydroi nk s/ B'tl osB eoe/
 n; hl ; eV/ osB eppkB eoB/
 Gkos to; a fgnkoV/ tsB pdb/
 @Gkos to; a fgnkoV/ tsB pdb, Tj h, 5 i B 1933H

⁵¹¹ @Xow j s ; kek fi B ehk
 ; h; dhnk go f; oV Bk dlhk##
 wkE/ fsbe j E wkbk pkDk,
 b'rB okw fybBk i kDk.
 'f; y dk eh pDrk,# Btki r, 17 i Bkjh 1933H

⁵¹² j o eJh nkydk J/ wkb wi j p Tluk,

The prominent traits of Punjab including bravery and honour prevailing in the spirit of the forefather was quoted to revive the spirit of protest against the British.⁵¹³ The Russian revolution under the leadership of V.I. Lenin became a lighthouse and was seen as the end of all human exploitation and the establishment of the workers state.⁵¹⁴ Even the actions of *Ranjha*, the hero of folk-tale have been seen as a challenge to the exploitative feudal system and hence its glorification.⁵¹⁵ The literature of the Kirti party also highlighted the brave actions pertaining to the three religious communities: Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs who were reminded of their great eras during Akbar and the incident of the Quarbala; the Hindus for their great heroes like Bhim, Maharana Partap and the Rajputs; while the Sikhs were declared as the nation of the lions.⁵¹⁶ There is repeated mention of *Ranjha* whose struggle was seen as a fight

; Lu/ wi j p dh fe; / Bf; ko Bkj hl
 rhtsk, gkm epkB s/ gVB pkDh,
 sk th efb fj od/ j pl/ mko j? Bj hl.

 ; Khtkb ; G/ plj o Bj hl eJh,
 rpk nkfyk ; h us/ tke j Tf
 @wS pknd rpkw Bf ; pr feEl, # Tjh, 31 i pljH 1933H

⁵¹³ tho fj dhk ! fod/ @u wko Mksh, sb/ fi ; w ndo eJh skB th j? <
 tv tvfonk dh nkB ; lB Gh j? eJh phosk, nDy s/ wkD th j? <
 ghXhB j' pmk j? ieV nkgk, fJ; sl SND dk fdb/ nowkB Gh j? <
 @hte j? rpkw dh fi drh sl woB urk, # Tjh, 31 i pljH 1933H

⁵¹⁴ fw; No bBB B/ ftu of, Sfvnk Bj hl ; mk dk cf,
 j Eh ; G wf; es eod/ ; w; o ykD nj kok Bf
 'feosh so; D rfYnk skJh, # Tjh, 31 i pljH 1933H

⁵¹⁵ fj odk ; yDk d/ a d/ dod e'bl, sEl pfdnk. i kD j?tkB ur/
 fi BK fdbk ftu j p Bj hl ; i Dk dh, fdbk ; fMnk eb' w; kD ur/
 BkEk ! dDk Bh Gy i/ oKMD/ Bf sb/ fNfbU B/ epo; skB ur/
 wBf j ho ni dh dk fJ; e b'rk, Bj hl brd/ i'r frnkB ur/
 @j d d/ a ; kvk fj d/ skBhnk dk. # Tjh, 14 nr; so 1933H

⁵¹⁶ s; hl wf; bwl ! nepoh ; lB tkb/ neb ; u tkb/ ykBdkB tkb/
 gb/ s; hl sbtko dh SK j mk, eopbk dk ; pe dj okB tkb/
 s; hl fj dhU ! @Ghw# gsgk tkb/ oki gsk dh B; b ej kB tkb/
 f; y' s; hl th ; bk dh ew pkeh, rodB cb e/ Sphnk x[wkB tkb/

 wkbk Gy erkbh d/ wDfenk dh, ekj Bf j lfoU rpk d/ ftu gk bJhJ/
 @j Vk Tndk J/ sb gkTD tkbk, # Btki f, 10 d; po 1932H

for freedom.⁵¹⁷ Helplessness of country resulted in the continuation of the foreign rule who was collecting wealth at the cost of hardships and exploitation of the poor hard working Indians.⁵¹⁸ The patronage provided by the British to the moneyland class and the related exploitation has been criticized by comparing it to the 17 invasions of Mehmood Gaznavi.⁵¹⁹ Worshiping of God as methodology against exploitation was not acceptable.⁵²⁰ For the first time heroes of the revolt of 1857 find space in the form of glorification of Rani of Jhansi.⁵²¹ The mythological Brahmin hero Persu Ram and the duty performed by Hatim-Tai for the poor have also been quoted as examples of protest.⁵²²

⁵¹⁷ yb nki ladh wrD Bf oKw/ sp gJ/ yfVnk Bf
fNB/ i ke/ eB gVkJ/ Sv el/ ir d/ MFVnk Bf
go pl/ dod/ plg{ uje, bko/ nk; e d/ Nkb/
Br/ gbhl wMK ukoB, pfbnk d/ ftu gJ/ Skb/
pB N'bhnk ; VB SwK sl/ tod/ j'ok i kdh Bf
ni ladh d/ pN/ skJh, yB nkgDk gkTb/ B/
@ni ladh d/ gotkB/# *Tj h*, 17 d; po 1932H

⁵¹⁸ wbh rkvli ewkjh dh Xos Tjs/, pN/ r'bk d/ cbd/ c'bd/ B/

T'Xo ; lj h Ne; kb d/ ftu dy', ; u/ wbh j h uoph d/ Ybd/ B/
wb/ fdb do: k dh ; sj Tjs/, pkd; lj hnk d/ pN/ Mbd/ B/
@lyh wi d'p d/ j M/# *feosh*, 12 i Btoh 1936H

⁵¹⁹ fco rkj pDk e/ p'j b i k ehsk w? ; koh eDe dk,
sk ; lj k d/ xV/ dk x'ro{ nkD gj'uk SDedk.
dDk ; tkfJnk ; d bke/ tj h s/ n; b Bf
@wfj w'd# tkr{ ; lj j'oh eo rJ/ j Vg c; b Bf
@ohp i N dk cN'.# *Tj h*, 3 ng'p 1936H

⁵²⁰ op op g'ekod/ Ee bE/ n? / op B/ ukfVnk or n? k.
wro gkjh i/ BkrDh Gly ; kv/ i h'd/ S'v/ Bk wkodh vr n? k.

; kv/ fj d d/ uwed/ j hfonk Bf J/ udoh wkfonk vr n? k
@Gly/# *feosh*, 10 ng'p 1936H

⁵²¹ wbk wkb MK; h, wbh i kb MK; h
MK; h i kfDnk w' r b/ dk j ko th ; h.
Tj h, wkou 1926H

⁵²² t'vk ; yh s' j ksw d/ Bkb dk ; ? wko frnk B; hp gf{ sbk.
Gp i k Bk nkgDh edo s' th, ; kBf ; hB j? ; G wkb'w sbk.

; kv/ tys ; edoh fw b/ ; kBf sBf fwfbnk j? ; dc swe; w sbk.

Prosperity in the factories of Italy in comparison to the conditions of labourers in India along with the movement of the workers the party viewed greater in comparison to the agitations for Khilafat and Swaraj. The prevailing conditions of exploitations were seen as the savagery of the early Turkish invasions meant to collect the Indian wealth.⁵²³ More space has also been given to the rebellious verses of *Gurbani* that inspires the individual to make sacrifice for any just cause and in doing so become a brave mortal.⁵²⁴ The scene of Guru Gobind Singh's stay at the forest of Machhiwara has been compared to the prevalent position of the Indians.⁵²⁵ At the end their is reminder of the condition of the revolutionaries some of whom became martyrs and others were put behind the bars for their struggle for freedom. In that context their own contribution as a source of continuation of the struggle for the welfare of society.⁵²⁶

feosh d/ eVke/# Tj h, wJh 1926H

⁵²³ yþ ubd/ fJNbh d/ ekoykBl, eh eh ephJ/ gJh TE/ eko eþos,
 id se jB fJj ; ðc wi dþ ; ß/ Tðl sè j? sj kvh pðko eþos.

 feosk nr/ ybkcs ; toki dhnk, jk bþ ok Jj SNhnk SNhnk Bl
 i' eM ykj ; aj? ; ðc Bk ni/ d; k, feTfe pð eþsk wbl iNhnk Bl

 bND nkD rBlw, wj wð tkr{ ij V/ wþe ndo Bk eJh ; kj j't/
 @, ðc# fw; b w; jþ j? ir ndo, f; o sl ; kfJnk pkd; kj yþk j't/
 Tj h, wJh 1926H

⁵²⁴ ; þk ; ' gfj ukBhn? i' bo? dhB e/ j ß,
 gþik gþi eN wol epj{ Bk Skv/ yß,
 'ekbl/ gkDhnk dh ; j hch,# feosh, i þkjh 1926H

⁵²⁵ fwsq fgnko/ B{ j kb wþhdK dk eþ Dk.
 : koV/ dk ; kB{ ; Eo urbk Gm yfVnk dk oþ D. .
 Tj h, wJh 1926H

⁵²⁶ tsB tk; hU oþyDk : kd ; kB{
 eM wo rJ/ jk eM ij b ub/
 ykso nki hch dh uVl jk ck; hnk sl
 pþh wß Bk wfoU phwko j'e/

 fgnko/ tho' ub/ jk n; hl fi E/
 fes/ fdb sl Bk Gþk i kDk.
 @, B 14 d/ ; j hch dk ; d{, h,# Tj h, ; spo 1926H

CHAPTER-5

RELIGIO-CULTURAL, AGRARIAN AND POLITICAL IMPACT

The impact of utilisation of 'History' may be examined through the broad parameters of the extent of followers of a particular movement, the strength of the publications generated, views of the different participants, leaders, the police and political commentators, and also through the help of the memoirs and specific history of these movements. Before proceeding to narrate the impact it is also desirable that a systematic attempt be made to measure this phenomena in the realms of the political, the religio-cultural and the agrarian movements.

To begin with the political struggle, as has been mentioned that the Ghadr party had its prominent organ in the form of the *Ghadr* newspaper. It has been clearly mentioned that with the publication of the *Ghadr* newspaper, the party also began to expand. By 1916 the number of *Ghadr* publication reached to 10 lakh in a week. This newspaper was sent to the *Gurdwaras* in America and Canada and stress was given that maximum number of Punjabis should read it. The popularity of the Ghadr literature may also be judged from the fact that the Punjabi Hindus and the Muslims learnt the Punjabi language in order to read this newspaper. The newspaper was distributed free of cost. And it was a fact that Sikh women used to keep the copies of these papers in a silky hand-ker-chief.⁵²⁷

The vary fact that the Punjabi migrants in Canada and America had to face certain problems and racism, and they adopted the publication of the literature and the newspaper as a strategy of their struggle against the

⁵²⁷ Kesar Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

British slavery. They were also conscious of the requirements of such desirability and began to public the literature in the languages of the major Indian social groups. As a result the publications were produced in the Gurmukhi, Urdu, Gujrati, Hindi and English. The major exponents of the *Ghadr* ideology and who were regular contributors to the *Ghadr* publications were Babu Harnam Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, Tark Nath Das, Pandit Guru Dut Kumar, Bhai Bishan Singh, Kartar Singh Hundal (*Upnam Akali*), Sundar Singh, Piara Singh Langeri, Bhagwan Singh 'Pritam', Ram Singh 'Dhuleta', Ram Chandar Pishoria, Lala Har Dayal, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Kartar Singh Latara, Basant Singh Chaunda, Pirthi Singh Azad, Khem Chand Das, Pandit Jagat Ram, Mohan Lal, Munshi 'Ram' and Inayat Ali etc. Most of them had either wrote in the form of prose or poetry but some of them also attempted to compose in both the forms.⁵²⁸

The *Ghadr* literature particularly the poetry is not the expressions of mere imaginary constructions but it is full of references to it, knowledge about history. In fact it is the conscious objective of the *Ghadr* party to apprise the people of their history and heritage. These compositions have been created with a view to organize the *Ghadr* movement in the backdrop of the struggles not only in Punjab history but equally of the Indian and the world scenario. Being the constructions of the Punjabis, it was quite natural to adopt frequent references from the history of the Punjab. Help has been taken from the Hindu Sikh traditions, its militant heritage along with the utilisation of certain references to the betrayals of the Sikhs and the Punjabis. The prominent traits of the Punjab such as its fighting capacity, honour, freedom and the character of a 'peasant-tribal mentality'. In its consciousness also lied some major blunders in Sikh history but at the same time their efforts to

⁵²⁸ Kesar Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-19.

be free from such allegations are equally reflected. In fact there is repeated attempt to unite with the humanarian traditions of the Sikh history. The Ghadr revolutionaries awakened the Sikhs by the repeated references to the creation of the Khalsa, sacrifices of Guru Gobind Singh and his family, martyrdoms of Guru Arjan Dev and Guru Teg Bahadur. The *Ghadr* literature condemned the role of Maharani Jindan during the first Anglo-Sikh war and also role of the Punjabis during the revolt of 1857. Such utilization was meant to mobilize the Punjabis to come forward for their participation.⁵²⁹

Since the evolution of the *Ghadr* party began with the *Ghadr* newspaper and during this period it produced enormous literature which was full of such feelings that were capable of generating courage and vigour. The evidence also showed, that the *Ghadr* poetry, which was full of the revolutionary spirit and historical references, was used to recite in the *Gurdwaras* of the United states of America, Shanghai, Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore. The government record had also made it clear that by the mid of 1915 three thousand copies of the *Ghadr* were despatched from San Francisco through post to Malaya, Dutch East Indies, Siam and the countries of the Far East. With a view to the significance of the poems published in the *Ghadr* newspaper, it was decided by the Party to publish these in a book. Surprisingly, 10 thousand copies of its first addition were sold immediately. Later on new books were continuously published. This proves the popularity of the Ghadr literature and also provides a hint of its impact on the people.⁵³⁰

There is evidence which shows that it was the influence of the Ghadr poetry that many branches of the Ghadr party were opened in many countries of the world. The *Ghadr* newspaper openly propagated

⁵²⁹ Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-18.

⁵³⁰ Satya, M. Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27 and Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-218.

armed struggle against the British government. It was written in the decision of the Mandalay Case: "It was exactly like its name. *Ghadr* does not conceal but speaks directly." This methodology was inherent in the blood of the Punjabis because of the centuries old conditions. The *Ghadr* newspaper adopted language of the peasantry, suitable to their nature. But due to its access for the first time the Punjab peasantry was uncommonly influenced. To the extent that when the groups of the Ghadr revolutionaries started from America to liberate their country, began to come back to India, when on their way in Japan, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila and Singapore they had to spend only a day or two to impress upon the Punjabis there; who eagerly and voluntarily join the movement. It was usually written in the *Ghadr* newspaper that, "we need *Gourilla* battle. Rebellion has started. Let us fight quickly for revolution and move to the country for war. It has been passed 50 years to the *Ghadr* of 1857 but there was necessity of other rebellion."⁵³¹

The British government was so much terrified by the *Ghadr* newspaper is evident from the decision of the 'First Conspiracy Case'. "It was strongly anti-British newspaper, who stressed to inculcate the anti-British feelings to the extent that could be generated, preached murder and revolution in every sentence; insisted Indians to murder, raise the banner of revolt and expel the British government through the use of arms; asked the Indians to go to India; and praised anti-British and traitors who had become temporarily famous, it stressed to follow him as an example."⁵³²

It was reported that by the time the first world war began, meetings were held on every Saturday in the *Gurdwaras*. The *Ghadr* newspaper was arranged while the poems were read from the *Ghadr Di Goonj*.

⁵³¹ Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

⁵³² Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

Their revolutionary spirit began beyond the speeches. The *Ghadr* leader arranged meetings in different towns and villages of America where they delivered lectures and recited rebellious poetry. As a result, a large number of revolutionaries were gathered at San Francisco who were ready to go to India. The Indians in America and Canada were so much encouraged is evident from a letter written by a Ghadr revolutionary to his wife in India (captured by the police) in which it was mentioned that a great revolution would occur. There would be a sword and a gun in our hands and we will move ahead to kill and to be killed. We are the sons of Guru Gobind Singh. Hope to meeting you if alive.

A Sikh from California wrote to a soldier of a Punjabi Regiment No. 82 at Naushehra, “..... Indians living in America and Canada are ready to kill and die”. The Portland telegram in its issue of 7 August 1914 published under the title, ‘Movement of Indians to fight for the revolution in India’, reported that every train or boat that leaves this city to the south, takes many Indians and if this movement continues will result in the complete evacuation of Indians from Astoria. Majority of the Indians working in the ‘Hammond’ mill either have left or are waiting to leave.”

A professor at the agricultural college at Cornwallis (Oregon) wrote a letter to his mother on 14 September 1914. He mentioned that, “By now almost all the Indian students in America are leaving for India. I am told that more than one thousand students have left for Asia. Their aim is to participate in the revolt against the British.....leaders of the revolt are in full spirit and they are capable of inculcating patriotism and community feelings among his countrymen.” The American newspaper Fresno Republican in its issue of 23 September 1914 wrote, “That yesterday at noon about 350 Indians assembled in a public meeting at Ottawa theater in F and Kern market and listened to the lectures for 6

hours. Here the speakers stressed on the need to revolt against England in India and collected more than \$ 2,000 as subscriptions. These reports prove that the *Ghadr* leaders by their lectures and literature used to influence the Punjabi migrants. As a result a large number of Punjabi workers and students were returning to the country. These reports also indicate that many of these Punjabi migrants were selling their property to help the revolutionaries.⁵³³

The impact of the *Ghadr* propaganda was so strong that it succeeded in moulding such people who were called the Jack, those who were wasting their money in drinking; but now not only left this habit but were prepared to make any kind sacrifice for the country. Among such people were Gurdit Singh, Rulia Singh and Pandit Kanshi Ram who became renowned revolutionaries. It is alleged that those related to the *Ghadr* movement were illiterate. Yet the fact is that Harnam Singh Kahri-Sahri, Chet Ram, Kirpa Ram, Kapoor Singh, Gian Chand, Niranjana Singh, Amar Singh, Vishnu Ganesh Pingley and Lala Har Dayal were well educated. Moreover they were capable of taking help from some Americans who also visited India.⁵³⁴

The patriotic and vigorous poems had influenced the Punjabis that around 6000-7000 Indian patriots returned to India. Among them was Kartar Singh Sarabha whose commitment was so much that he returned with some of his companions without informing anybody. He began his activities in the villages, schools, army, gurdwaras, temples and mosques. It resulted in making a good following. Sarabha also made Khalsa High School, Ludhiana as the headquarter of the *Ghadr* leaders where dozens of students joined the party.⁵³⁵ Influence of the *Ghadr* propaganda was

⁵³³ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-218..

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

⁵³⁵ Malwinder Singh Waraich, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

not confined only to the youths but the older people were also under its impact.⁵³⁶ The bravery of the *Ghadr* propaganda was a matter of concern to the British government. Reports of the Punjab Police officials reveal this fact, “That Sucha Singh and some others who were inspiring the army persons without fear was astonishing.” M.S. Leigh wrote that the *Ghadr* revolutionaries were working in the cantonments without any fear.

The report of the Rowlett committee mentioned that the *Ghadr* revolutionaries were bent upon bringing the revolution. Their feelings of patriotism were very strong. They were equally courageous in the prisons of Multan jail when the Governor of Punjab went to visit the prisoners, challenged to come forward any Ghadraties who claimed that this country was theirs. All the *Ghadr* revolutionaries stepped forward and the Governor had to face the difficult situation. Even those revolutionaries who were facing their deaths in prisons were full spirit of patriotism and were reciting songs and poems of patriotism. This made the jail officials to astonish at their behaviour that if they were preparing for death or marriage.⁵³⁷ The poetry of the *Ghadr* movement was very popular among the people particularly the *Ghadr* revolutionaries that they were remembering it orally. They were reading it as if reciting *Gurbani* and they were speaking it even during the time of their hangings. The *Ghadr* revolutionaries used to read and write poems even in the jails. Some time they wrote some lines of the poem on the walls of the prisons:

@ j hdl ek yB ykbh Bj hl i ksk
fJ; ; / j i kol ; j hd gbk j 's/ j ?⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Suchinder Nath Sanyal, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵³⁷ Jagjit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-417.

⁵³⁸ Waraich, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-65.

The impact of the *Ghadr* propaganda was so great in the village of Sur Singh that the Party gained ground to operate in the district of Amritsar.⁵³⁹

The Babber Akalis in order to achieve their mission began to preach in meetings, conferences and diwans where they delivered lectures. Among such Babbers were Kishan Singh Gargaj, Master Mota Singh, Karam Singh Jhingar, Sunder Singh, Babu Santa Singh, Master Bishan Singh, Dalip Singh, Karam Singh Daultpur etc. However the lectures of Kishan Singh Gargaj and master Mota Singh were so courageous and influential. Since most of the Babbers were Akalis and were deeply religious, they thought it prudent to propagate their views in the gurdwaras and religious assemblies. Their appeal was immediate, instinctive and instant. Kishan Singh Gargaj was himself a thunderous speaker who based his arguments on the Sikh history, tradition and theology. It was no wonder that starting from Mastuana in June 1921, he delivered 327 eloquent and exciting speeches till his arrest on 26 February 1923. His speeches made powerful and moving impact on the masses in the Doaba. It was reported that his speeches aroused hatred and anti-British feelings and created a volatile situation. At many of the places Kishan Singh began his speeches with the following couplet:

ੴ ਖਕ ; ' ਗਜ਼ ਊਕਠਿਨ? i' ਭੋ? ਠਿਠ ਏ/ ਜ ਠ
ਗਠਿ ਕ ਗਠਿ ਕ ਏਨ ਊ? ਏਜ { ਠਕ ਸਕ? ਯਠ#⁵⁴⁰

Master Mota Singh had made his image among the public that when they had come to know that there would be a lecture of Master Mota Singh in some diwans than thousands of children, old and young

⁵³⁹ Master Hari Singh, op. cit., pp. 55-54.

⁵⁴⁰ Dr. Gurcharan Singh, *Babbar Akali Movement-Historical Survey*, Aman Publications, Zira, 1993, pp. 86-87.

men and women used to attend. Some lines related to master Mota Singh became very popular:

; b rī / BBekD/ b'euo eo/ wB GkD/
y/ w's B{ Tj i kD/ fsB cNħ i' fdykbh j?
oNħ nħhl gĵ oħl ykt/ g'bh i' Vk th Bk gkt/
jE i' lbwK Bk nkt/ w'sk f; x i' nekħh j? ⁵⁴¹

Besides delivering lectures and speeches the Babbers also contributed their writings in the *Babbar Akali Doaba*, *Panch*, *Akali Te Pardesi*, *Desh-Darpan* and *Gargaj Akali*. In fact the emphasis of the Babber Akali Doaba was to expose the British government and to prepare the people for armed revolt. To organize army men, village people and the martial race were the other goals of the newspaper. In fact the newspaper was a strategy against the tyrannical colonial state and to preach against it so that the people should raise a banner of revolt itself in order to free the country.⁵⁴² It has been reported that the demand for the newspaper became so strong to complete that people use to listen it among themselves in making groups. The newspaper was directly opposing the British government and asking the common people and the soldiers to revolt. The newspaper was distributed secretly among the villagers and army cantonments. In the villages any one knowing Punjabi used to read it to the public gatherings. It was also distributed among the schools.⁵⁴³

The propaganda strategy of the Babber Akalis had its impact in the Doaba region of Punjab and it terrified the British government. This fact is evident at the pronouncement of decision to the case of Bhai Kishan Singh and his companions on 28 February 1925: "That a dangerous

⁵⁴¹ Milkha Singh Nijjar, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

⁵⁴² *The Tribune*, 11 August, 1923.

⁵⁴³ M.S. Nijjar, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

political conspiracy was hatched. Its aim was to end the British rule and to establish Sikh state in Punjab and *swaraj* in India. It was the impact of these conspirators that they used to incite the Sikh religious feelings and termed the government as tyrant and suppressive. In the speeches and newspapers they reminded the people of historical events and military bravery in order to remove loyalty. Their propaganda also made the Sikhs conscious that their loyalty was to the wrong people and that the time was to raise the sword against the enemies of the Khalsa and to establish again the Sikh rule in Punjab.⁵⁴⁴ The themes often reiterated in the village diwans and meetings dwelt upon the necessity of violence to expel the British Raj and establish *Swaraj*. For propaganda the Babbers covered almost all the important villages in the tehsil of Balachaur, Gharshankar, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Navanshehar, Phagwara, Kapurthala, Phillaur and Nakodar. The whole of the Doaba was practically humming with the diwans held by them. The participants in this movement involved in the different cases belonged to no fewer than 110 villages, whereas the people of more than 60 villages harboured the Babber Akalis on various occasions.⁵⁴⁵

It was reported that the speeches of master Mota Singh created a situation of rebellion in the Doaba region that it affected the common Sikhs and the army. Particularly the soldiers posted in the Jalandhar cantonment began to sympathise with the Babbers. By the end of 1921 a number of soldiers became its strong supporters. Babu Santa Singh was a clerk in the Regiment No. 54 posted at Jalandhar cantonment who told that the soldiers of this cantonment were secretly receiving *Ajit* and *Akali Te Perdesi* and were deeply influenced by the propaganda. It has also

⁵⁴⁴ Judgement in the Conspiracy Case, p. 132. Quoted in M.S. Nijjar, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁴⁵ Dr. Gurdarshan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

been claimed that the lectures delivered by Kishan Singh were so powerful that even the dead would rise from

the tombs against the British after hearing them.⁵⁴⁶

The propaganda made during the Rurka Kalan Conference had influenced the people to such an extent that hundreds of people belonging to this area reached the Montgomery camp prison either as Akalis or Congressmen. Further, in the village Nijjaran, after the conference of Congress Bhai Kishan Singh inculcated such feelings that the entire village became his followers. It was also the impact of this lecture that Udham Singh, a Babber revolutionary posted Urdu pamphlet outside the four British toadies of this village.⁵⁴⁷ With the view to decrease the impact of the Babber influence the British government also arranged Public lectures and gatherings. At Village *Dhanowali* on the Jalandhar Phagwara road the government organized one such congregation in which Sham Singh, Jamel Singh and Santa Singh, *Jaildars* spoke against the Babbers, Kishan Singh and his companions reached there with swords and occupied the stage. They mentioned the atrocities of the British at Nankana Sahib and Jallianwala Bagh and asked the people to rise against the British repression. His lectures deeply influenced the public gathering and the entire atmosphere was full of slogans of Sat Sri Akal and the people promised to support the Babbers. After this incident the toadies could not dare to organize any such future gathering.⁵⁴⁸

The impact of the Babber literature is also evident from the summary by the additional session judge of Lahore who commented that there existed a dangerous revolutionary conspiracy aiming at the ultimate

⁵⁴⁶ M.S. Nijjar, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-59.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-66, 147.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-133.

subversion of British rule and the establishment a Sikh rule in Punjab. The propaganda of the Babber Akalis representing the British government as tyrannical and oppressive. Both in speeches and in the newspapers of the Babber Akalis issued in the memories of past historical events and military power were recalled and endeavours were made to develop and create a strong anti-pathy on the part of the Sikhs against British rule in the Punjab. Steady propaganda of this nature would have soon influenced the Sikhs into a belief and their loyalty had been misplaced and the time had come to draw the sword against the enemies of the Khalsa and re-establish Sikh rule in the Punjab.⁵⁴⁹ The Babber prisoners were equally inspired during their visits to the courts and when Bhai Kishan Singh used to debate with the government officials. Encouragement of Bhai Kishan Singh and his references to the old historical events often raised the morale of the Babber colleagues. In turn, the Babbers did not bother about the tortures in the prisons. It was also reported that the terror of the Babber propaganda was so strong that the *Jaildars* of the villages Mahal Gehle and Mahalpur became mad and ultimately died. It was the preachings of the *Babber Akali Doaba* which resulted in the sleeplessness of the toadies and the government.⁵⁵⁰

Mr. Iesmonger, S.B.I deputy inspector of police observed on P. 762 of the paper book, dated 6 November 1924, in the capacity of the official witness; that he begun to receive reports about the activities of Babber Akalis since October 1928 who were creating hatredness through their rebellious speeches and lectures. The leader of the this propaganda was Kishan Singh and his companions.... The situation turned out to be dangerous because of their activities, since the district police failed to

⁵⁴⁹ Dr. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Punjab Under the British Rule (1849-1947)*, K.B.Publications, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 110-111.

⁵⁵⁰ Milkha Singh Nijjar, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 and 248-249.

arrest the Babbers. If the situation continued, it might generate more actions by the Babbers. With the aim of suppressing the Babbers rewards were put on their heads and the posters were distributed in the villages. The Babbers replied in the same tune and warned of committing murders of the toadies. They actually murdered some of them. They created so much awe that none of the public came forward to help the government. The government machinery was a failure and the Babbers were roaming freely. The administration therefore had to demand the army help from the Indian government.⁵⁵¹

The impact of the Babber leaders was so much on the public that when on 26 January 1923 police arrested Bhai Kishan Singh and was taking him, thousands of the children, old and women with arms assembled to release Bhai Sahib. But Bhai Sahib asked them to remain peaceful. When Bhai Sahib delivering lecture, policemen listened to him quietly. The C.I.D. shadowed even Partap Singh, Balwant Singh, Giani Ram Singh and many others. It appeared that the telecarries had created seare of the rebirth of the Babber Akali Movement.⁵⁵² Yet the main issue is not the victory but the fight. The essential is not to have won but to have fought well. The spirit that brings out its character and strength, that inspires and sustains a movement is an important factor. The strength of the Babber Akali Movement ley in kindling the spark and reviving the will to liberate the country. The ideology of Babbers and their selflessness made such an impact on the minds of the countrymen that it became a legend in its own time. Nearly all the revolutionaries in the thirties and forties got direct inspiration from them. The murders of the toadies at the hands of the revolutionaries was the legacy of this movement. Sir Michael O, Dwyer was shot to death and Mr. S.G.M.

⁵⁵¹ Milka Singh Nijjar, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23 and Dr. Gurcharan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

Beaty was murdered during this period and it demonstrated that the cause for which the Babbers fought and died, was not forgotten.⁵⁵³

The emergence of Bhagat Singh as a revolutionary have appropriately been assigned to the echoes of the Ghadr Party activities, the martyrs of the first Lahore Conspiracy Case, especially, Kartar Singh Sarabha, the Komagataru episode, Kokori dacoity martyrs, activities of the Bengal revolutionaries etc.⁵⁵⁴ Moreover the personality of Bhagat Singh had become a challenge to the government, and the bureaucracy was scared of his name. Equally he was a major source of inspiration to the youths of the country and inculcating spirit of patriotism. He was a great strength to the revolutionaries. Bhagat Singh was a worshipper of freedom and was deeply impressed by the concept of 'Bhakti, and 'Shakti' of Guru Gobind Singh. He has referred to Guru Gobind Singh and other Sikh Gurus and their sacrifices in his writings.⁵⁵⁵ It was reported that the propaganda of these revolutionaries in the form of study circles organized on the Russian model had created so much influence among the youth that the police had to resort to confiscate the revolutionary literature. The government even stopped entry of the members of the Naujwan Bharat Sabha to make use of the school and college buildings of Lahore. To the extent that the teachers were warned not to deliver lectures on the subjects of sociology and politics.⁵⁵⁶

Moreover, Bhagat Singh himself distributed various leaflets based on revolutionary ideology. During his stay at Kanpur, Bhagat Singh walked from village to village recruiting people and distributing revolutionary literature. He even delivered political lecture with the help

⁵⁵³ Dr. Gurcharan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-92.

⁵⁵⁴ Swarn Singh, *Azadi De Suche Wanzare*, Wellwish Publishers, Delhi, 1998, p. 29.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

of magic lantern, slides; the heroic deeds of the revolutionaries were narrated and explained to the audience.⁵⁵⁷ It was seen that Bhagat Singh wrote short biography of the *Ghadr* party and Babber Akali martyrs precisely to use them as role models against imperial slavery. Most of these biographical accounts were written in Punjabi and publish in Kirti magazine. It has been further intimated that Bhagat Singh also penned down in Hindi the biographical sketch of the four martyrs: Baba Ram Singh of the Kuka Movement, Sufi Amba Prasad, Dr. Mathura Singh and Kartar Singh Sarabha, under the name of 'Vidrohi.' Bhagat Singh also made use of their contribution in February 1928 in the special issue, *Phansi* (execution) of the Journal named *Chand* edited by Acharya Chatur Sen.⁵⁵⁸

Bhagat Singh was deeply influenced by *Chandi* (the goddess of battle) and repeatedly utilised it to invoke a sense of challenge to the enemy. Bhagat Singh was conscious of deliberately mentioning the heroism and sacrifices of the martyrs of the Ghadr movement with the sense of influencing the general public. The influence can also be noted from the speech delivered by Kishan Singh Gargaj in the jail a night before the execution: "We are lucky today that we are about to join the order of those patriots who mounted the gallows for the liberation of their motherland. We are about to meet those martyrs who excelled us in the battlefield while confronting the enemy..... The enemy is mistaken in assuming that he will freely plunder and loot India while eliminating us. Drops of martyrs blood are the seeds of the revolutionaries strength. These drops will destroyed forever the oppression and violence. That day is not far away when this power will rootout the British rule from India.

⁵⁵⁷ Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *Martyr As Bride Groom : A Folk Representation of Bhagat Singh*, Antham Press, Delhi, 2008, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Blood of the martyrs is adding fuel to the power. We are fortunate that we have been privileged to be an atom of the power.” Bhagat Singh was equally aware of the linguistic expression in his narration when he termed the Babbers as *Surme* (brave) and *Lalkar* (challenge). Moreover, the word 'Babbar' is Persian meaning tiger.⁵⁵⁹

Bhagat Singh also noticed the impact on the mind of the Babber Akali Mangal Singh who addressed the following words to an English Officer.” I shall again pass nine months in the womb of Jat mother and come back to avenge myself. Your justice is just a lie. Your death and downfall is near at hand. We shall be born again, hold the sword in our hands and wage a war which will destroy your rule.” Being an intellectual, Bhagat Singh has also described the emotions and bravery of the Kuka martyrs when he commented that, “Not all cowed down even when confronted with death. They poured forth the most abusive language towards the government and the chiefs of the princely states.”⁵⁶⁰

The impact of the Namdhari movement was so much that in his two articles published in Hindi magazine *Maharathi* in February 1928 and the *Kirti* in October 1928 that he characterized the Kuka movement as a revolutionary transformative movement which made the first attempt for the independence of the Punjab. He eulogized their martyrdom with characterizing them as the 'lovers' who like the 'wise' men were not scared of death. The rhetoric Bhagat Singh used to narrate the episode reflected his own predilection towards his 'own' self sacrifice and martyrdom.⁵⁶¹

The sacrifices by the Kakori martyrs, namely Rajinder Nath Leheri, Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah and Roshan Singh and its citation

⁵⁵⁹ Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

reveal Bhagat Singh's discourse on self sacrifice and hence the impact. He was also clear in his perception to visualize the British courts, jails and the gallows merely as the platform for propagating the revolutionary ideology.⁵⁶² Thereby reflecting another area of influence on his personality by the previous revolutionaries of the Ghadr Party. Moreover the medium of propagation adopted by Bhagat Singh through visual, print and ritual art in creating revolutionary consciousness among the people had actually bewitched and inspired people with the idols of patriotism and sacrifice. There is further reflection of the influence of utilization of 'history' from the celebrations by the Naujwan Bharat Sabha of a number of important days like the 'Kakori Martyrs Day', 'Kartar Singh Sarabha day', 'Naujwan Sufferings day', 'May day' and 'Jallianwala Bagh day'. These celebrations were identical with the cultural celebrations – Punjabi fares and festivals and represented a challenge to the British authority. They conveyed peoples associations with Bhagat Singh and his comrades. They also served to renew the memory of the events and the martyrs. The celebrations underlined the proposition that nothing expresses group solidarity so much as the massive face to the face of large number of people in some kind of unified activity system, whether a mass meeting, a political demonstration, a march, a sit-in, a picnic, a political rally or a theatrical presentation. These celebrations by the Naujwan Bharat Sabha expressed the uniting capacity of its leader, and the participation of the people in such celebrations give it and its leader the strength and legitimacy from the grassroots level.⁵⁶³

It has been also commented upon that the utilisation of British courts and prisons through many rituals of the rebellions constituted the spectacle that exercise magical effect on the people of Punjab and rest of

⁵⁶² Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

the country.⁵⁶⁴ People responded and reacted spontaneously. The trials of these revolutionaries became episodic. The courts, used as a stage, projected and propagated the revolutionaries among the masses. It was their victory over imperialism that they succeeded in using their machinery against them.⁵⁶⁵

Coming to the examination of the impact of utilisation of 'History' by the Socio-Religious movements, the beginning may be made with the Namdhari movement. The analysis showed that initially the area of influence of Bhai Ram Singh was confined only to the district of Ludhiana. But through his organizing the diwans in the villages of Uttalan in tehsil Samrala and Raipur and Lohgarh of tehsils of Ludhiana gradually the strength of his followers began to increase and people began to join outside of village Bhaini. Bhai Ram Singh's recitations of Gurbani and his preachings affected the people to an extent that a large number of them became Namdharis. The British reports also referred to this influence who became scared of some imminent revolt. It was his affect of preachings that the British government began to keep a surveillance on his activities. The impact of the movement is also visible from the strength of the Namdhari followers. It reached to about 60,000 by 1863 according to the official reports and that their major centers were emerged as Ludhiana, Gujranwala, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur and Sialkot.⁵⁶⁶ The officials observed that majority of the Kukas belonged to the lower strata of society. However some rich and prominent people were also its members. Among such were Mangal Singh Bishanpuria who was a relative of the Maharaja of Patiala and Bharatpur States and Lakha Singh Brahmipuria, a *Jagirdar* of Patiala. It was also noticed that during the

⁵⁶⁴ Ishwar Dayal Gaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-04.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁵⁶⁶ Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 21-30.

Holla Mahalla at Anandpur Sahib in March 1867 Bhai Ram Singh held a diwan in which about 5000-8000 Kukas participated; one-third of whom were the women and children.⁵⁶⁷ It was further noted that the personality of Baba Ram Singh was deeply influenced by Guru Gobind Singh, of whom he often regarded himself as a reincarnation. Also he pinned his faith on some of the prophecies of the *Sau Sakhis* (The book of hundred stories).⁵⁶⁸

It was the outcome of the preaching of Baba Ram Singh that a large number of his followers not only abandoned the Brahmical practices but also joined the campaign to destroy the tombs, cemeteries and idols. During such acts they recited a verse;

wVñ w; kDh Yke/ eo fdU wñkBk
gfj bk wko' gho pfj BJh fco wko' ; ðskBk.⁵⁶⁹

The strategical methodology adopted by Baba Ram Singh through his personal presence, continuous and simultaneous reading of scriptures, several in number, regular morning and evening services and congregations and an all time community kitchen at *Bhaini* attracted people from far and near in large and ever-growing number. For the visitors it soon became a seat of pilgrimage and a source of inspiration. The followers had much-coveted light of the Guru, listened to his message, received the *Gurmantar* from his own pleased lips and returned to their respective places much stronger in spirit than they had come.⁵⁷⁰ It is further revealed that the Namdharis who were hanged to death for their

⁵⁶⁷ Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 40-41.

⁵⁶⁸ Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Kuka Movement*, Delhi, 1965, p. 22.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

attack on the *butchers* of Amritsar that they kissed the gallows by there citing Gurbani and were deeply influenced by the Sikh martyrs.⁵⁷¹

An official letter of 1863 summarized Baba Ram Singh by providing leading features that he abolished all caste distinctions among the Sikhs; advocated common marriages; remarriage of widows, abstention from liquor and drugs, inter course between men and women in diwans, keeping of a staff with every man and recognising *Granth* as the only Guru. They also adopted a particular type of turban and necklace made of woollen beads. The official further observed that the Kuka follower before joining the sect had to recite;

gfj bK woB epfb i htD eh Sfv nk; . .

j fj ; GBk eh oDek sT[nkT[j wko/ gk; . .

and after that he was asked not to tell lie and drink. Consequently the influence of the Sodhis, Bedis and the *Sadhus* among the Sikhs began to diminish. In turn, people began to get *Amrit* and movement of Sikhism initiated. The Sikhs were reunited with the Guru Granth Sahib. Also it gave equality to the women.⁵⁷²

The increasing strength of the Kuka followers also resulted into the appointment of the 'Subas' for the propagation of Sikh religion. It was also observed that the Kukas also adopted the Anand ceremony during their marriages. The impact of the code of conduct emphasized by Baba Ram Singh is also evident from the following:

eS eVk feogkB fJ; BkB e/ h,

nfwsgkB eo; B Bo Bko tkoh.

wVh r'b Gbl Gg Sv dt',

Bj h GbD/ tko ntsko tkoh.

okw fe; B s/ fp; B rD/ a nkfde,

⁵⁷¹ Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵⁷² Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15.

S' tä gäkD dh eko tkoh.
 rä{ rä i h päM{ Bk j'o gä D,
 Jj' jäw ; kvk tko tko tkoh.⁵⁷³

Further that the methodology evolved by Baba Ram Singh during his *Kirtan* through which stress was given on the *Bir Ras* called *Halle Da Kirtan* ment to inculcate a spiritual and morale raising feelings among the Sikhs. It also resulted in their self sacrifice. To the extent that women were also baptized *Amrit*. This revivalism recreated a vigour and reform among the Sikhs and consolidated the Sikh identity which, in turn, was prepared to challenge the British imperialism.⁵⁷⁴ It has also been accepted that it was Baba Ram Singh who started the non-cooperation movement and that Gandhi later on adopted it.⁵⁷⁵

One major impact of the Namdhari movement is in its construction of the literary expressions. Apart from the *Hukamnamas* of Baba Ram Singh the style of poetry published in the *Satyug* had also succeeded in utilizing 'history' and hence in strengthening its followings. Moreover the Ghadr movement and the Gurdwara agitations also drew their inspirations from the personality of Baba Ram Singh and the Namdhari movement itself. Also that it was the first movement which generated a kind of poetry full of spirit patriotism. With the publication of the special issue of the *Satyug* related to Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Teg Bahadur clearly reflected the impact of 'history' in the organisation of this movement. To the extent that Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna had admitted in his biography that he was deeply influenced by the Kuka movement.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷³ Kala Singh, 'Singha Namdharian Da Shaheed Bilas', in *Satyug*, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁷⁴ 'Yug Pursh Namdhari Guru Baba Ram Singh Ji', by Rattan Singh Jaggi in *Namdhari Lehar* (ed.) Jaswinder Singh, G.N.D.U., Amritsar, 2004, p.3.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,.

⁵⁷⁶ 'Bharti Swatantrata Sangram Vich Punjabi Patarkari Da Yogdaan' by Surjit Singh Jeet, in *Ibid.*, p. 117.

As has been mentioned earlier that the literature produced by the Singh Sabha movement was aimed at the reformation among the Sikhs and its spread. Based on Sikh biographies and historical facts the literature also aimed at the elimination of Gurudam, eradication of Christian missionaries and to reconsolidate Sikh identity. The efforts of the Singh Sabha leadership resulted into establishing the Singh Sabhas in the villages and towns of the Punjab, Kashmir and the Frontier but also to the countries of Iran, Afghanistan, Germany, Japan, Malaya, Thailand, England, America, Canada, Singapore etc.⁵⁷⁷ Every Singh Sabha made its best efforts to propagate Sikh religion and its tenants along with the removal of Brahmical ritualism. Diwans were organized in every week to preach Gurmat, Gurbani and Amrit. In this venture the newspapers also helped the movement. Area-wise the Singh Sabhas were more active in Fridkot, Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Ludhiana. Rawalpindi and Shimla including Kharar and Rajpura. It distributed its literature free of cost, including its monthly journal *Gurmat Parkash*. For preaching Sikhism Singh Sabha opened schools and colleges for boys and girls and it opened Guru Gobind Singh boarding house at Lahore for the Sikh students. To propagate in Gurmukhi it prepared a typing machine for the purpose.⁵⁷⁸

It was commented that the propagation methodology of the Singh Sabha movement was based essentially on the *Gurbani* and the major events of the Sikh history. *Nitname* was made compulsory in the gurdwaras and the recitation of the *Aasa Di Vaar* encouraged the Sikhs. Diwans, conferences and processions were organized in different places to celebrate the Gurburb. As a result this movement not only created a sense of unity among Sikhs but also eliminated their inferiority complex.

⁵⁷⁷ Giani Kartar Singh Sarhadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-149.

The movement of Amrit that was centered around the slogan *ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਖੋਲ੍ਹੋ* ; *ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਖੋਲ੍ਹੋ* Guru Gobind Singh became the major source of inspiration for the Sikhs in the context of the bravery and the Khalsa. The movement also helped in eradication the caste distinctions and discriminations among the Sikhs leading to the permission to the entry of low caste Sikhs to worship in the *Golden Temple*. To the extent that the *Jathedars* of the *Gurdwaras* began to be appointed from the lower castes. The institution of *Langar* was consolidated along with the building of old age ashrams.⁵⁷⁹

Politically it was also the impact of the preachings and the propaganda of the Singh Sabha that led to the formation of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the central Sikh League and the Gurdwara reform movement. It was also claimed that Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha began to take active part in the *Panthik* activities under the influence of the Singh Sabha propaganda. It resulted into his forcible abdication. Also that Maharaja Bikram Singh of Faridkot, who under the impact of the Singh Sabha had invited the Sikh scholars and prepared a *Tika* of *Guru Granth*. Baba Khem Singh's way of preaching was so much impressive that thousands of men and women use to assemble in the diwans and took to *Amrit*.⁵⁸⁰ The propaganda of the Singh Sabha also led to the increase in number of schools and colleges from 7 to 58 and the percentage of literacy among the Sikhs arose very high. By 1947 the percentage of educated Sikhs stood at 17.3 as compare to 16.35%, 6.97% and 7.7% of the Hindus, Muslims and Christians respectively. As a result of its impact the Sikhs in a short period of 33 years could hold their heads high. Another out standing result of the Singh Sabha propaganda through organizing Sikh educational conferences was the inculcation of interest to

⁵⁷⁹ Giani Kartar Singh Sarhadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-432.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 488-89 and p. 530.

the study of Sikh history and Sikh literature and also that the Punjabi language was officially recognized as the medium of learning in the schools.⁵⁸¹

Some of the prominent leadership of the Singh Sabha including Sant Attar Singh, Sant Sangat Singh Kamalia and Bhai Hira Singh took special efforts in organizing religious congregations, recitations of *Gurbani* and the distribution of Sikh religious literature.⁵⁸² It has been commented that the Singh Sabha was a great regenerating force for the Sikhs. It articulated the inner urge of Sikhism for reform. It also enhanced the intellectual and literary capacity of the Sikhs resulting in the renaissance.⁵⁸³

It may also be noted that the propaganda of the Singh Sabha leadership drew its inspiration from the lives of the Sikh Gurus, Sikh concept of martyrdom, love and the prominent traits of the Sikh history. This preaching prevented to save the Sikhs from entering the folds of other religious systems but also sharpened the Sikh identity. At the same time it also led to the adoption of Sikhism by many Hindus in the north west of Punjab according to the census report of 1921. This phenomena created some sort of unity among the Sikhs and the Hindus and resulted in creating a national force against the British; thereby, transforming its character from socio-religious to political.⁵⁸⁴ However, sometimes Hindu fundamentalists criticised the Sikh Gurus but the Sikh scholars like Bhai

⁵⁸¹ Ganda Singh, 'Chief Khalsa Diwan fifty years of Service', in his *The Singh Sabha and other Socio-Religious movements in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵⁸³ Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, Arsi Publishing House, Bombay, pp. 146-147.

⁵⁸⁴ Satinder Kaur, *Singh Sabha Lehar De Parbehav Adhin Pataran Vich Samlit Punjabi Sahit*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2005, pp. 39-52 and 197-200.

Ditt Singh strongly rejected their allegations with the help of Sikh religious principles, traditions of the Sikh Gurus, uniqueness of the Sikh principles, verses of the various *saints* and *bhakats* in Gurbani and the *Vaars* of Bhai Gurdas.⁵⁸⁵ Further the Sikhs were exhorted through the articles in the newspapers under the titles : *Sikhan Vich Kis Vastu Da Ghata Hai*, *f; y eW feT[eo pu ; edh j1 Xow ns/ eW dh TBshl ykb; h Xow dk ; t ko go ofj Dkl ykb; k eW dh fv rh j 'Jh j kbsl fenk s; h ; s/ oj 'r/* etc. In these essays Sikhs were often reminded to follow the ideals and principles advocated by the Sikh Gurus. For the purpose of imparting education to women, the Singh Sabha made strong propaganda in the form of writings with the titles; *fJ; soh ftfdnkl fj d; skB dk ; fGnk ; wki l fi ; oky/ fs; e'Jh Bk wko/ ns/ f; xDhnk d/ f; de*. It was observed that due to such influence that the Sikh women also began to show interest in education.⁵⁸⁶

Another impact of the Singh Sabha propaganda could be seen in the emergence of prominent writers including Bhai Vir Singh, Mohan Singh Vaid, Prof. Pooran Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, Bhai Jodh Singh and Balbir Singh. They usually wrote on the religious, historical and caste discrimination issues. The *Khalsa Smachar* newspaper became so popular that when in 1902 the foundation stone of the Khalsa college was laid down a copy of the newspaper put inside a bottle was also kept in the foundation.⁵⁸⁷ It was also due to the effects of the writings of Bhai Ditt Singh and Bhai Gurmukh Singh in the Gurmukhi newspapers that by the end of the 19th century the Sikhs were also regarded as an educated class.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁵ Satinder Kaur, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

As has been referred earlier that the Singh Sabha laid the foundation of the Gurdwara reform movement for the control of Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines. It may be noted that the Sikh peasantry constituted the main militant force of the movement. Sikh soldiers, ex-servicemen and army pensioners, who had mainly come from the peasant stock had joined the struggle in greater proportions. Along with the urban people the villagers also participated with equal zest in which included the young, old, women, students and children. Besides some sections of the Hindus, Muslims, local Christians also supported the Gurdwara liberation movement. To the extent that the Punjabis settled in England, America and Canada not only helped physically but also financially.⁵⁸⁹

The Gurdwara reform movement produced enormous literature, particularly for propaganda and the *Akali* newspaper was the result of the efforts made by Master Sunder Singh Layallpuri, Mangal Singh and Giani Hira Singh Dard. The significance of the newspaper in the context of its impact may be seen from the fact that it produced the militant leaders and writers who challenged the British authority. They provided not only leadership to the organisation but also a place of honour to the Sikhs. It was observed that by the publication of the *Akali* newspaper, a new spirit began to inculcate the Sikhs. The pro-British attitude of the Chief Khalsa Diwan began to be criticized and a new political and religious atmosphere began to concentrate. The poems by Giani Hira Singh Dard and the essays by Mangal Singh revived the Sikh spirit. It also revived and reminded the Sikhs of their old bravery. It was under

⁵⁸⁸ Satinder Kaur, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁵⁸⁹ Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-210, and Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

the propaganda of the *Akali* newspaper that Sikhs began to organize Jathas in the villages and towns.⁵⁹⁰

It was also under the impact of the propaganda that people in the villages began to wear black turbans and *Kirpans* along with the women wearing black *dupptas* and *kirpans* began to join the *Jathas*. It was considered that since the *Akali* newspaper was started on the martyrdom day of Guru Arjan Dev in May 1920; meaning that the Sikh leadership was determined to adopt path of the Guru of martyrdom against suppression. Also that it was the effect of the propaganda that the Sikhs began to take part in great numbers during the different phases of the Gurdwara reform movement. It was visible during the Gurdwara Rikab Ganj agitation that it was due to the vigorous propaganda in the newspapers in the form of rebellious articles and poems by the writers along with the propaganda by Sardool Singh Kaveshar, Daan Singh Vichhoa, Amar Singh and Jaswant Singh Jhabbals in the religious congregations created an atmosphere that forced the government to change its decision. To the extent that hundreds of the Sikhs had given their names for sacrifice. This was the victory of the propaganda and the militancy of the Gurdwara reform leadership which the Chief Khalsa Diwan could not do through petitions and deputations during the seven years.⁵⁹¹

The influence of literary propaganda was also evident during the agitation of the Keys of the Gurdwara. In one day only, on 12 November at the call of the S.G.P.C. more than 5000 Sikhs reached Amritsar. The Akalis held a public meeting in the *Bagh* where Kharak Singh and Jaswant Singh delivered strong speeches. The C.I.D. report admitted that the Sikhs were so much encouraged after the success of the Keys

⁵⁹⁰ Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, p. 47-48.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

agitation that it led to a wide spread anti-British feelings. The articles written in the *Akali* had added fuel to the fire. Throughout the Punjab there was echoes of anti-British feelings and it threatened the British authorities. The report further informed that during this agitation religious diwans were organised daily, Sikhs were asked to recite *Nitname*, rebellious speeches were given in the villages and in turn maximum number of Sikh volunteers were prepared to give their arrests. To the extent that a father would ask his sons and the wives and the sisters would prepare their husbands and brothers for any such sacrifices.⁵⁹²

Another important aspect of this propaganda was that some official persons including the *Numberdars* and *Jaildars* also began to show sympathy to this movement. This is evident from the fact that the government despatched a British official Major Ferer, deputy commissioner of Lahore along with 500 policemen to the villages and he asked some *Numberdars* of the villages to stop Akali diwans in their villages. They replied to the deputy commissioner that they in fact were sympathetic to the movement and were willing to resign their offices of *Numberdars*. In another instance, after hearing the speeches at *Guru Ka Bagh*, *Jaildar* Ishar Singh announced his resignation from *Jaildari*. Subsequently another *Jaildar* Assa Singh and some more *Numberdars* also resigned their offices.⁵⁹³ Even the Sikh ex-servicemen also took active part in the *Jathas* and courted arrests.

The various tactics adopted by the British administration to defeat the Sikh movement by propaganda against the Sikhs among the Hindus and Muslims of the Punjab was fought by the publicity committee of the Akalis and succeeded to win over the support of the Hindus and Muslims.

⁵⁹² Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-151.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

The government was so scared of the spread of the movement because of peasantry's alliance with the army and also to the fact that it had the sympathy of the Namdharis and the Nirmalas. Also to the fact that it was the propaganda and appeal made by the newspaper *Akali Te Perdesi* that a large number of students of *Khalsa* college of Amritsar were inspired to join the agitation.⁵⁹⁴

The impact of the propaganda may also be noticed from the fact that during course of the movement, 30,000 Akalis were arrested, 400 martyred and 2000 wounded and a fine of rupees 15 lakhs was extracted from the convicts, punitive police force were setup in scores of villages to harass and terrorise the people and fleece them in sundry ways. Sikh martyrs were court martialed for wearing black turbans and carrying Kirpan, 602 military men lost their pensions and 658 were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Between 1902-04 action was taken against 107 people and press connected with the Akali movement.⁵⁹⁵ The propaganda strategy adopted by the Gurdwara reform movement compelled the Congress leader Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia to make an appeal that every Hindu must make at least one of his sons as Sikh. He further commented that the Sikhs had repeated their heritage of making sacrifices. He also gave them the instance of Pirthipal Singh who was extremely tortured to death during this agitation. Not only the Congress leadership but an British official C.F. Andrews was forced to compare the atrocities on the Sikhs to the crucifixion of the Christ.⁵⁹⁶

The official reports observed that with the help of the preaching and propaganda by the S.G.P.C and the Akali Party, they had been able to arouse a considerate public opinion in favour of their movement,

⁵⁹⁴ Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-117.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁵⁹⁶ Giani Kartar Singh Sarhadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 450, 476-77 and 482.

particularly amongst the masses at large as well as the Sikhs employed in the civil offices of the government and those in the British Indian armed forces. *Akali Jathas* or bands of volunteers who were prepared to face all types of privations were found in various districts or towns.⁵⁹⁷

Commenting upon the impact of movement on the British administration, a British journalist of the *Gardian* wrote: 'Although it is difficult to allege the district administration but this incident has occupied my mind completely that this non cooperation will be dubbed as a unique success in history. I am reaching at this conclusion with ease that in the hearts of the people of Punjab we have lost the little bit respect we were expecting..... In this matter Hindus and Muslims have complete sympathy with the Sikhs. Sikhs are proud of their determination and bravery and they are completely hopeful of the outcome of this conflict.⁵⁹⁸ Lastly, the impact of the propoganda and the consequent pressure generated by it resulted into the enactment of the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines act in 1925 along with the recognition to Punjabi language, literature, culture and journalism.⁵⁹⁹

Among the agrarian movements the first to appear was the agitation of 1907 on the issue of passing of the Anti-colonization bill. As has been mentioned earlier, centres of activities were the districts of Lahore and Lyallpur, but the peasant grievances drew sympathy from the rural areas of Punjab. It has been reported that apart from the peasantry the discontentment and frustration in the army and the educated class also helped the acceleration the movement. The government also understood the active involvement of the Arya Samaj as a report of a

⁵⁹⁷ M.L. Ahluwalia, *A History of Sikh Politics and Gurdwara Reforms*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 28.

⁵⁹⁸ Sohan Singh Josh, *op. cot.*, pp. 219-20.

⁵⁹⁹ Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

C.I.D agent in Hoshiarpur observed that this organisation was collecting thousands of rupees weekly and since the beginning of the July hundred of students, teachers and lectures have been employed on this work.

Another official Ibbotson also wrote in his minute: 'The active spirits belong almost without exception to the Arya Samaj, a society founded primarily with a religious object, but which in the Punjab at least, always had a strong political bent.'⁶⁰⁰ The government also feared that the propaganda of the radicals was to organise a second revolt of the 50th anniversary of the mutiny of 1857 which fell on the 10 May 1907. The government also watchful of the impact of this propaganda in the army units since the reports about the growing disaffection in the army and among the Indian officers confirmed their suspicions. A government agent reported from Amritsar that a section of the Sikh spays of the 26 Punjab Infantry were sympathetic to the seditionist when riots broke out in Lahore and Rawalpindi and they were quite prepared for the mutiny.⁶⁰¹ It was further reported, that after his release Ajit Singh along with other revolutionaries carried on his activities, particularly the distribution of revolutionary literature among the people of Punjab. These pamphlets eulogized the Indian martyrs who fell in the great revolt of 1857 and urged Indians to complete the work of Tantia Tope, Laxmi Bai and others.⁶⁰² The government was so scared of that after the release of the Ajit Singh police made searches on 5 November 1909 at the following agencies and presses: Quami book agency, Lahore, Arorbans Book agency Lahore, Sahaik Press Lahore, Swaraj Press, Bande Matram Book agency, Bharat Mata Book Agency and Hindustan Press. The houses of Dhanpat Rai, Pleader, Kasur and Arjan Singh of Lyallpur and father of

⁶⁰⁰ Satya, M. Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 14 and 18.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Ajit Singh were also searched. Police confiscated a large number of revolutionary books, manuscripts and published and unpublished material from the house of Kishan Singh.⁶⁰³

It was also reported that S. Ajit Singh and the Bharat Mata Society organised 28 public meetings from March to May 1907. Average attendance at these meetings was 4000-5000 and the important towns covered were Lahore, Lyallapur, Amritsar, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Ferozepur, Hoshiarpur, Multan, Gurdaspur and Batala. Numerous meetings were also held in the villages.⁶⁰⁴ The Commander-in-Chief held a meeting of army Generals to assess the effect of Punjab agitation on the army. The Commander-in-Chief in his note dated 12 May 1907 said that the general seditious agitation which has been raising so violently during the recent months must have affected the feelings and even the loyalty of the native troops. Sikh soldiers attended seditious meetings in Ferozepur and Multan openly, shared the effect of utterances of speakers and disregarded orders of their commanding officers not to attend the said meetings. At Multan Sikh soldiers garlanded Ajit Singh. In Rawalpindi division, seditious literature had been distributed among the soldiers. These reports covered North West frontier province also.

The Superintendent of Police of Bannu had written to the government on 22 May 1907 that the Sikhs of the garrisons were all disaffected. They said that they had been badly treated and would refuse to fire on Indians if there was any opportunity to trouble. In the public meeting at Lahore on 6 April 1907 about 5000 people participated including *Numberdars* and other proprietors. The meeting demanded withdrawal of enhanced *lavi* and called upon the peasants not to pay it. Fearing its effects, the Punjab government suspended realization of the

⁶⁰³ Satya M. Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰⁴ Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

increase in water rates and later on withdrew it altogether.⁶⁰⁵ In another official report, the fear of the propaganda is evident and when it was commented that the preachings were being carried on both through the newspapers and public meetings which were well attended. It added further that Chenab colony had been Chosen as particularly effective centre for agitation. Here were collected yeomen from all over central districts and the feelings aroused in the colony naturally found an echo in the mother districts. Special attention had been paid to military pensioners of Lyallpur districts. At a public meeting at Ferozepur, a disaffection was openly preached. Men of the Sikh regiment stationed there were specially invited to attend and several hundreds of them responded to the invitation..... District's associations in at least two districts have issued leaflets calling upon villagers to refuse supplies, carriage and other help to government officials of whatever sort, when traveling in the district.

The Lt. Governor noted in his minute that everywhere people were sensible of a change and that a new air was blowing through men's minds. In the villages, the most dangerous feature of the situation was the readiness with which the peasantry had lent ear to the agitators and had believed his teachings and followed his councils.⁶⁰⁶ He also admitted that this 'new air' in Punjab was due to the revolutionary literature that was entering from Bengal. Sir Reginald Craddock corroborated the above opinion that "The Colonization Bill was merely a pretext."⁶⁰⁷ Further it was mentioned that the prevailing atmosphere was the result of the

⁶⁰⁵ Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.,

⁶⁰⁷ Reginald Craddock, *The Dilemma in India*, London, 1929, p. 148, quoted in Rai, *op. cit.*, p.148.

speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarla Devi and others who inculcated the new ideas among the people. Also that the speeches of Tilk and Aurbindo also affected the youths of the Punjab.... Sarla Devi who was directly in touch with Tilk delivered rebellious lectures in Lahore. Her lectures were printed in the Punjabee Press and were distributed in schools particularly to the girl students and women.⁶⁰⁸

The impact of literary presentations is further evident from the reaction of the British administration when on 21 April, Ajit Singh, in a public gathering, recited the poem *Pagri Sambhal O' Jatta* and delivered strong anti-British speeches that the deputy commissioner issued notices of arrests of S. Ajit Singh alongwith the organisers of the meeting including Gurdas Ram, Hans Raj, Amolk Ram for organising the meeting and also delivering the revolutionary speeches. On hearing the order, a large number of people gathered outside the court. Police arrested a large number of people and after a brief trial on 68 persons, only six were given punishment.⁶⁰⁹ The revolutionaries were also counscious of the fact that the people were to be given the political lessons for generating anti-British atmosphere. For that purpose these fighters distributed enormous literature during 1907 through its books agency 'Bharat Mata'. The revolutionary literature that was distributed included the writings: *Quami Itlah* by Nand Lal, *Ghadr* by Swaran Singh, *Desi-Fauj-i-Zaffar Mauj* by Swaran Singh and Kishan Singh, *Baghi Maseeh* by Amba Prasad, *Imant Mein Khianat* by Swaran Singh, *Hindustan Mein Angreji*

⁶⁰⁸ Manmohan Kaur, *Role of Women in Freedom Movement, 1857-1947*, Jalandhar City, 1968, p. 106.

⁶⁰⁹ Home Political, (deposit) July, 1907, 8 and *Hindustan* (Lahore) 3 May 1907, quoted in Satya, M. Ray, *op. cit.*, p.5.

Sarkar by Ajit Singh and *Quamein Kis Tarah Jinda Rehti Hei* by Swaran Singh and Kishan Singh etc.⁶¹⁰

An agent of the C.I.D, Hoshiarpur preported that during the 1907 agitation hundreds of students, teachers and lecturers under the influence of the Party propaganda were collecting thousands of rupees for subscriptions to the support of the Party. The officials viewed Ajit Singh as the major force to influence the public through his speeches, who was supported by another fiery orater Sufi Amba Prasad, who had also worked as a Journalist at Muradabad. He had acted as sub-editor of *Hindustan* and later on editor of *Bharat Mata* at Lahore in 1907. Another report has informed the impact of motivation on a child of 10 years old who commented to a passing *Firanghi* after the deportation of Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai : "Down with the British Justice". He was arrested by the police. In the police station he repeated the same that the British government was tyrant and unjust. These comments of the boy further generated impact on the minds of the public who had gathered outside the police station.⁶¹¹

The British agencies also noticed that the Indians and the people from Afghanistan were receiving pamphlets in America in the name of the British army. One such copy of this poster was published by Lala Pindi Das in his newspaper *India* in an article in which it was stressed that there was discrimination with the Indian soldiers in the matter of their salaries as compared to the British soldiers. The British government was so scared of this propaganda in the army that it arrested Lala Pindi Das. The role of revolutionary literature in awakening anti-British feelings has also been reflected in a report by Denzal Ibbetson who admitted: "That the Punjabis are stronger physically as compare to the

⁶¹⁰ Rai, *Ibid*, p. 7-8.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.11.

Bengalis and are difficult to influence. But if they are once influenced then they are difficult to control. If the loyalty of the Jat Sikh gets changed, it would result in greater danger than the Bengal.⁶¹²

Coming to the impact of the propaganda literature utilised by the Kirti Party, it has been observed that the newspaper *Kirti* had played a major and significant role to preach the labourers and peasants that a number of labour and peasants organisations came around it. The entire structure that developed around this newspaper in the form of various writers, its publications, distributors, readers and listeners, in fact ultimately emerged in the formation of the Kirti Kisan Party. It was also reported that eight districts committee there were five hundred underground persons whose main task was to distribute a seditious literature, writing of slogans, protection of the party leaders and their care along with the protection of the party meetings. All these workers were trained through the organisation of 1500 study circles. Around 1000 of them had participated in such study circles. The *Lal Jhanda* which was initially published with a strength of 800, was increased to 2000. It was distributed freely in the 15 districts of Punjab and also later on in the frontier province, Delhi and the Himachal Pradesh. Further, for propaganda purposes the students of different schools and colleges at Lahore, Lyallpur, Moga, Amritsar, Guraya, Baba Bakala, Tarntaran and Sarhali were organised. For the similar purpose women sabhas were also organised and under the leadership of Sarla Devi, Joginder Kaur Maan, Sita Devi, Raghvir Kaur, Sushila, and Bazi Rashid Begum their membership reached to 2000.⁶¹³

⁶¹² Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, 1939-64, Vol.2, Princeton, p. 159.

⁶¹³ Ram Singh Majitha, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-202.

The impact of literary propaganda is also visible during the hunger strike organised by the revolutionaries at Deoli Camp when they demanded that they should be sent to their respective provinces. The Kirti Party with the help of illegal posters and pamphlets which were distributed through its organisations in the thousands of protest meetings. Posters were also pasted on the walls and consequently, the British government accepted the demands of the detainees and the prisoners belonging to the Punjab were shifted to the special camp in the prison at Gujrat.⁶¹⁴ The official report also informed about the impact of this literature on the Sikh soldiers. It was reported that on 18 July 1940 that in Bombay the entire Sikh Squadron and the soldiers of the central India horse refused to enter the ship to be sent to foreign countries. Efforts of the officers did not succeed. Ultimately the British government court martialled them for their act of rebellion. On enquiry it was found that all of them were under the influence of the Kirti Communists and even some of them were its members. In the judgement four of the soldiers were hanged and 104 soldiers were given the imprisonments ranging from 4 to 15 years.⁶¹⁵

The Kirti newspaper published its first annual evaluatory report in its February 1927 issue. Its founder editor Santokh Singh wrote that the Kirti newspaper was deeply influenced by the national struggles of the Chinese and by the people of Afghanistan. Equally they were under the influence of the strikes organised by the labourers of Coal mines of England, struggles in Italy and Russia. They were further influenced by the national martyrs and their life history became their models to be followed. It was committed in the report that next issues of the *Kirti*

⁶¹⁴ Ram Singh Majitha, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁶¹⁵ Report of Richard and Tottenham, additional secretary, Home department, file number 109/7/194 quoted in Majitha, p. 209.

would focus on the contribution of the martyrs of the Ghadr Party, Babber Akalis and Naujwan Bharat Sabha. Consequently articles on the youths along with poems and songs in Punjabi and Urdu Kirti newspapers remained essential part of the *Kirti* writings.⁶¹⁶ In Meerut conspiracy case the people listened to the statements of the Communists in the court and the extracts of these were published in the newspapers. *Kirti* party's *Mazdoor Kissan* newspaper published them prominently and distributed it among thousands of sympathizers from Peshawar to Delhi and Calcutta. It was reported that the common people were impressed and these statements became the central point of the debates among the political parties. In fact the essays, poems and the plays published in the *Kirti* newspapers became the organ of the common people and it was difficult to reject these arguments. It was the result of the propaganda by the *Kirti* that compelled the Unionist Party of Punjab to pass a bill against the indebtedness of the peasantry and the working class. Moreover in order to win support of the public the government had to curtail of the revenue demand. Inspired by the literary propaganda of the *Kirti* Party Chhottu Ram, a Jatt leader, also organised an agitation against the *shahukars* in Punjab. No one could ignore to recognize the consequences of the propaganda by the *Kirti* and Naujwan Bharat Sabha that forced the political and social organisations of the Punjab to think issues of the peasantry and the working class.⁶¹⁷

Moreover, the advocates, professors, writers, and intellectuals also joined the *Kirti* organisation under the spell of its propaganda. It was reported that Hira Singh Dard wrote a poem under the title *Bharthu*

⁶¹⁶ Bhagat Singh Bilga, *Ghadr Lehar De Anfale Varke*, Ghadr Party and Kirty Party (1908-1952), Desh Bhagat Yadgaar Hall, Jalandhar, 1998, pp. 190-191.

⁶¹⁷ Bhagat Singh Bilga, *op.cit.*, pp. 197-98.

Kanoon. Ram Singh Ghalamala had recited it in a congregation organised by the civil liberty union and he was given six months imprisonment. It may also be noted here that the poet Ram Singh was given the *Upnam* of Ghalamala because of the fact that he used this word in one of his poem.⁶¹⁸ The influence was to such an extent that the revolutionaries interned in the villages used to get up early to cultivate the land. During noon they organised study circles around the wells in the villages and in the evening they escaped to some nearby village to preach the economic and political matters to the common people. Although there was police surveillance but they were kept ignorant about their activities. This resulted into the preparation of a new cadre to the Party. Also it helped in organising the *Karza Committees and Kissan Committees*. The movement was getting its roots strongly in the villages and this became a positive aspect of the internments of the *Ghadr* revolutionaries in the villages.⁶¹⁹

During 1934-36 the Kissan agitations under the leadership of Karam Singh Maan, Ujagar Singh Bilga and Bujha Singh the movement received great impetus. Lahori Ram Pardesi through his songs propagated throughout Punjab against exploitation of the *shahukars*. It was also under the impact of such propaganda that a Ghadr revolutionary Narain Singh Sandhu in Amritsar organised a Karza Committee and also that Chaudhary Chhottu Ram also began to preach against the moneylenders. Moreover, it was again the impact of this Kirti propaganda that some peasants belonging to Congress Party also joined

⁶¹⁸ nk fdsh ; o's ; kvh ; oeko Bf fJj
 fj d ftL ew j D of tkb/ j Dr/
 ub{ ; Khtkbsk bfj o j D fgv fgv
 eJh j VskbK eJh xkbwkb/ j Dr/
 Bhagat Singh Bilga, *op.cit.*, pp. 211-12.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

the Kirti Party. Giani Sardara Singh and Ujjagar Singh were prominent Congress leaders in this context. Consequently Kirti Party in collaboration with Congress organised four political conferences in May and June 1936. In the joint conference at Mahalpur, Jawahar Lal Nehru was the main speaker in which people came in large numbers.⁶²⁰ The secret newspaper *Lal Dhandora* of the Kirti Party had so much influence that its distribution was spread from Peshawar to Delhi and the British government often confiscated its copies. It was published in a house belonging to Gurdwara Dehra Sahib near the Lahore fort. Its publication was kept so secretive that it was being published nearly at a distance of five hundred yards, but the government was ignorant about its place of publication.

Further that when in 1937 the *Kirti* newspaper began to publish from Meerut and Gurcharan Singh Sehnsra became its editor of Punjabi section; the central and Punjab government did their maximum to stop this paper. But the determined Party workers succeeded in its distribution to the villages and the towns of the Punjab. It was also due to this fact that many new poets and writers emerged on the scene because of its publication. Further, it was under its influence that a student of Government College of Ludhiana, Sahir Ludhianvi along with Madan Lal Didi and Hardial Thandi became active members of the students federation. In fact, Sahir Ludhianvi began writing his poetry in the *Kirti* newspaper. It was reported that in the Meerut Cantonment Punjabi soldiers visited office of the *Kirti* and collected copies of the *Kirti*. Moreover, the soldiers also attended the study circles organised by Sodhi Harminder Singh. Later on these soldiers raised the banner of revolt in

⁶²⁰ Bhagat Singh Bilga, *op.cit.*, pp. 216-17.

the British army at Egypt and Alexandria.⁶²¹ It was observed that in the distribution of the *Kirti* newspaper, the transport workers of Punjab also contributed enormously.⁶²²

The propaganda of the Kirti Party resulted in the larger increase in its membership which reached to 50 thousand during 1939-40. It was reported that majority of the school and college students were under its influence and the study circles were organised for them. Similarly the Party propaganda also helped in women's participation in the agitations. With the efforts of the Shankuntla Sharda at Lahore a literary circle of educated girls under the title 'Adhiansheel Mehla Ganiatli' was established at Lahore and it certainly added to the number of the party workers. The women members also actively participated in distribution of party literature.⁶²³

Referring to the rural agitation and the effects of the literary propaganda on the schools it is stated : 'Sedition is rife in village schools that are attended by soldier's children, and if is allowed to go on unchanged, we are staring up trouble for the army in a few years when these children grow up and enlist.'⁶²⁴ It was reported that basically the peasants, workers and petty bourgeoisie, a specially the youth of lower middle class formed the bulk of the *Kirti* leadership. They were the most suitable recipients of the *Kirti* message of socialism, class struggle, freedom of press and complete independence.⁶²⁵ The influence of the literary propaganda may also be noticed from the fact that in the first conference of the Punjab Kissan Sabha held at Lyallpur in 1937 in which

⁶²¹ Bhagat Singh Bilga, *op.cit.*, pp. 235-37.

⁶²² Chain Singh Chain, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-20.

⁶²³ Bhagwan Josh, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁶²⁴ S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.

450 delegates and the audience rose to about 20,000. Moreover, the impact of this propaganda was more in the four districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ferozepur. It was those areas in which the anti-British revolutionary struggles remained active and it was claimed that majority of its members had been active participants in the *Ghadr* Party and Akali Movements.⁶²⁶ The British officials were worried about the propaganda. In fact the deputy commissioner of the Gurdaspur reported the government about the danger of its impact on the peasantry and asked the government to act promptly.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁶ S.D. Gajrani, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.

CONCLUSION

The process of writing history has been a complex phenomena since it involves a combination of the factors comprising the nature of evidence and its interpretation. In other words, it is the relationship between the nature of evidence and the choice of perception. Seen in this context, the historiography on the Colonial Punjab sp far have covered the different aspects of human activities in the arena of politics, economy and society including religion and culture along with the issues related to the question of identity, caste, gender and other such socio-historical constructions. These issus have remained prominent in order to understand the transformation of the Punjab society through the intervention of British colonialism.

This type of historical scholarship also called historiography have prominently by focused on the formation of 'history' through the interplay of various or different forces acting or working at a particular time and space but the role of 'history' itself in generating further 'history' have remained beyond the purview of the historiography on Colonial Punjab. It is with this objective in view that became basis of this dissertation in order to asses the role and impact of such utilisation of 'history' in the successive historical developments along with the objectives of this utilisation, the categories of movements, the methodology of utilisation, the character of the organisers and the stratifications involved both in its propagation and in the context of the recipients of its impacts. In other words, both the nature of history used and also the ramifications of this process along with the emergence of new historical formations. In such exercise a number of components have been utilized, mainly in the form of a variety of literary creations, posters, pamphlets, writings, newspapers, public meetings, speeches delivered at

various congregations, diwans, plays and orations in the court premises along with the interactions of the people in prisons, etc. It was observed that among the literary genre the material available for examination was available in the form of poetry and prose. At the same time it was also observed that a majority of such writings were the contributions of various Writers who had necessarily no formal education. Moreover, this utilization of history was primarily aimed at attracting the participants to a particular movement.

This process of utilization of history has been examined in the anti-British movements which included: political, socio-religious and agrarian. Among the political, the first assertion against the British imperialism was the Ghadr uprising. The significance of utilization of history is self evident from the name of this movement that became known after the name of the Ghadr newspaper. This was the major organ of propaganda, essentially of seditions in nature. Along with this the Ghadr Party produced some more writings to make use of the history. As has been noted earlier that its literature being published in Punjabi, Urdu and Gujrati and had its leadership on the global scale; yet majority of them under its influence were the Sikhs followed by the Hindus and Muslims. However majority of the leadership of the party not only was active in its major activities but also formed a greater share to its contribution in the domain of literature.

The examination of the Ghadr literature revealed that the Ghadr Party drew inspiration from the major events and personalities of Indian and World history and was equally conscious of the importance of this utilization of history. The writers of the Ghadr Party referred to the golden period of ancient India, yet, there is repetition of mentioning the role of Maharani Jindan, martyrdom of Banda Bahadur, sacrifices of the four sons of Guru Gobind Singh, creation of the Khalsa and its relevance,

Akali Phoola Singh, Han Singh Naiwa, Subeg Singh, Shabaj Singh, Bhai Mani Singh, Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sat Das, forty Muktas, Mai Bhago, Baba Deep Singh, Bhai Taru Singh, Bhai Nabi Khan and Gani Khan, teachings of Guru Nanak, martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev, references from Dasam Granth, atrocities by Meer Mannu and blowing away from guns of the Kookas and the heroes of the revolt of 1857. There are also references to the struggles for freedom in the countries of Africa, Russia, England, Ireland and America. The events of Ramayana and Mahabharata also find space in the utilisation of 'History' for reminding and inculcating the spirit of bravery among the people against the British rule.

The Babbar Akali literature included prominently the newspapers:

Babbar Akali Doaba, Gargaj, Babbar Sher, Jug Paltaoo, Babbar Di Goonj and Akali Te Pardesi. This literature is primarily in the poetical and prose forms. Although activities of the Babbars were spread to the whole of Punjab but the districts of Jullundhar and Hoshiarpur were the centers.

This Babbar literature has made repeated references to the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his relationship with the British, verses from the Gurbani, inspiration of the word Waheguru, the indiscriminate behaviour of mothers of Ramchandar and Dhru, Mansoor Bhagat, exile of Maharaja Dalip Singh, heroes of the Mughal-Sikh struggle Mehtab Singh, Shabaj Singh, Subeg Singh, Taru Singh, Mani Singh, Sati Das, Mati Das, Guru Hargobind Sahib's coming out of the Gwalior fort, sacrifices of Guru Gobind Singh and his family, conquests of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Multan, Peshawar and Kashmir, the heroes of the Punjabi romantic epics, the story of Pooran Bhagat, Jiona Maur, the treasurer of emperor Karrun and the tortures committed on the Sikh women and children.

Coming to the Naujwan Bharat Sabha, this movement produced a number of pamphlets and the newspapers included Partap, Kirti and Naujwan, Bhagat Singh's Jail Dairy and the Phansi Ank of Chand. The Sabha

though had its areas of activities in Punjab, UP and Bengal but Lahore, Amritsar and Kanpur were its prominent centers. Although the Sabha was revolutionary in character yet it also made use of the events of Sikh history. Further there is mention of the rule of King Harish Chandar, heroes of Ramayana and Mahabharata, the bravery of Shivaji and Han Singh Naiwa, personality of Guru Gobind Singh, verses from Gurbani, the sacrifices of the Kukas and Baba Ram Singh, Babbar Akalis, the Ghadr revolutionaries, particularly Kartar Singh Sarabha, medieval Rajput hero Maharana Pratap alongwith the revolutions in the countries of France, America and Russia and the writings of Karl. Marx, V.I. Lenin, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson.

Among the socio-religious formations, the very first protest was of the Namdharis, popularly called the Kukas. The movement has made use of 'History' in its literature consisted of the Hukamnamas of Baba Ram Singh, the Salyug, a journal, Satguru Bilas, Part I by Sant Santokh Singh, Ram Vogian De Baranmah (ed.) by Tara Singh Anjan etc. The areas of activities of the Namdhari movement covered almost the entire province of Punjab but after Hazro its headquarter was shifted to Bhaini Sahib. Being a religious in character the literature of Namdhari assertion had made use of the verses from Dasam Granth especially Chandi Di Var and the Gurbani, the concept of Khalsa and Panth, role of Dhirmaiias, Ramrais and Minas, the Sikhs Gurus, the Sikh centers of Anandpur and Patna, martyrdoms of Guru Teg Bahadur and Guru Arjan Dev, personality of Guru Nanak and his discussions with Sidhas, his visit to Macca and Sumer mountain, Vaars of Bhai Gurdas, blessings of Guru Gobind Singh to Malkerkotla along with the references to the Vedas, the Hindu mythology, Ramayana and Mahabharata with their heroes, capture of Delhi by the Sikhs, the heroes of the Revolt of 1857, and the World War 1 and the role of the Germany.

The next movement the Singh Sabha produced enormous literature for propagation of Sikhism among the Sikh community. The Singh Sabha had its influence initially in Amritsar and Lahore but later on covered the entire province of Punjab. In its literature there is stress to the references essentially pertaining to the Sikh Gurus and Sikh history, particularly the foundation of Sikh religion from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh, creation of the Khalsa and the Panth, Bhai Lab, Makhan Shah Lubana, the request of Kashmiri Pandits and martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadur, martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev, the forty Muktas and the battles of Khidrana and Chamkaur. The Singh Sabha also made use of the references from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata along with the citations to Quran, Bhagwat Puran and Bible. References have also been made to some of the educated ancient women.

The third movement in this continuity is the Gurdwara reform movement. It produced immense literature in the form of newspapers and pamphlets. Although the Gurdwara reform movement had its centre at Amritsar but its activities were spread to the whole province meant for the control of the Gurdwaras and the Sikh shrines. The movement had a large number of leaders alongwith its followers. Besides the editors of the Singh Sabha newspapers and writers of different books some other important writers also made significant contribution. The movement drew its inspiration primarily from the Sikh religion and history, especially from the personalities of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev, creation of the Khalsa, Gurbani, Sikh martyrs like Bhai Mani Singh and Bhai Taru Singh along with sons of Guru Gobind Singh. References have also been made to the ancient epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata, the romantic tales of medieval Punjab, atrocities of the Mughals including Nadir Shah and the contemporary tragedies of Panja Sahib, Budge-Budge Ghat, Nankana Sahib and Jallianwala Bagh.

The first agrarian protest comprised the Anti-Colonisation Bill agitation. The movement produced a number of publications both in the form of newspapers and pamphlets. It may be noted that the agitation became popular with the poem 'Pagree Sambhal O, Jatta !' by Banke Dayal. The influence of agitation spread to the districts of Lyalpur, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, Jalandhar, Ambala, Kasur, Gujranwala and Rawalpindi. Among its leadership included S. Ajit Singh, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sufi Amba Parsad, Lal Chand Falak, Kishan Singh and Swaran Singh etc.

Mainly speeches of S. Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai form basis of the utilisation of 'History'. The spectrum of inspiration of this movement is quite wider covering the significant events of Sikh history, its Gurus and the struggles, sufferings of the Gurus and the followers, tradition of the Khalsa against the ending of the Mughal empire, sacrifices of the Namdhari Sikhs, rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, creation of Khalsa to break caste system along with the inspirational roles of Prithvi Raj Chauhan, Alexander, Birbal and Todar Mal, the extremist Congress leaders Bipon Chander Pal and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the anti-British movements in Australia and Africa and the roles of Mazzini and Garibaldi. Various agrarian protests were organised in the form of Kissan agitations under the leadership of both the Kirti Party and the Communist Party. These protests created a number of publications in the form of tracts and newspapers. Among the important were: The Kirti, Lal Dhandora and Lal Jhanda. Help was also taken from other radical newspapers. These agrarian protests were spread to the districts of Amritsar, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Multan, Montgomery, Lyalpur, Sheikhupura, Lahore, Rawalpindi etc. The important writers of the Kirti and the Communist groups were Sohan Singh Josh, Chain Singh Chain, Bhagat Singh Bilga, Ferozdin 'Sharaf,

Giani Atma Singh 'Shanf, Chet Singh 'Nirnaan', Vidhata Singh 'Teer' and S. Baiwant Singh 'Dukhia'.

The sources of major inspiration of these morchas are the heroes of the Ghadr Party. Also the great sacrifices made by Guru Gobind Singh and his sons besides the contribution of Guru Nanak Dev, martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev, creation of the Khalsa, shiokas of Baba Farid, Bhakti and Sufi movements, Vedas, Hindu mythological heroes, Singh Sabha as the broker of caste system, Ramayana and Mahabharata, invasion of Mahmud Gaznawi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh, independence movements in America, China, Russia and worker's movement in England.

Lastly, the impact of this utilization of 'histoiy' by these anti-British movements may be measured both from the strength of the publications as well as the followers. The examination of the literature reveal that practically the number of publications by the specific movements increased. Still sometimes the followers were to read in groups because of the shortage of publications. Moreover, as has been mentioned that the Ghadr Farz'y developed around the Ghadr newspaper and it acquired its name from it. To the extent that the people who used to read this paper became its sympathizers and participants of the Ghadr movement.

References are also available to the fact that the leadership emphasized that the people were to be given such kind of literature that could generate or inculcate the spirit of bravery by taking inspirations from prominent historical events. The great revolutionary S. Ajit Singh, after delivering his speeches to the public usually enquired about their impact and Kisan Singh Gargaj of Babbar Akali mQvement generally brought out his sword from the sheath and quoted the couplet by Bhagat Kabir:

T jfjji

W 3JW Z o(cJ 3 H

Even the reports of some observers in the United States commented that the maximum number of Punjabis were influenced by the Ghadr literature especially the students who were prepared to return to the country and were willing to make any kind of sacrifice. The impact of this utilisation was equally strong not only on the mature persons but also on the youth, students, women and children whose presence among such movements proved this fact. It may also be noted here that majority of the participants came from rural Punjab but a larger portion of the leadership comprised of the educated urban class. Yet the fact remains that the majority participants were from the Sikhs,.

The inspirational impact was so strong that the followers were prepared to face any kind of repression particularly during the Namdhari and Gurdwara reform movements. It was also visible from the 1907 agitation when the British government was scared of the repetition of 1857 revolt and was forced to take back the Bill. Further it was the impact again that the propaganda by the Namdharis and the Singh Sabhas which resulted in the revival of Sikhism and the re-assertion of Sikh identity. Moreover the Sikhs were succeeded to take control of the Sikh gurdwaras and shrines from the Mahants. Lastly, the beauty of this 'utilisation' could also be visualized from the fact that after the end of one movement another anti-British movement emerged thereby providing an inspirational legacy to the next one till the eradication of the British rule.

Thus, the critical analysis of the literature has brought out that majority of the anti-imperial protests preferred to make use of the prominent events of Punjab history, especially the Sikh history, along with the dominating episodes of ancient India Secondly, this was equally true in the context of the political, agrarian and socio-cultural movements. Yet some addition was made by the non-religious or secular protests. Thirdly, the organisers were also eager to make use of some significant international historical

events particularly, the independence movements in some countries and the major revolutions. Fourthly, the objectives of this 'Utilisation' were meant for the greater participation and mobilisation of the people' Fifthly, the writers and the organisers were also conscious of the fact that what kind of the historical utilization would produce the desired effects.

Sixthly, though the epics and romantic folk-tales were occasionally used, yet the events and examples from them varied in different contexts. Seventhly, that the writers of these compositions were not necessarily educated. Eighthly, the impact was more on the rural society; though sometimes the leadership came from the educated urban class. Ninthly, prominent participants were from the Sikh community but the Hindu and Muslim participation was also noticed. Tenthly, that people belonging to all age-groups showed interest along with girls, women and students. Eleventhly, it were not always that the people of Punjab were under the influence of this utilization but the Punjabis settled abroad were also equally active. Twelvethly, the response of the British administration was in the form of its apprehensions about these utilizations along with its efforts to control this process. Next, the impact of this utilization process was further evident in the emergence of not only new writers and leaders but also provided a legacy to the successive movements that remains relevant even in the contemporary environment. This clearly establishes the importance, significance and relevance of the process of utilization of 'History' to the posterity!

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- 1H nDi kB, skok f; x (; gkH), okw ft: 'rlnk d/ pok wkj , BkwXkoh dopko, GDh ; kfj p, fpeowh 2051H
- 2H f; r b, Xowgkb ns/ pdB, pbd/t f; x (; gkH), ; j hd/ nki w Grs f; x ekft ; r ij , B? Bb p? No? N, fdbh, 2007H
- 3H f; x, e/ o (; gkH), rdo bfj o dh eftsk, gpbhe/ B fpT? , gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1995H
- 4H f; x, r?uoB (; gkH) p?o ekft ; r ij , gpbhe/ B fpT? , gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1988H
- 5H f; x, i ; ft do (; gkH), j ?wBkw/ BkwXkoh dopko, GDh ; kfj p, 1988H

- 6H f; x, i rwj D (; gkh) ; j hd Grs f; x s/ Tj BK d/ ; kEhnk dhnk fbysk, uSBk gpek; B, gi kph GtB, bfXnkDk, 2005H
- 7H f; x, i rwj D (; gkh) grVh ; Gkb iNk sl nikdh tb, ; j hd Grs f; x oh; ou ewNh s/ gk; a : kdrkoh Nož N, bfXnkDk, 2001H
- 8H frnkBh, e/ o f; x, e; b, feogkb f; x (; gkh) rdo bfj o dh tkose, gpbhe/ B fpTb', gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 2008H
- 9H i B, j oh; a (; gkh), ukd ck; h næ, b'erhs gpek; B, uxhrVQ 2006H
- 10H i ž'tkb, bkG f; x, ; yg fJfsj k; ppo nekbh, crtKvk, 1929H
- 11H towk, ; fsnw nŵ (; gkh), ; j hd/nki w Grs f; x dh i b0 vkfJoh, soe Gkosh gpek; B, poBkbk, 1999H
- 12H tVŭ, wbftdo f; x (; gkh) ; j hd eosko f; x ; okGk, i htBh s/ fdq Nh, b'erhs gpek; B, uxhrVQ 2007H
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- 1H nekbh s/ god/ h, nfwŝ; o
- 2H nekbh gfspek, bkj b
- 3H e'wh dod, nfwŝ; o
- 4H j ž, bkj b
- 5H feogkB pj kdo s/ ; rs, nfwŝ; o
- 6H ykb; k nypko, bkj b
- 7H ykb; k ; wkuko, nfwŝ; o

- 8H ykb; k gkobjwN ri N, nfwϕ; o
- 9H rVri nekbh, nfwϕ; o
- 10H fi whdko ri N, bDj kDk
- 11H d/ a ; /te, i bXo
- 12H d/ a dogB, ebešk
- 13H d/ a dodh, nfwϕ; o
- 14H Btki r, bkj 'b
- 15H B'bsB, nfwϕ; o
- 16H Btk i wkBk, i bXo
- 17H gi kp, nfwϕ; o
- 18H @csj #, bkj 'b s/ nfwϕ; o
- 19H ppo ; b, nfwϕ; o
- 21H oDi hs, bkj 'b
- 22H oi hBk ; j hd, nfwϕ; o
- 23H bkb Mvk
- 24H bkb, Yv'ok
25. The Punjabee (Lahore)
26. The Tribune (Lahore)

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- 1H feosh, nfwϕ; o
- 2H ; fsi r, bkj 'b
- 3H cptkVh, i bXo

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- 1H f; odko egb f; x, nkJhH; hhn?, @pkpk okw f; x e'ek#,
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- 3H fBoeko f; x @uSB#, @kvk coi #, ; *fsi*, bkj 'b, 1920H
- 4H fBoeko f; x @uSB#, @'pkwh s/ fJB; kc, ; *fsi*, bkj 'b,
1920H
- 5H @Grs f; x g'ikp dh Gk; h ns/ fb'gh dh ; wf; nk, # *fj d*
; *te*, 28 cotoh 1933H
- 6H Grs f; x fpbrk, @rdo gkoNh s/ e'ek bfj o, # ; *fsi*,
fJfsj k; e ; w'roh nē, GDh ; kfj p, 2004H
- 7H ftdoj h, @rdo bfj o dh e'f ftfEnk, # *feosh*, 1928H
- 8H ftdoj h, @j 'bh d/ fdB y'f d/ fSN, # *feosh*, 1928H
- 9H ftdoj h, @Gkos dh ni kdih d/ GNk ; j hdnk, # *feosh*, wkou,
1928H
- 10H ftdoj h, @ekeh d/ ; j hdK d/ ck; h d/ j kbks, *feosh*, #
i Btoh, 1928H
- 11H ftdoj h, @oki gbND dh gfj bh ef; a a e'ek
prkts, #; *fsi*,
fJfsj k; e ; w'roh, nē.
- 12H ftdoj h, BkwXkoh bfj o ns/ ; 'thns nkbw, ; *fsi*,
fJfsj k; e ; w'roh nē, GDh ; kfj p, 2004H
- 13H pbts, ; h eosko f; x ; okGk, in j oh; i B (; gkH) *ukd*
ck; h nē, g'ikph GtB bfXnkDk, 2006H
- 14H fBoG? @e'ek nd'bB d/ ; j hd, # *ukd ck; h nē*, g'ikph
GtB bfXnkDk, 2006H

(F) TRACTS/PAMPHLETS

1H @j w ; tokr feT[ukj s/ j?# In i rwj B f; x, ; j hd
Grs f; x s/ TB d/ ; kEhnk dhnk fbysk, ; j hd Grs
f; x yi ewNh, bfxnkDk, 1985H

2H @dβhnk dk ; G sl t&k fJB; kB.# In i rwj B f; x, ; j hd
Grs f; x s/ TB d/ ; kEhnk dhnk fbysk, ; j hd Grs
f; x yi ewNh, bfxnkDk, 1985H

3H @r'bl eh eos&l.# In i rwj B f; x, ; j hd Grs f; x s/
TB d/ ; kEhnk dhnk fbysk, ; j hd Grs f; x yi ewNh,
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- 13H f; x, i r i h s, r d o g k o N h b f j o, B t i f r g p f b; d i a f d l b h, 1979H
- 14H f; x, i r i h s, f J B e b k p h b f j o k d / g q r f t u f; y b f j o, i b x o, 1992H
- 15H f; x, i r i h s, f; x ; G k b f j o, s o B s k o B, 1941H
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- 17H f; x, r m k, e f e n k d h f t f E n k, g p b h e t, B f p T p', g i k p h : B h t o f; N h, g f N n k b k, 1990H
- 18H f; x, B o k f J D, n e k b h w o u / s / M p o, B ? B b p e ; k g, f d l b h, 1967H
- 19H f; x, f w b y k, p ɔ o n e k b h ; x o; a f d l b h, 1982H
- 20H f; x, r p d t f; x, ; k e k p k r - J i f b h k, g p b h e t, B f p T p', g i k p h : B h t o f; N h, g f N n k b k.
- 21H ; x, t h o b o, : f r g b; a G r s f; x s / T j B k d / p } p r, v k f J o e N o, G k; h f t G k r, g i k p, 1975H
- 22H ; o j d h, f r n k B h e o s k o f; x, f; x ; G k b f j o d k ; B f j o h s / w j k B g o T g e k o h f J f s j k; , n f w s; o, 1974H
- 23H ; k f B n k b, ; f u d o B k E, p d h i h t B, b e r h s g e k; B, u x h r V Q 2006H
- 24H e r D h t k b, u o i h b k b, i h t B h r d o h p k p k ; j h d w k; N o T x w f; x e; b, b e r h s g e k; B, g i k p h G t B, b f X n k D k, 2009H
- 25H e b ; f s d o, f; x ; G k b f j o d / g g k t n X h B g s o k f t u ; w f b s g i k p h ; k f j s, g p b h e t, B f p T p', g i k p h : B h t o f; N h, g f N n k b k, 2005H

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gq , bfxnkDk, 1960H
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Grs : kdrko j kb*, i bXo, 1990H
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gpfb; di a fdbh, 2000H
- 32H i z 'tkb, bkG f; x, *; yg fJfsj k; ppo nekbh*, crtkVk,
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fJfsj k;*, ; odko GtB, gfNnkbk, 1973H
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Grs : kdrko j kb*, i bXo, 1998H

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1968H
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gpbhe[B fpT[', gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1987H
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rVr[l ihtBh s/ fdq Nh, gpbhe[B fpT[', gi kph
: Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk,
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- 2H f; x, i ; ftdo, *BkwXkoh ; wki l rpb{ Tgd/ H ns/ f; Xksk d/ ; doG ftL {j ofwdo f; x pdh, i ; ftdo f; x (; gkh), BkwXkoh bfj o, rpb{ BkBe dt : Bhtof; Nh, nfw\$; o, 2004H}*
- 3H e; b, feogkb f; x, *BkwXkoh ws dk ; kfj s s/ gsoekoh, (wj bt sl : 'rdkB) {j ofwdo f; x pdh, i ; ftdo f; x (; gkh), BkwXkoh bfj o, rpb{ BkBe dt : Bhtof; Nh, nfw\$; o, 2004H}*

- 4H ro'to, etbihs eb, ; fsrp{ okw f; x dk ; wki -; fGnkukoe : 'rdkB, {j ofwdo f; x pdh, i ;ftdo f; x (; gkh), BkwXkoh bfj o, r{p{ BkBe dt : Bhtof; Nh, nfw\$; o, 2004H}
- 5H i rh, osB f; x, : r g{p; a BkwXkoh ; fsrp{ ; h p{pk okw f; x i h.
- 6H i 'bh, ifsdogkb f; x, BkwXkoh bfj o d/ ; wekbhB ns/ gotosh g{kt ; wki -; fGnkukoe gfogy ftL, {j ofwdo f; x pdh, i ;ftdo f; x (; gkh), BkwXkoh bfj o, r{p{ BkBe dt : Bhtof; Nh, nfw\$; o, 2004H}
- 7H fYbl, vhh n? , f; x ; Gk bfj o, JH; hH noVk (; gkh), noVk, JH; hH, gi kp dhnk be bfj ok, gpbhef, B fpT{p', gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1989H
- 8H s{si k, eH n? H, nekbh nd'bB, 1920-25, noVk, JH; hH, gi kp dhnk be bfj ok, gpbhef, B fpT{p', gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1989H
- 9H wbj sok, n? H n? H, gi kp ftL elwh nd'bB 1907-31 JH, noVk, JH; hH, gi kp dhnk be bfj ok, gpbhef, B fpT{p', gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1989H

(E) THESIS

- 1H f; x, dftdo, ftdoj h u\$Bk s/ i Mko{ ekftXkok, gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1919H
- 2H fYbl, r{pdo; B f; x, Character and Impact of the Singh Sabha Movement on the Punjab, gi kph : Bhtof; Nh, gfNnkbk, 1973H
- 3H eb, oDi hs, BkwXkoh bfj o dh eftsk, Xkofwe ; wki - ; fGnkukoe, fJfsj k; e s/ ; kfj fse gfogy, r{p{ BkBe dt : Bhtof; Nh, nfw\$; o.

‘History’ in Polular Movements: British Punjab, 1849-1947

Harwinder Kaur

(Abstract)

The study being an unexplored area of historical scholarship was the basis of choice for research. It centered round the use or utilization of ‘History’ by the organizers of a number of anti-British movements in Punjab. For convenience sake, though the movements in the domain of Politics, economy and socio-cultural have been examined but these do not constitute the total anti-imperial protests. Accordingly, the selection of the agitations has been attempted and these include: Ghadr Party, Babber Akali, Naujwan Bharat Sabha; Namdhari, Singh Sabha, Gurudwara Reform Agitation; The disturbances of 1907, The Kirti Party and the various Kissan Morchas.

It is imperative to mention here that this examination is to evaluate that how the ‘History’ could be utilized in the present to construct the future of human-kind. For this analysis basically the literature produced by these movements have been critically examined with the view that what kind of historical personalities, events and happenings at the local, regional, national and international levels have become the inspirational forces. For this purpose, a variety of sources have been made use of.

The result of this examination brings out interesting formulations. It was seen that majority of the anti-British movements either Political, socio-cultural or economic have shared the common historical heritage. Much of the ‘History’ utilized pertains to the history of Punjab with more emphasis on the Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Struggle. Events of ancient India also attracted attention of this mobilization and also certain prominent events of the national and International history. However sometimes, it has been found that it is not always history but mythology were used and also that history was equally used as mythology. Further the forms of propagation were numerous and these were prominently through the creation of literature, public speeches both in secular and religious congregations, utilization of official platform such as court premises alongwith the staging of the plays for certain narratives.

In brief, it has been elaborately established that the utilisers of this ‘History’ were very conscious of this process for using the historical past against the

contemporary historical situations giving worth to changed formations ushering in a new future. This further establishes the utility of this analysis.
